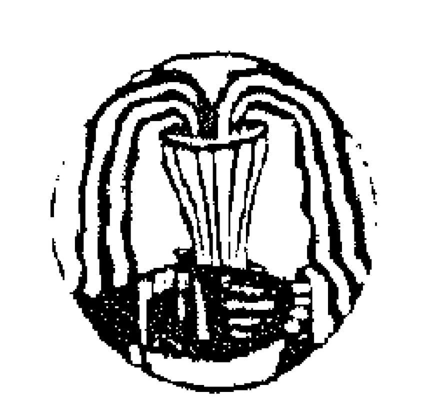
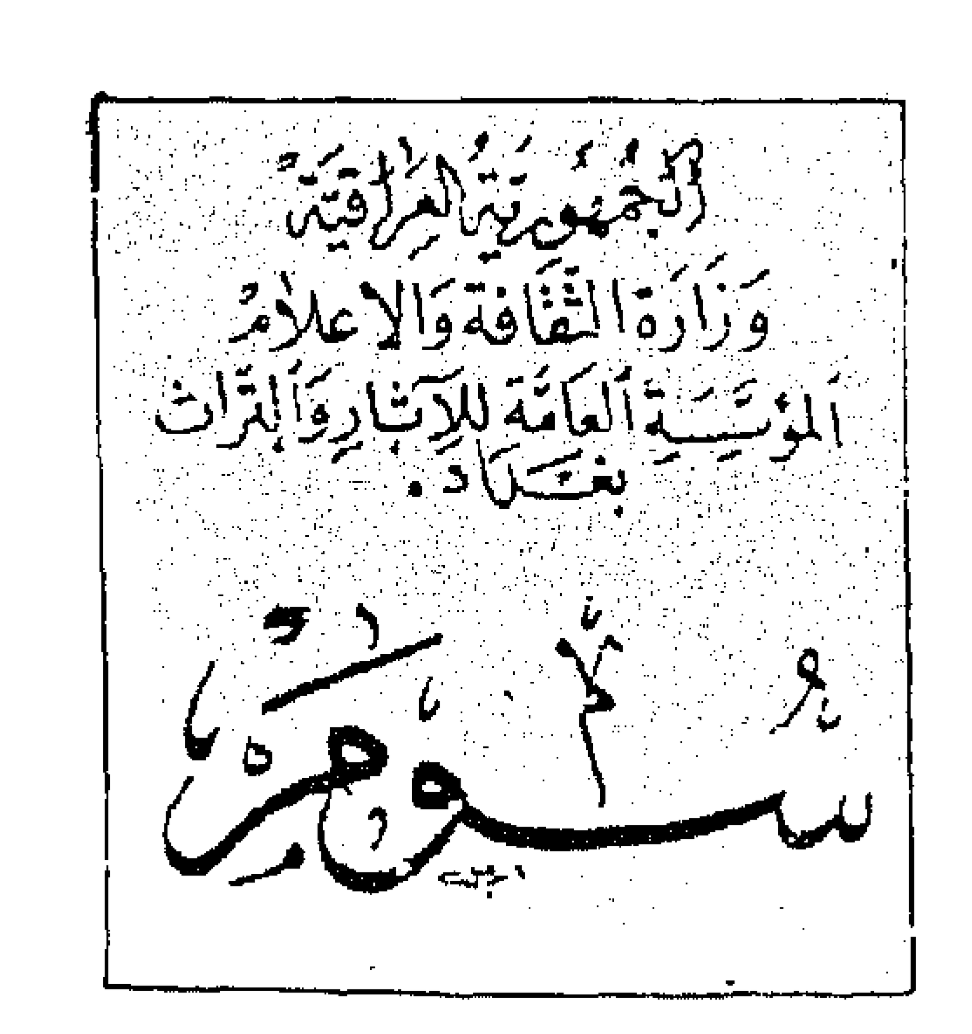
سومر

الجزء الأول والثاني - المجلد الثاني والأربعون







مجلة علمية تبحث في آثار الوطن العربي وتاريخه

المحتويات

مواضيع القسم الاجنبي

توطئة

انتهت الندوتان العالميتان الثانية والثالثة لمشاريع الاحياء الاثري لمشروعي بابل وأشور ، والانقاذ لمواقع سد القادسية الاثرية في حديثة بمجموعة كبيرة من البحوث العلمية التي اختصرت على شكل محاضرات ودراسات القيت في قاعة مكتبة المؤسسة العامة للآثار والتراث . وفي المواقع ذات العلاقة بهذه المشاريع ولقد كانت حصيلة هذه المحاضرات والدراسات على درجة عالية من التخصص ، حيث أنها ساهمت وتساهم في تفسير العديد من الظواهر التاريخية والفنية والعمارية والتراثية والفكرية ..

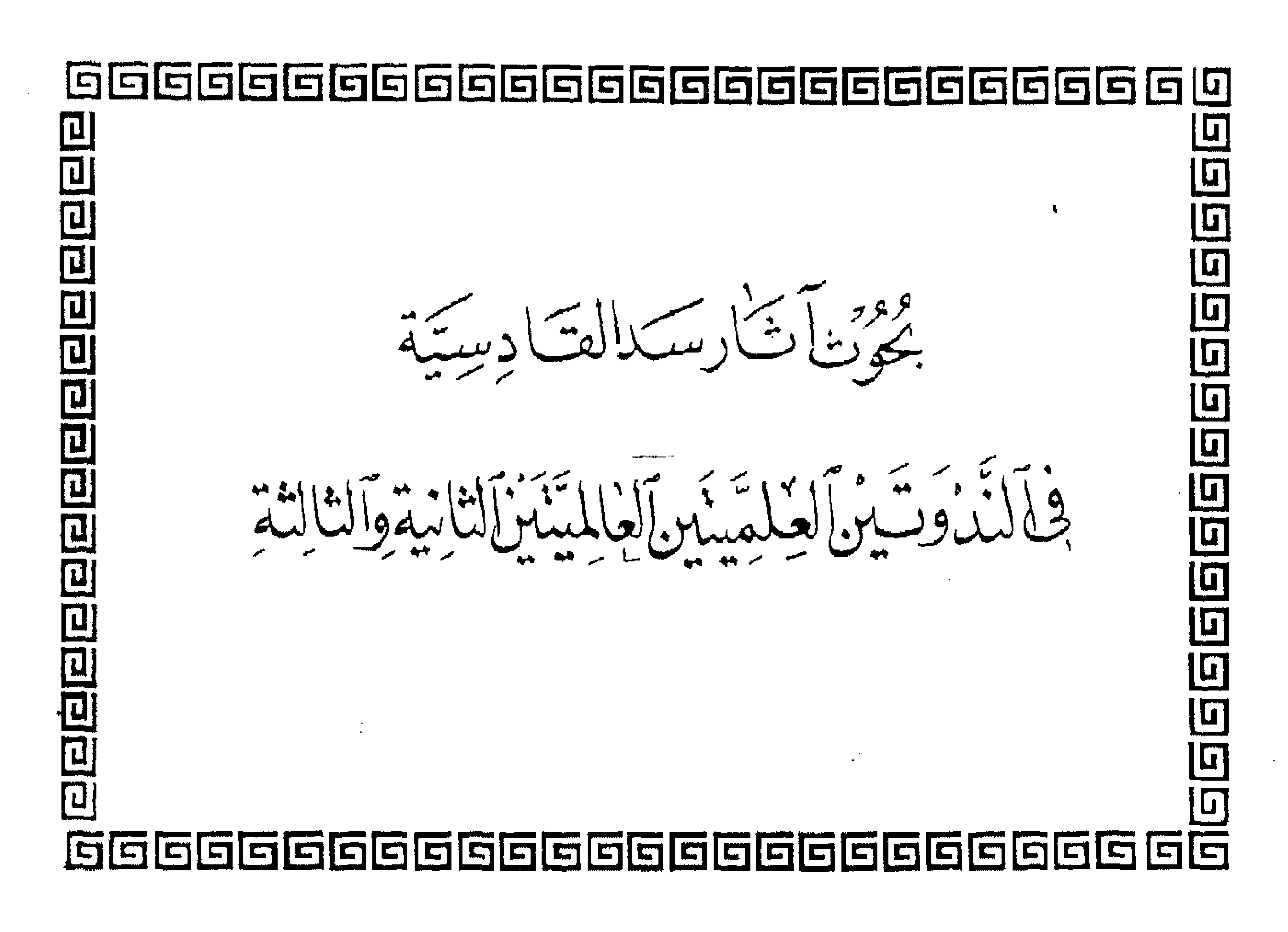
ان اعمال الندوة العالمية للاثار الخاصة بالمشاريع الكبرى .. تأجلت في الثلاث سنين الاخيرة بسبب الظروف غير الاعتيادية التي يمر بها القطر العراقي الا ان هذا لايعني توقف الانشطة الاثارية ولاعدم تراكم نتائج جديدة ومثيرة في مجالات التنقيب والتحليل والصيانة والمعالجة الاثرية ، فلقد اتسعت المشاريع وزاد عدد العاملين في مجاميع وفرق الانقاذ الاثاري ، وتوسعت العملات على مجاميع من التلال المهددة بالغرق في احواض السدود الجديدة في كل من سد صدام في اسكي موصل وسد القادسية في حديثة وفي سامراء وفي المناطق المحيطة بمدينة بابل.. وسوف تعقد ندوة عالمية رابعة قريبة لمناقشة النتائج الجديدة والاكتشافات التي تمت في هذا المجال .

ان المجلد ٤٢ من سومرسوف يختص بالبحوث التي القيت في الندوتين العالميتين الثانية والثالثة حول مدينة آشور. ومنطقة سد القادسية التي تم تنقيب ٧٥ تلاً اثرياً فيها الى حد الان ، وسوف تنشر نتائجها في هذا المجلد وفي مجلدات اخرى من سومر .

ارجو ان يروق لكم هذا المجلد . وان يكون خطوة نحو عمل ابداعي اكبر في مجالات الاثار ..

الدكتور مؤيد سعيد

رئيس المؤسسة – رئيس التحرير


بحوث آثار سد القادسية
في الندوتين العلميتين العالميتين الثانية والثالثة

مشروع انقاذ آثار حوض سد القادسية

صباح جاسم عبد الأمير الشكري
المشرف الفني للمشروع

الضيوف والحضور الكرام . . . .

انها لفرصة سعيدة ان نلقي على مسامعكم الكريمة ايجازاً سريعاً عن اعمال التنقيب الجارية في مواقع المشروع . وهو واحد من المشاريع الرئيسة الاربعة التي تضطلع بها هذه المؤسسة اضافة لمشاريعها العلمية المنتشرة في شتى أنحاء القطر .

يقع مكان السد على مسافة (٧) كم شمال مدينة حديثة الكائنة على مسافة حوالي (٢٥٠) كيلو متراً الى الشمال الغربي من مدينة بغداد . وتتحدد فترات انشاء هذا السد الركامي المقام على نهر الفرات بالمدة بين عام ١٩٧٨ و١٩٨٣ . وقد بدأنا العمل بحوض السد المذكور عند منتصف عام ١٩٧٨ ونأمل الفراغ منه عند نهاية عام ١٩٨٢ لغرض سبق مرحلة الغمر النهائية في نهاية عام ١٩٨٣ . يبلغ طول خزان هذا السد (١٣٠) كيلو متراً . منتهيا عند جزيرة الزعفرانية الكائنة على مسافة (٣٦) كم شمال غرب مدينة عانة . ويمثل ارتفاع المستوى الاعتيادي للغمر (١٤٧) متراً فوق مستوى سطح البحر وهو المستوى التشغيلي للسد . أما المستوى الاضطراري للغمر فيبلغ (١٥٠) متراً فوق مستوى سطح البحر تتكون منطقة الخزن من اراضي متموجة ومرتفعات ذات طبيعة كلسية ورملية . وهي ذات تكوينات جيولوجية مختلفة الاعمار تتدرج في القدم كلما ابتعدت عن شاطىء النهر . وان طبيعة اراضي الخزان هذه قد حددت من رقعة الاراضي المزروعة وبالتالي عدد المواقع الاثرية الكائنة فيها أو المطلة عليها . وهي لاتكاد تذكر قياساً بغزارة التلول والمستوطنات القديمة المنتشرة على جانبي الفرات والقنوات المتفرعة منه في السهل الرسوبي يتضمن حوض السد عدد (٢٨) موقعاً مسجلاً بعضهـا مواقع صغيرة . وهناك امتدادات لبعض المواقع الاثرية المهمة كموقعي الخليلية وتلبس.

والى جانب هذا العدد من المواقع يتضمن حوض السد ما ينيف عن (٩٠) قرية زراعية مختلفة المساحات حاضرتين مهمتين هما مدينة عانه التي ذاع صيتها في التاريخ القديم والعربي الاسلامي والتي تقع على مسافة تزيد عن (٣٠٠) كيلو متراً شمال غربي بغداد . وفيها العديد من الابنية التراثية بينها الدواليب المائية التي تختص بها مناطق اعالي الفرات . اما الحاضرة الاخرى فهي مدينة راوه التي تقابل سابقتها على الجانب الثاني (اي الشرقي) للنهر . وفيها قلعة عثمانية ضخمة انشأت في فترة حكم والي بغداد « مدحت باشا » عام ١٨٦٩ م .

تتوزع المواقع المذكورة والتي أمكن تسجيلها لحد الآن على جانبي النهر بعدد (١٣) موقعاً على الجانب الغربي للفرات والذي يدعى كلياً بأسم الشامية لأنفتاحه على بلاد الشام وعدد (١٢) موقعا على الجانب الشرقي للنهر والذي يدعى باسم الجزيرة لأتصاله بأراضي الجزيرة والموصل . وتدعى مواقع غربي النهر بالأسماء التاليـة :

١ – عين السوسية.
٢ – خربة وادي طرطاسة .
٣ – خرائب قرنانة .
٤ – مقبـرة شحمـة .
٥ – جرنـة .
٦ – تـل المرزوكية .
٧ – الشيخ طابع (طائـع) .
٨ – سـورام الخواشيـج .
٩ – كَليعـة .
١٠ – العوسيـة .
١١ – مدافـن تلبـس
١٢ – موقع وجامع مشهد.
١٣ – خربـة الدينيـة .

أما مواقع شرقي النهر فهـي :

١ – أمـام حبـب النجار .
٢ – مجن (مقبـرة) علي بن زهـران .
٣ – طعـس الكفـار .
٤ – سـور جرعـة .
٥ – الزاويـة .
٦ – كبيـن .
٧ – بطين الجنارية .
٨ – كفريـن (جفريـن) ومغارات مجـول .
٩ – مقبـرة وتلـول تلبـس .
١٠ – الخليليـة .

١١- تل الدراجية .
١٢- العونية .

والى جانب المواقع التي ذكرنا هنالك ثلاثة جزر أثرية تتوسط الفرات هي :

١- جزيرة تلبس .
٢- جزيرة القلعة بمدينة عانة .
٣- جزيرة بيجان .

لقد أجريت أعمال التنقيب الآثاري بعدد (٧) مواقع مهمة توجزها بما يلي :

(١) موقع كليعة :

تحصين يقع على مسافة (٢٤٫٥) كيلومتراً شمال غرب مدينة حديثة على الجانب الغربي للفرات وهو ذا سورين الخارجي منهما بأبعاد ٢٠٠ × ١٧٠٫٥ م ولكل منهما مدخل في الضلع الجنوبية الغربية ويشكل النهر الضلع الشمالية الغربية له .

أبتدأت أعمال الحفر بهذا الموقع عند منتصف شهر مايس عام ١٩٧٨ وهو أول المواقع التي تم العمل فيها بحوض السد يتضمن هذا الموقع في الداخل وبين السورين عدد (١١٨) غرفة ومرفق بنائي الملاصقة منها للسور الداخلي مشيدة باللبن أما الداخلية فشيدة بمادة الحجر الكلسي والطين تقوم جدران البعض منها فوق قبور آشورية . ولم تنج أبنية اللبن المشار اليها من اعمال التجديد حيث عثر على العديد من كسر الطابوق والأحجار المنحوتة ورؤوس التماثيل وجميعها آشورية مستخدمة كأحجار بنائية في الجدران .

ويلاحظ بين السورين عند الضلع الجنوبية لشرقية بناية مستطيلة الشكل مشيدة على مرحلتين وبمادة اللبن . وهي تمثل تركيباً بنائياً ذو مدخل بعرض ٢٫٢٠ م عند الضلع ية الغربية . مع عدد من الممرات وعدد (٤) غرف أكبرها بأبعاد ٩٫٧٠ × ٣ م . وتمثل قمة هذه البناية أعلى ارتفاع للموقع والتي تبلغ (١٣٤)م فوق مستوى سطح البحر .

م العثور على عدد (٨٤) قبراً فخارياً مختلف الحجوم بعضها جرار لدفن الاطفال والأخرى كبيرة تتألف غالبيتها من حبين كبيرين متقابلا الفوهة بعضها نحمل علامات ورسوم بمادة القار (الزفت) تميزها عن غيرها من القبور وهي جميعاً تأخذ أتجاهين هما الشمال الشرقي والجنوب الشرقي بالنسبة لرؤوس الهياكل العظيمة.

ترجع اللقى الاثرية لهذا الموقع الى كل من العصر الكاشي – الآشوري الوسيط والحديث والهلنستي في فترة الحكم الفرثي . وقد أستظهرت أعداد من اللقى الفخارية المعدنية المختلفة بينها سهام برونزية وحربة حديدية وأختام أسطوانية آشورية والعديد من قطع الزخارف المنحوتة ورؤوس التماثيل مع كسرة من الحجر الكلسي عليها بقايا كتابة اشورية

ان من ابرز اللقى بهذا الموقع تمثال نصفي غير كامل لأسد محارب يمثل الاله الحارس لدى الاشوريين (لماسو) وهو غير مكتمل الحرق عثر عليه بداخل الفرن وهو معمول كما يبدو في مكانه بالكورة . ويبلغ طول هذا التمثال (٢٫٢٠) م والعرض (٧١) سم والارتفاع (١٫١٧) م . ولم نعثر على أية كسرة للرأس ولا يبعد ان يكون قد فشل في الحرق جراء التشقق الذي يبدو واضحاً على البدن والسيقان الخمسة التي يقوم عليها .

والى جانب ما ذكرنا نلاحظ هناك مجرى مائياً مقطوعاً في الكتف الصخري الذي حل عليه الموقع وعلى أمتداد (٣) كم جنوباً تنطمس معالمها بعد هذه المسافة . وهي بعرض حوالي (١) م وارتفاعات متفاوتة وقد أتخذت في شكلها التواءات النهر .

(٢) موقع الزاوية :

يقع في قرية الزاوية الزراعية المطلة على الضفة الشرقية للنهر على مسافة (٢٦)كم شمال غرب مدينة حديثة – وقد ابتدأت أعمال الحفر في هذا الموقع الذي تمتد ابنيته تحت مزارع وبساتين وابنية القرية المذكورة . عند اوائل آب عام ١٩٧٨ ويوقف العمل به مؤقتاً في اواسط شهر اذار من هذا العام لحين أستكمال استملاكات القرية من قبل وزارة الري .

تم حفر عدد (٣٤) مجساً وعلى أمتداد (٢٠٠) متراً بين المزارع ودور السكن لغرض التعرف على امتدادات أبنية الموقع التي لوحظ أنها تمتد من الشرق الى الغرب أكثر منها من الشمال الى الجنوب . وقد كشف من خلال هذه الاعمال عن ثلاثة طبقات تمثل ادوار العصر الاشوري الوسيط والاشوري الحديث والعصر الاسلامي الذي ظهرت منه طبقتين بنائيتين . اولاهما ترجع لفترة العصر الاموي – العباسي وجدرانها أقل سمكاً من الجدران الاشورية التي يتراوح عرضها بين ١ – ١٫٢٠ م والاخرى ترجع لفترة العصر العثماني وهي بمستوى أسس بناية الخان اوالقصر كما يدعى محليا وهو كما يبدو خاناً عثمانياً .

ويبدو من خلال المجسات المشار اليها ان الموقع محاط بسور حجري ذا كتل كبيرة من الحجر الكلسي تصل الى عمق يزيد عن (٥) أمتار وان الكتل الحجرية المواجهة للنهر اكبر حجماً من غيرها . وقد ظهر من خلال العديد من مقاطع هذه المجسات آثار الفيضانات التي تعرض لها الموقع عبر العصور التي اشرنا اليها وان الارضيات الحجرية وتبليط الطابوق التي تم الكشف عنها كانت مغطاة بمادة القار لمنع تسرب الرطوبة .

عثر في هذا الموقع على الكثير من كسر الفخار المختلف وعدد من الاختام الاسطوانية ومجموعة من الاواني والجرار مختلفة الاشكال والحجوم ابرزها مجموعة من الجرار والاواني الفخارية المختلفة بالمجس رقم (١٩) وجميعها آشورية .

وهنالك مواد اثرية اخرى عثر عليها في الموقع ابرزها مجموعة من كسر الطابوق المزجج بدهان مختلف الالوان يغلب عليها اللون الأصفر . وهي ذات عناصر نباتية وهندسية وحيوانية يبرز بينها رسوم مخالب وسيقان طائر النسر او العقاب ورؤوس ماعز او وعل وعلى أثنتين من هذه الكسر بقايا كتابات مسمارية آشورية .

(٣) سور جرعة :

يقع على مسافة (٢٥٫٥) كم شمال غرب مدينة حديثة عند الجانب الشرقي للنهر وعلى مسافة حوالي (٥٠٠) م عن شاطئه . وهو يمثل تحصيناً مربع الشكل ذا سورين الخارجي منهما ركامي مشيد بقطع الحجر والحصى والتربة الكلسية وهو بأبعاد ٣٠٠×٣٠٠م^2 والسور الداخلي مشيد باللبن ومدعم بدعامات من نفس المادة .

ابتدات اعمال التنقيب فيه عند منتصف شهر تشرين الاول عام ١٩٧٨ . وقد تم لحد الآن حفر (٢٠) مجساً كبيراً شغلت منه مساحة واسعة . وقد ظهرت في القسم الجنوبي الغربي لساحة الموقع عدد من افران حرق الطابوق والفخار عثر بداخلها على نفايات المادتين المذكورتين مع كسر اواني فخارية آشورية مهيأة للحرق

ترجع لقى هذا الموقع الى العصر الكاشي والآشوري والهلنستي في فترة الحكم

الفرثي . وقد اكتشف في هذا الموقع الى جانب الكثير من كسر الفخار عدداً مـن الجرار وحباب القبور الى جانب ذلك بعض اللقى المعدنية واختام اسطوانيـة آشوريه ولقى مختلفة اخرى .

ان اهم اللقى بهذا الموقع عدد من كسر الرقم الطينية البعض منها غير محروق . وبعد الدراسة الاولية لهذه المجموعة من قبل الدكتورة بهيجة خليل اشارت بأنها تمثل نصوصاً دينية ونذرية تعود للملك البابلي « نبونوتا – كودوروواوصُرْ »[1] وهو لم تعرف له كتابات في السابق . وانها كتبت بخط الفترة البابلية المتأخرة (حوالـي الألف ق . م) . وقد جاء فيها ذكر الأله أدد .

(٤) جـزيـرة القلعــة :

تقع في منتصف الفرات بمدينة عانة الواقعة على الضفة الغربية لنهر الفرات . وهي تمثل مدينة عانة التاريخية تتخذ هذه الجزيرة الممتدة من الشمال الى الجنوب شكـل السمكة وتبلغ ابعادها (٩٤٠) متر طولاً و (١٩٠) متر عرضاً ويبلغ اعـلى ارتفـاع لها عن مستوى النهر حوالي (١٠) أمتار . وهي تستغل حالياً للزراعة من قبل اهالي مدينة عانة وقد كانت مسكونة من قبلهم الى سنوات قليلة مضـت . وهي محاطة بسور حجري متأخر وترتبط مع مدينة عانه بجسر حجري .

أبتدأت أعمال التنقيب فيها عند أوائل شهر آذار لهذا العام وقـد تـم حفـر اربعة خنادق اختبارية للتعرف على طبقات هذه الجزيرة التي تتضمن من خلال ما حظناه في المجس رقم (٢) المجاور للجامع شمالاً عدد (٣) طبقات بنائيـة تضمنت عدد من التنانير وكسر فخارية آشورية مختلفة وقد بلغ الحفر فيه الى عمق (٧) أمتار حيث ظهر مستوى الماء .

وفي المجس رقم (٣) المجاور للجامع شرقاً عثر على قبر آشوري وآخر هلنستـي من فترة الحكم الفرثي وهو من جرار الطوربيد المعروفة في هذه الفترة اضافة لجرار مماثلة مثبتة بشكل عمودي .

ان أبرز الأبنية التي تم العمل فيها بهذه الجزيرة هي المسجد الجامع الـذي استظهر بشكل كامل . وهو يتضمن في جناحه الجنوبي رواق القبلة المكون مـن اسكوبين للصلاة وهناك بقايا محراب الى القرب منه في جهة اليمين بقايا منبر . وفي الجانبين الشمالي والغربي يلاحظ هناك صف من الغرف وفي الضلع الشرقي الى جوار المئذنة الكائنة في الزاوية الشمالية الشرقية ظهر المدخل الرئيس للجامع وهو مكون من عدة درجات ومبلط في الداخل بقطع حجرية سوداء منتظمـة القطع .

ان بناء هذا الجامع قد تعرض لمراحل تعميرية عديدة الا انها جميعا استخدم فيها قطع الحجر غير المهندم والجص .

وفي ساحة الجامع هنالك بئر تغطيه قطعة حجرية كبيرة ومسواة من جميـع الوجوه على احد سطحيها العريضين ستة حقول كتبت باللغة المسمارية الا انها غير كاملة بسبب الفتحة الوسطية المحدثة في الحجرة المذكورة لاستخدامها كفوهـة للبئر المذكور .

وبصدد مئذنة هذا الجامع فان هذه المؤسسة تعمل في الوقت الحاضر على جمع الآراء العلمية والفنية للوصول الى افضل صيغة تؤمن سلامة انقاذها مـن الغرق وان ما ارتؤي من خلال التقارير العلمية المقدمة من اساتذة ومتخصصين في المؤسسات والجامعات العراقية هو اجراء عملية النقل الى خارج منطقة الغمر عـن طريق تقطيعها الى اجزاء عديدة وعلى ضوء المشروع المقدم من قبل المهندس السوري السيد يوسف جبلي . واننا نفضل ان يتم النقل ان كان هو النتيجة الوحيدة . الـى مدينة عانة المقترحة والكائنة في منطقة وادي الريحانة الى الجنوب من مدينة عانة بمسافة (١٣) كم .

والى جانب هذه المئذنة نود ان نشير الى ان هذه المؤسسة ستعمل على نقل اهم العناصر العمارية والزخارف الملونة في جامع مشهد الكائن على مسافة (٧) كـم شمال غرب مدينة عانة الى البديل المقترح لهذه المدينة .

(٥) مستوطـن الخليليـة :

يشكل شريطاً نهرياً ممتد المسافة تزيد عن (٢) كم. تقع هذه المدينة على مسافة حوالي (٩) كم جنوب شرق مدينة عانة و(٨٥) مترا عن الشاطئ الشرقي للنهـر.

ابتدأت أعمال التنقيب في هذا المستوطن عند منتصف شهر نيسان لهـذا العام . وقد تم لحد الان أستظهار عدد (٩) ابنية متعددة الغرف سيعت ارضيتها بالجص النقي وهي مشيدة عموما بالجص وقطع الحجر الكلسي غير المهندم . والى جانب ما ذكر فقد تم تنظيف جامع المدينة ورفع جميع الأنقاض التي يحتويها وتم أبراز تفصيلاته البنائية المكونة من ساحة وأيوان للصلاة ذو محراب مضلع . وفي الضلع الغربي للجامع من الخارج بقايا مئذنة مثمنة شبيهة بمئذنة جزيرة القلعة وأصغر حجماً منها . وقد تبق منها ارتفاع حوالي (٩) أمتار ومنها سلم لولبي يـدور حول عمود مجرى وسطي كما هو عليه الحال في مئذنة عانة المار ذكرها . والى الشمال من هذا الجامع استظهر مسجد صغير يتكون من مصلى صيفي ورواق صغير ذي محـراب .

ان أهم ما استظهر من لقى أثرية في هذا المستوطن مواد وكسر فخارية مختلفة يبدو ان اقدمها لا يتعدى فترة العصر العباسي الأخير . وقد عثر في أبنيتها على مجموعة من النقود الفضية العثمانية المضروبة ببغداد .

(٦) موقـع طعـس الكـفـار :

يقع في قرية السوارى على مسافة (٥٠٠) متراً عن الشاطيء الغربي للنهر وعلى مسافة (٢٣٫٥) كم شمال غرب مدينة حديثة .

يتكون هذا الموقع من ثلاثة تلول واطئة تمتد من الشمال الى الجنوب التل الاوسط الذي يجري العمل فيه حالياً يعد أكبرها وهو بابعاد ١٥٠ × ٩٠ متراً وارتفاع ١٫١٠ م عن مستوى الأرض السهلية الزراعية المحيطة به .

ابتدأت اعمال التنقيب فيه عند منتصف شهر نيسان لهذا العام . وقد اتبعت طريقة القشط لسطح هذا التل واستظهرت اسس ابنية عديدة مشيدة باللبـن المستطيل بأبعاد ٣٢ × ١٧ × ٨ سم و ٣٤ × ١٧ × ٨ سم و ٣٨ × ١٨ × ٩ سم . وقد انزلت في ابنية اللبن هذه عدة قبور آشورية يتكون كل منها من حبين متقابلي الفوهة وقد ادت الى الاضرار بالوحدات البنائية المذكورة والتي ترجع لعصر فجر السلالات

ومما يجدر الاشارة اليه ان هذا الموقع السومري ينفرد في دوره التاريخـي بهذه المنطقة من القطر وهو كائن بين موقعي تل اسود بمحافظـة الانبـار وماري (تل الحريري) بالقطـر السـوري الشقيـق .

عثر في هذا الموقع على فخاريات مختلفة بينها دمى وعجلات عربات وفخار محزز وآجر مزين بزخارف باللون القرمزي . وهناك كسر فخارية فخار آشورية وختمين اسطوانيين يرجعان لهذه الفترة الى جانب بعض اللقى المعدنية وعظام الحيوانات التي عثر على البعض منها داخل جرار فخارية لطشت بالجص في الداخل والخارج وغطيت باغطية جصية . وقد عثر كذلك على مجموعة من التنانير والمواقد وجرار للخزن مسيعة بعضها في الداخل بالجص واخرى بمادة القار . وعثر كذلك على ثلاثة كور للفخار بأبعاد ١٥ و ٢ × ٢ م لكل منها وبداخلها كسر فخار من عصر فجر السلالات وقد شيدت بقطع من اللبن المستطيل الذي شيدت به ابنية الموقع .

والملاحظ ان طراز بناء احدى كورسور جرعة وهي مستخدمة لحرق الطابوق مشابهة لهـــذه الكـــور .

(٧) العوسيـــة :

يقع على مسافة (٣٢) كم شمال غرب مدينة حديثة مطلاً على الكتف الغربي للنهر . سمي كذلك نسبة للمنطقة التي يقع فيها ، وهي مكونة من أراضٍ متموجة تتخللها بعض الوديان الصغيرة وهو بأبعاد تبلغ حوالي ٢٢٠ × ١١٠ متراً .

ابتدأت أعمال التنقيب بهذا الموقع عند نهاية شهر حزيران لهذا العام وهو آخر المواقع الأثرية التي تجري اعمال التنقيب فيها حالياً بحوض السد .

يتكون هذا الموقع من الأقسام الثلاثة التالية ..

١ - تل عال بيضوي الشكل ، يمتد من جهة الشمال الشرقي نحـو الجنوب الغربي ويبلغ أعلى ارتفاع له عند الجهة الشمالية الشرقية المواجهة للنهر حـــوا لـي (١٥) م وينحدر تدريجياً بأتجاه الطرف الجنوبي الغربي . ويشغل هذا التل مساحة تبلـغ ٩٠ × ٦٠ متراً وهو شديد الأنحدار ومغطى بطبقة من الحصى ولـــم تلاحظ عليه أية لقى سطحية . وهو كمـــا يبدو من خلال قرينة أخرى في موقع (كليعـــة) السالف ذكره أنه قد يشكل بناءً مشابهاً الا أنه لم تتوضح فيه معالم عمارية ســوى بقايا بناء قد يكون جزء من اسس سلم خارجي .

٢ - صف من الوحدات البنائية المشيدة باللبن وهي منهالة بمستوى متقارب ولم يتبق منها سوى ارتفاع (٦٠) سم ولم تتوضح فيها أية مداخل : ويعلوها سور اوسدة مشيدة بالحصى والتربة الكلسية .

٣ - مجموعة من المدافن المنقورة في الكتف الصخري للنهر والذي يطـل عليه الموقع ، وهي مقاربة في ارتفاعها لمستوى الماء . وقد لحقت بها أضرار شوهتها جراء تآكل وانهيار الكتف الصخري المذكور

ولقد ظهرت جراء الحفر بأربعة مجسات ، اثنين منها بالتل والأخرى بمنطقة أبنية اللبن والسور المشار اليها كسر فخارية ترجع للعصر الكاشي - والأشوري الوسيط والحديث والعصر الهلنستي في فترة الحكم الفرثي .

(١) انظر بحث الدكتورة بهيجة خليل اسماعيل في هذا المجلد من مجلتنا سومر ص٨٧



امثلة من العمارة في آثار حوض سد القادسية

ناظر عبد الله علي الراوي

السادة الحضور الكرام

أن الصفات الغالبة على المدن والمباني في حوض سد حديثة ومدن أعالي الفرات القديمة . أنها ذات طابع دفاعي . فأغلب المستوطنات اقيمت على شكل جزيرة في النهر . كقلعة عنه . وجزيرة تلبس - والبيجان . والمواقع الاخرى مسورة ومحصنة على شكل قلاع عسكرية . كسور جرعة وسور تلبس وسور مهرة وحصن كَليعة واستمرت هذه التحصينات منذ أقدم العصور . حتى العصور الاسلامية . لأن هذا الحوض كان جزءاً من الطريق الرئيسي الذي كانت تمر عبره القوافل التجارية والهجرات والحملات العسكرية من الجزيرة العربية والصحراء الغربية وبلاد الشام الى وادي الرافدين .

وستحدث عن الأسوار والتحصينات أحدى الزميلات وسأتكلم عن الطابع العماري وجزء من المباني المكتشفة في هذا الحوض .

وتتميز المباني المكتشفة بما يلي : -

١- المباني العسكرية - : كالأسوار والقلاع وأبراج المراقبة

٢- المباني الدينية - : كالمعابد والمساجد

٣- المباني المدنية - : كالقصور وبيوت السكن والكور والأفران

استمر الاستيطان في هذا الحوض من عصر فجر السلالات والى العصور الاسلامية المتأخرة . وسأحاول شرح موجز لبعض الأمثلة العمارية من عصور مختلفة مرت على الحوض .

موقع السواري : -

يقع على الضفة الشرقية للنهر شكل شبه بيضوي ١٥٠ × ٩٠ م ارتفاعه ١٠ را م ذكر في الكتابات المسمارية بأسم « سبرتي » نقب في الموقع كل من الزملاء ابليا ملكي . ومحمد عجاج .

تم الكشف في هذا الموقع عن ثلاث طبقات . الطبقة الأولى تمثلها مجموعة من القبور الآشورية المتناثرة .

أما الطبقتان الثانية والثالثة فانهما تعودان الى عصر فجر السلالات الثالث والثاني وذلك من خلال الفخاريات واللقى والأختام التي عثرت عليها الهيئة .

فالطبقة الثانية تمثل فترة الازدهار العمراني فهي أكثر الطبقات تنظيماً واتساعاً . مكونة من ست وحدات سكنية . تحوي ١٦٠ غرفة ومرفق . وهناك شارع رئيس يدور حول المدينة تتفرع منه مجموعة من الشوارع الفرعية .

المعبد : -

تم الكشف عن معبد جنوبي المدينة تتوفر فيه خصائص معابد الطابق الأرضي . وهذا المعبد يتكون من حجرة مستطيلة . يزينها أربع دخلات وبخرج من الضلع الشمالي جدار يتميز بكثرة طلاءآته الجصية . وربما يكون المذبح . حيث تم العثور خلف هذا الجدار على تمثال برونزي ربما يكون تمثال الطقوس حيث يمثل كاهن في حالة تعبد . وهناك مدخل يفتح على ساحة كبيرة يحتمل أنها مركز الادارة الاقتصادية والسياسية للمدينة .

استعمل اللبن في البناء وفي أحيان استعمل الجص في طلاء بعض الغرف المهمة .

أما الطبقة الثالثة : - فهي أقل اتساعاً وفقيرة في لقاها الأثرية وتعود الى عصر فجر السلالات الثاني .

موقع كَليعة : -

يطل على الجانب الغربي لنهر الفرات . يتكون الموقع من برج مبني على مرتفع صخري وتحصين ذي سورين كشفت الهيئة المؤلفة من السادة خالد الدره وتحسين عبد الوهاب وبعض الزملاء عن مجموعة من المرافق البنائية تضم أكثر من ١٤٠ غرفة . ويمكن تقسيم الوحدات البنائية المكتشفة في الموقع الى ثلاثة أقسام : -

١- الوحدات البنائية المحاذية للسور الداخلي حيث تم استظهار خمسة عشر وحدة سكنية تضم أكثر من ٨٠ غرفة .

٢- الوحدات البنائية المستظهرة بين السورين حيث كشفت الهيئة وحدتين سكنيتين كل منهما تضم سبع غرف مع ساحة .

٣- والوحدات البنائية في وسط الموقع وقد تم استظهار غرف وساحة كبيرة مبلطة بالطابوق الفرشي ٢٦ × ٢٦ × ٥ سم في الجانب القريب من ضفة النهر . ويبدو أنها تمثل أبنية خصوصية في الموقع حيث لم يعثر على غرف مبلطة في جميع المباني المكتشفة غير هذه الوحدة .

جميع المباني المكتشفة شيدت من الحجر تعلوها صفوف من اللبن . وبين

القطع الحجرية المستعملة في بناء هذه الجدران أجزاء مختلفة لمنحوتات وتماثيل مهشمة من المرمر والحلان . تتضمن عناصر مختلفة. كالالهة المجنحة الآشورية وشجرة الحياة المقدسة لدى الآشوريين . ومشاهد حربية . والموقع ذو طبقة بنائية واحدة سكنت لدورين : -

البرج : -

من أهم معالم الموقع يقوم فوق مرتفع صخري ويقع بين السورين . مبني باللبن وله واجهة مكونة من طلعات ودخلات مكونة شكلاً نجمياً . والغلاف الخارجي مضاف ويبدو أن الغرض من الاضافات هو توسيع البرج أو تقويته . أو تغير وضيفته السابقة .

ولقد مر البرج بدورين بنائيين وأضيف في الدور الثاني السلم ويبلغ عدد درجاته ١٥ درجة وتوجد في هذا البرج دكتين من الحجر . أما وضيفته فهي غير معروفة أهو برج للمراقبة . أوكمقر للقائد أو أنه ذو غرض ديني في الأصل .

جزيرة القلعة : -

جزيرة مستطيلة طولها ٩٤٠ × ١٩٠ م أقرب ماتكون الى المخروطية

الجامع : - ٥ر٤١ × ٥ر٣٢ م كشفنا فيه عن ثلاث طبقات : -

الطبقة الأولى : - مكونة من صحن الجامع وبيت الصلاة وصفين من الأعمدة والدعامات كل صف يحوي على ثلاث عشرة قاعدة عمود مربعة أو مستطيلة ١١٠ × ١١٠ سم و ١٣٠ × ١١٠ سم يضم بيت الصلاة رواقين وأثنتي عشر بلاطة والمحراب يقع في الجهة الجنوبية . على يمينه المنبر . والمدخل يقع في الزاوية الشمالية الشرقية بالقرب من المنارة .

الطبقة الثانية : - تقع تحت مستوى الطبقة الأولى وتتميز بأنها أكثر انتظاماً من الأولى بجانب بيت الصلاة رواق خارجي - (كلدور) قائم على أعمدة دائرية كذلك كشفنا عن أروقة جانبية من الجهتين الشرقية والغربية . أما أعمدة بيت الصلاة فهي مثمنة وتناظر بذن المنارة .

أما الطبقة الثالثة فهي عبارة عن جامع صغير ١٢ × ٨ م كشفنا عن محرابه وصف واحد من الأعمدة المدورة .

المئذنة : -

هي الوحيدة التي لازالت باقية في هذا الموقع . ارتفاعها ٦ أمتار تقع في الزاوية الشمالية الشرقية من الجامع تتألف من ثمانية طوابق. تزينها عقود وطاقات عددها ٧٢ عقداً . تقوم على قاعدة مكعبة . أما تاريخها فيعتريه بعض الغموض وقد حاول هرتسفيلد تحديد تاريخها الى سنة ٣٨٦-٤٩٦ هـ ٩٩٦-١٠٩٦ م وهو التأريخ الذي ينسب الى بني عقيل الذين حكموا الموصل وامتد نفوذهم الى الجزيرة ووادي الفرات . ولقد حاولنا أثناء التنقيب في الجامع ايجاد دليل كتابي وتأريخي يدلنا على تأريخ هذا الجامع ومئذنته الا أننا لم نعثر على دليل واضح يعول عليه .

المجسات : -

قمنا بعمل عدة مجسات في هذا الموقع مختلفة القياسات . وقد وضحت لنا هذه المجسات مجموعة من الوحدات البنائية تعود الى عصور مختلفة مرت على المستوطن .

فالمجس رقم ٢ يعود الى العصرين الآشوري والبابلي الحديث . بدليل الطابوق المزجج وبعض الدمى والفخاريات .

أما المجسان الثالث والرابع فالطبقة السفلى منها تعود الى الفترة الهلنستية بدليل القبور والدمى الفخارية والعظمية والمسكوكات الرومانية التي تعود الى سنة ١٣٨ م .

جامع مشهد : -

يقع شمال غرب مدينة عنه بحوالي ٥ كم تتكون البقايا الأثرية في هذا الموقع من ثلاثة أدوار بنائية وهي كما يلي :

١ - بقايا مسجد من العصر العباسي نقل منه الى المتحف العراقي محراب جميل مزخرف بكتابة يرتقي زمنها الى ماقبل العصر الاتابكي .
٢ - صف من ثلاثة غرف توجد على جدرانها كتابة عربية تذكر احداها أن الملك عماد الدين زنكي قد عمر هذا البناء عام ٥٨٩ هـ ١١٩٣ م .
٣ - غرفة مثمنة الشكل . قبتها مزخرفة من الداخل . وفيها كتابة تؤرخها العهد العثماني . وتنسب الى أحد الاميرين احمد ابو ريشة أو فياض أبو ريشة سنة ١٦١٦ م .

الاسوار في بعض مواقع حوض سد القادسية

رسمية رشيد جاسم

تغلب الصفة العسكرية على المواقع الأثرية التي تقع ضمن حوض سد حديثة . وذلك لوقوعها على طريق القوافل الذي يربط العراق بالاقطار المجاورة والمتصل ببلاد الجزيرة من جهة ثانية .

وعلى ضوء نتائج التنقيبات الأثريه التي جرت في مواقع السد . يمكننا أن نقسم هذه المواقع الى مجموعتين .

المجموعة الأولى :

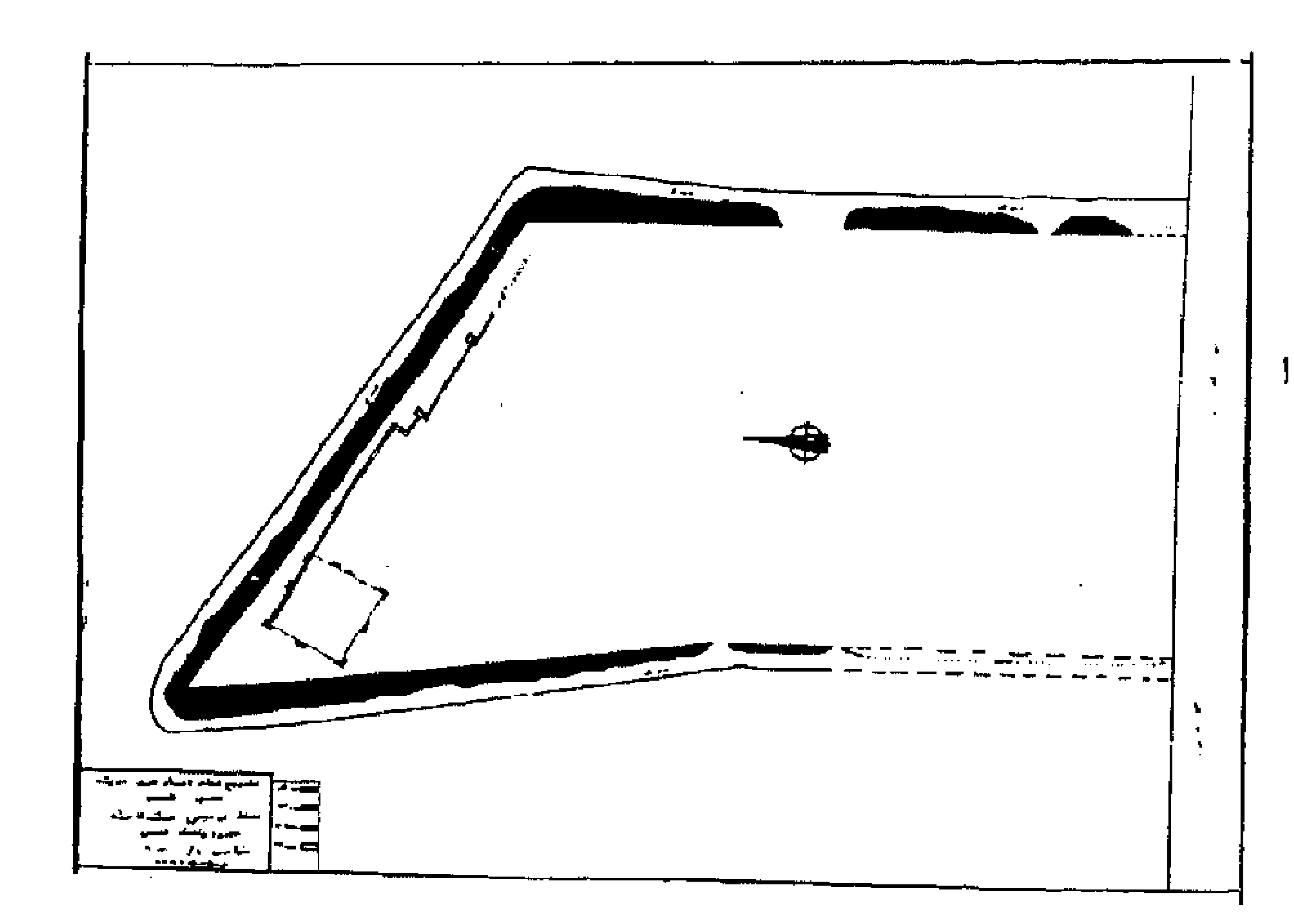
مواقع لها أسوار وتحصينات دفاعية . مثل موقع كليعة وجزيرة وسور تلبس وجزيرة بيجان وقلعة عنه وموقع الزاوية وسور جرعة

المجموعة الثانية :

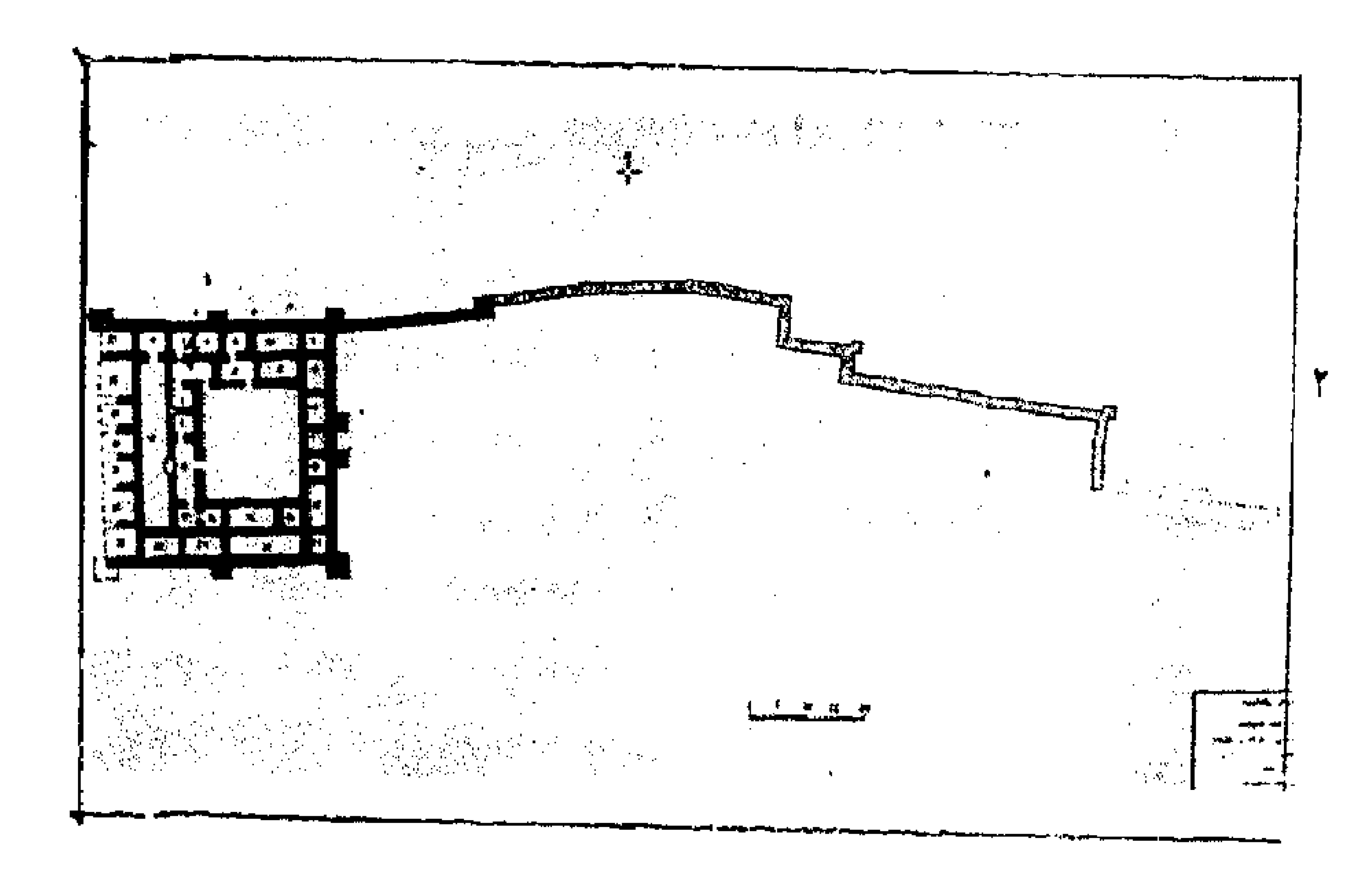
مواقع تمثل معسكرات مؤقتة . حيث لم نعثر الا على مناطق سكنية قليلة جداً . وبقايا قبور فخارية مثل موقع الرباش والنفيلي والولادية والمردادية .

ان أهم المواقع التي تم التنقيب فيها . وكشف عن سور وقلعة مبنية بالحجارة واللبن هو سور تلبس . الذي يقع على الضفة الشرقية لنهر الفرات يبعد عن مدينة عنه مسافة ١٤ كم مقابل جزيرة تلبس . يمتد الموقع في شريط ساحلي ضيق طوله ٤ كم ومتوسط عرضه حوالي ٣٦٠ م محصور بين نهر الفرات جنوباً . ومرتفعات ممتدة على طول جهته الشمالية . وورد ذكر الموقع في الكتابات المسمارية بصيغة تلمش او تلبش وذكر الموقع في حوليات الملك الآشوري (توكلتي نورتا الثاني ٨٩٠ – ٨٨٤ ق . م) في المرحلة السادسة والعشرون من رحلته ومن المعروف ان الموقع قديماً كان ضمن أقليم سوخي الذي ورد ذكره في المصادر البابلية القديمة والآشورية . وفي العصر السلوقي عرف الموقع بأسم تلبيس . وذكره اسيدورس الكرخي في كتابه المنازل الفرثية بأسم تلابس . وجاء ذكره في حملة الامبراطور الروماني جوليان (٣٦٠ – ٣٦٣ م) بأسم ثلوثا وذكر ان الموقع كان حصيناً بحيث لم يستطع اقتحامه .

ان طبيعة المنطقة الجغرافية (سلايد ورقم ١) دفعت الهيئة الى عمل عدة نقاط جس . وبالنتيجة توصلنا الى الكشف عن سور مبني بالحجارة واللبن بطول ٢٤١ م (سلايد رقم ٢) يتصل بجهته الغربية قلعة مربعة الشكل تقريباً مدعمة بثلاثة ابراج . في كل ضلع ما عدا الضلع الشرقي فقد كشف عن اربعة ابراج او دعامات مبنية بالحجارة . اثنان في الوسط من المحتمل ان يكون مدخل القلعة من هذا الجانب



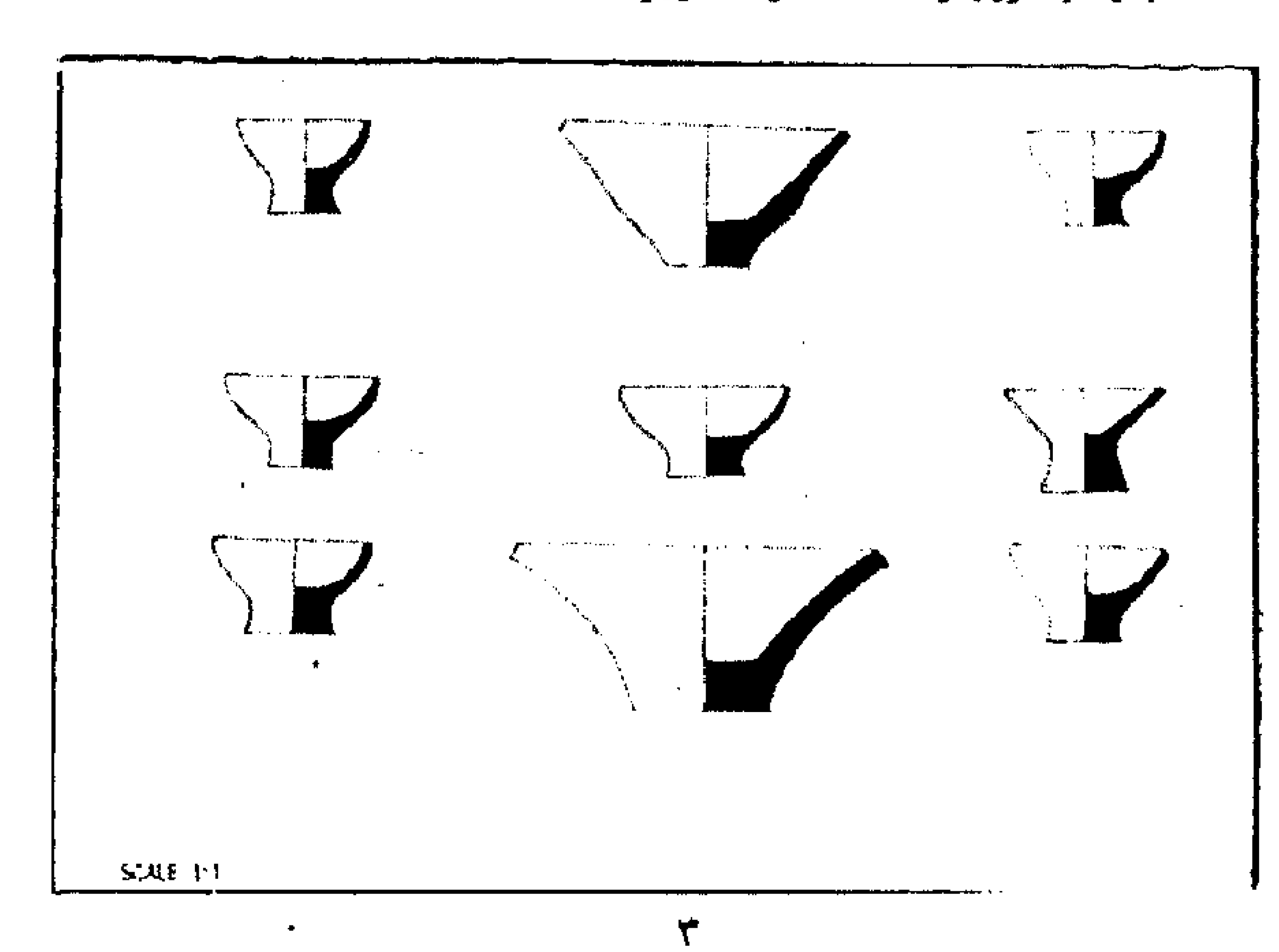
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المتبقي من القلعة أسسها فقط ، والتي تنزل الى عمق ثلاثة أمتار تقريباً . القلعـة مبنية بالحجارة والطين . يتصل السور بها من جهتها الشرقية ويمتد مسافة ٧١ م بعرض مترين وبعمق ٣ أمتار مدعم بأربع دعامات حجرية ابعادها ٣٫٥ × ٢ م . ثم يمتد السور الى الشرق . الا ان مادة البناء تكون اللبن بقياس ٢٩×٢٩×١٠ عرض السور متران يتراوح ارتفاعه بين ٣ و ٢ متر مدعم بثلاثة أبراج من اللبن مربعة ابعاد كل منهما ٢ × ٢ م طوم الجزء المبني باللبن ١٧٠ م اما القلعة فهي كما ذكرنا مربعة تقريبا ابعادها ٤٧ × ٤٥ م تتكون من ساحة وسطية مربعة تحيط بها مـن جهاتها الأربع مجموعة من الغرف . صف واحد في الجهة الشرقية وصفان من الغرف في الجهتين الشمالية والجنوبية . وصفان في الغربية بينهما قاعة طويلـة مستطيلة الشكل .

عثرنا على بعض القطع الفخارية الصغيرة الحجم داخل الغرفة ١٢ على عمق ٦٫٥ م في الانقاض والتي تمثل اواني فخارية صغيرة ذات قواعد دائرية شبيهة بالأواني التي عثرنا عليها في مقبرة الأطفال موقع جديدة (سلايد رقم ٣) (صور من ١ الى ٧) من دراسة هذه الأواني ومن طريقة تحصين المنطقة وطريقة ومادة البناء . ومن الدلائل التأريخية التي وردت في المصادر القديمة . يمكن القول بان هذه البناية والسور يعودان للعصر الأشوري الحديث (٩١١ - ٩١٢ ق م) .



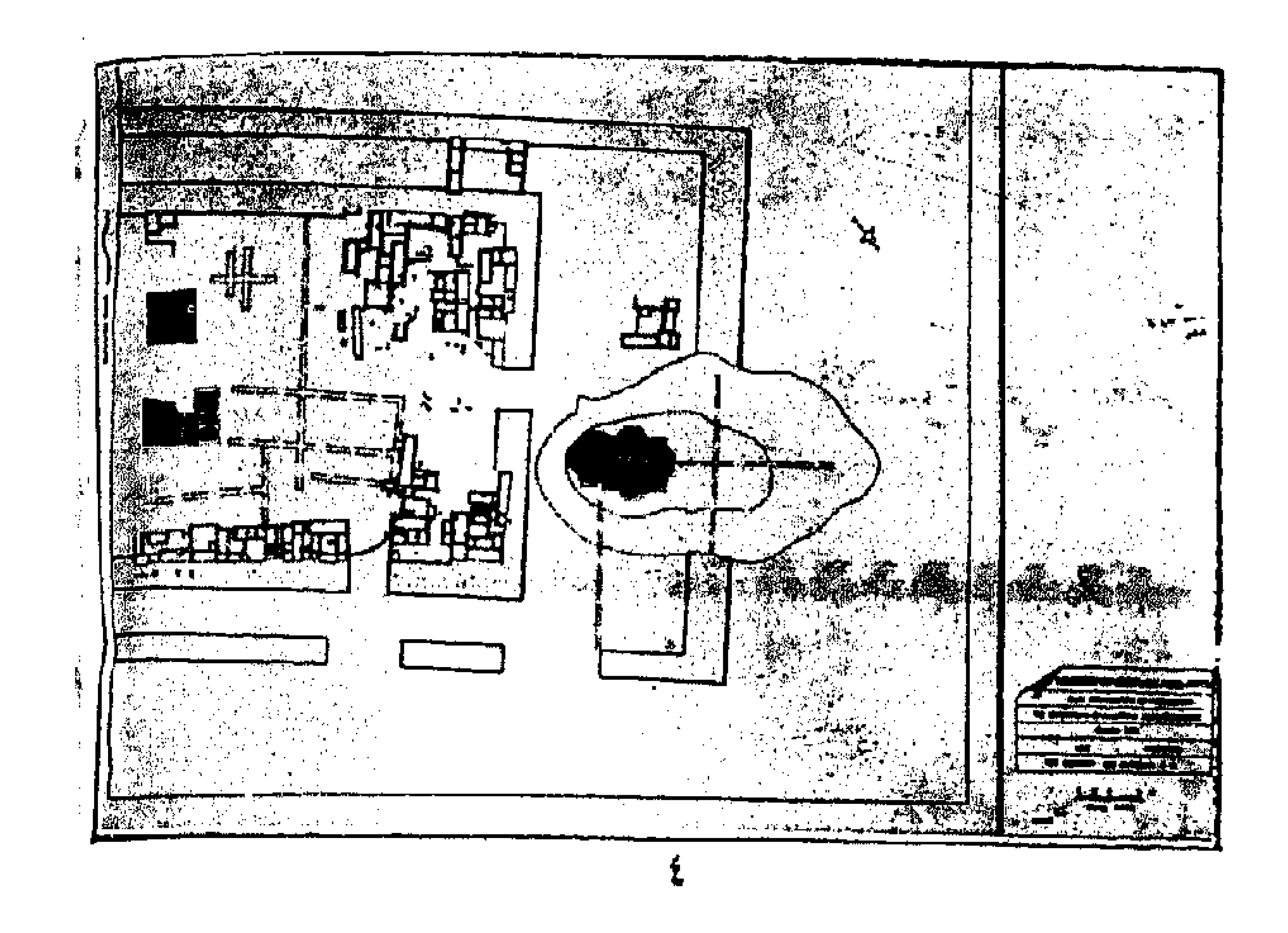
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٢ - موقع كليعـة

يقع على الجانب الغربي لنهر الفرات يبعد عن مدينة حديثة مسافة ٢٧ كم تحيط به سلسلة من الهضاب . تتخللها وديان . حيث لايرى الموقع القادم اليه الا بعد صعوده منطقة المرتفعات المحيطة به .

الموقع محاط بسورين يتصل بالنهر من جهته الشمالية الغربية . حيث يشاهد جرف صخري حاد الأنحدار (صورة رقم ٤)
طول السور الخارجي ٢٠٠ م وعرضه ١٧٢٫٥ م مبني بشكل ركام غير منظم مكون من كتل الجبس المتفاوتة الأحجام وكميات كبيرة من الاتربة . سمك السور يتراوح بين ٨ م في أضلاعه الشمالية الشرقية والجنوبية الغربية و ١٤ م في ضلعه الجنوبية الغربية . السور الخارجي له مدخلان لم يتم الكشف عن أركانهما بسبب مادة البناء . يحيط بالسور من جهته الجنوبية الشرقية خندق عميق . المسافة بين السور الداخلي والخارجي حوالي ١٥ م .

طول السور الداخلي ١٣٦٫٥ م وعرضه ١٢٦ م سمكه يتراوح بين ٩٫٥ و ١٠٫٥ م

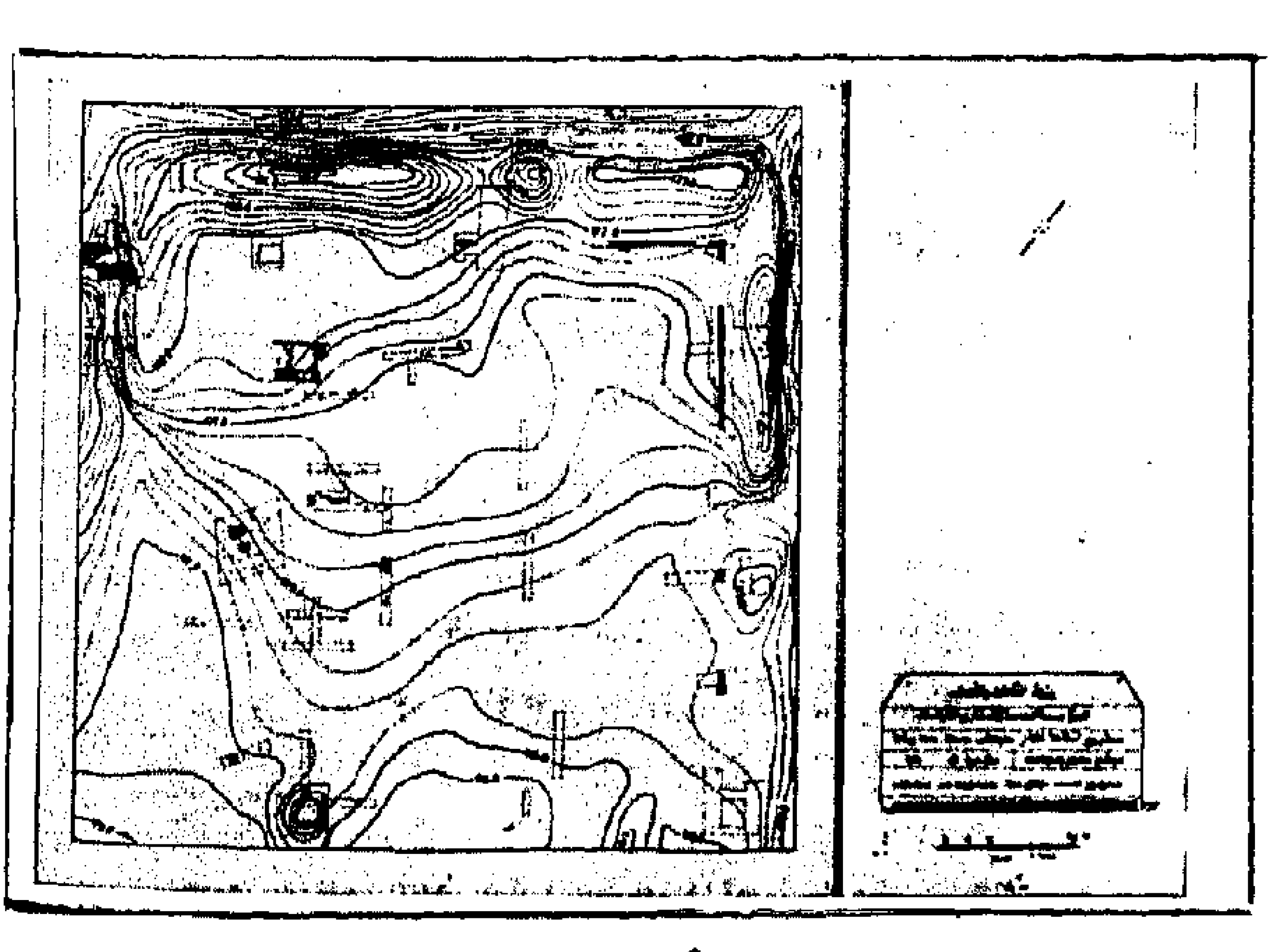

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يحصر بداخله وحدات سكنية يبلغ مجموع غرفها حوالي ١٤٠
يختلف سور كَليعة عن تلبس بمادة البناء اولاً فسور تلبس مبني بناءاً منتظماً بمادة الحجر والطين واللبن ويمتاز بضخامه البناء وهو خال من اللقى الأثرية تقريباً وتتصل به قلعة في جهته الشرقية . يحيط به من جهاته الشرقية والغربية والشمالية مرتفعات وخندق عميق . ويحيط به النهر في جهته الجنوبية . السور مدعم بأبراج مـن الحجارة والطين وأبراج من اللبن .

اما سور كَليعة فهو عبارة عن ركام من مواد مختلفة يحيط به خندق من جهـ الجنوبية الغربية فقط . ويوجد في جهته الجنوبية الغربية برج نجمي الشكل مبني بمادة اللبن مرتفع . كما أن المنطقة مليئة باللقى الأثرية بعكس موقع سور تلبس . الموقعان يعودان لفترة زمنية واحدة هي العصر الآشوري الحـديـث .

٣ - مـوقـع سور جرعـة

يقع على الجانب الشرقي لنهر الفرات على بعد ٤٥ كم من قضاء عنه . الموقع مربع الشكل تقريباً طول ضلعه ٣٠٠ م محاط بسورين خارجي وداخلي يحيط بالسور الخارجي خندق (صورة رقم ٥)
السور الخارجي ركامي مؤلف من خليط من الحصى والرمل والأحجار الكلسية أعلى نقطة فيه تبلغ ٢٫٨٠ م وعرضه يبلغ ١٣ م .

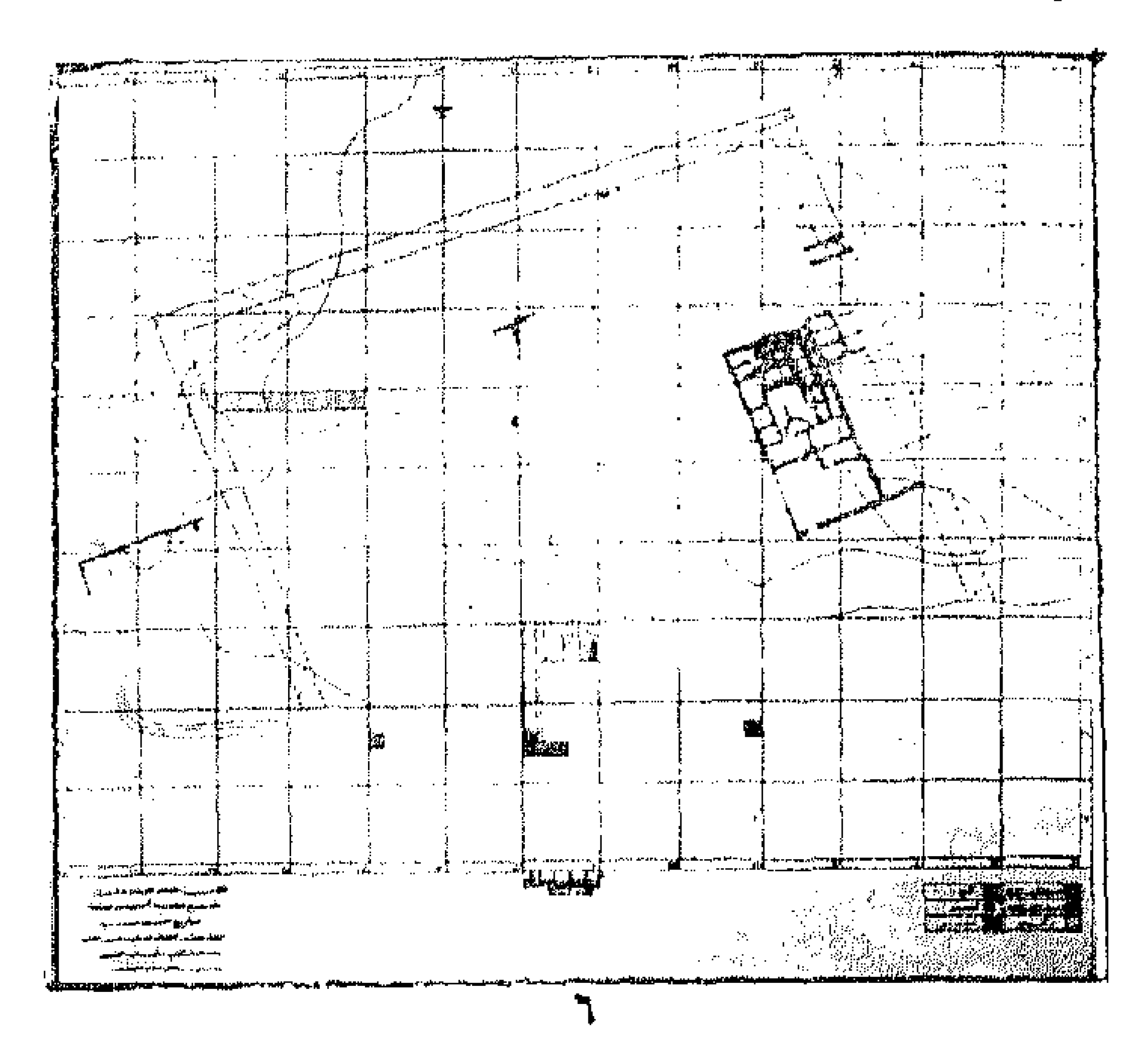

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اما السور الداخلي فهو مبني باللبن قياس ٣٠×٣٠×١٠ سم لم يتبق منه الا الجزء اليسير ويوجد فيه طلعات . ربما كانت تمثل ابراجاً او دعامات الدث للجدار. الموقع يعود الى العصر الاشوري الوسيط والحديث

٤- موقع سور مهرة

يقع على الضفة الشرقية لنهر الفرات . وهو من المواقع التي تمثل معسكرات شيدها الآشوريون كخط دفاعي متقدم لحماية بلادهم .

الموقع محاط بسور ركامي من جهاته الشمالية والشرقية والغربية فيما يحد الموقع من جهته الجنوبية للنهر(صورة رقم ٦)



٦

مادة السور عبارة عن خليط من الحصى والكلس . وهو مرتفع نسبياً يحيط بوحدة سكنية لم يبق منها الا اجزاء قليلة من أسسها

٥- مواقع أخرى : -

أحيطت بأسوار نذكر منها : -

أ- موقع الزاوية الذي كشف فيه عن سور ضخم مبني بالحجارة على ضفة النهر . ربما أستعمل كسداد لحماية الموقع من أخطار الفيضان . وكسور دفاعي في آن واحد

ب- مجموعة من الجزر محاطة بأسوار نذكر منها جزيرة عنه

جزيرة بيجان

جزيرة تلبس

من خلال ما تقدم يتضح لنا ما يلي

١- ان جميع المواقع التي تم تحصينها وأحاطتها بأسوار دفاعية تعود الى العصر الآشوري الوسيط والحديث

٢- أنها أستفادت من النهر كخط دفاعي ثابت

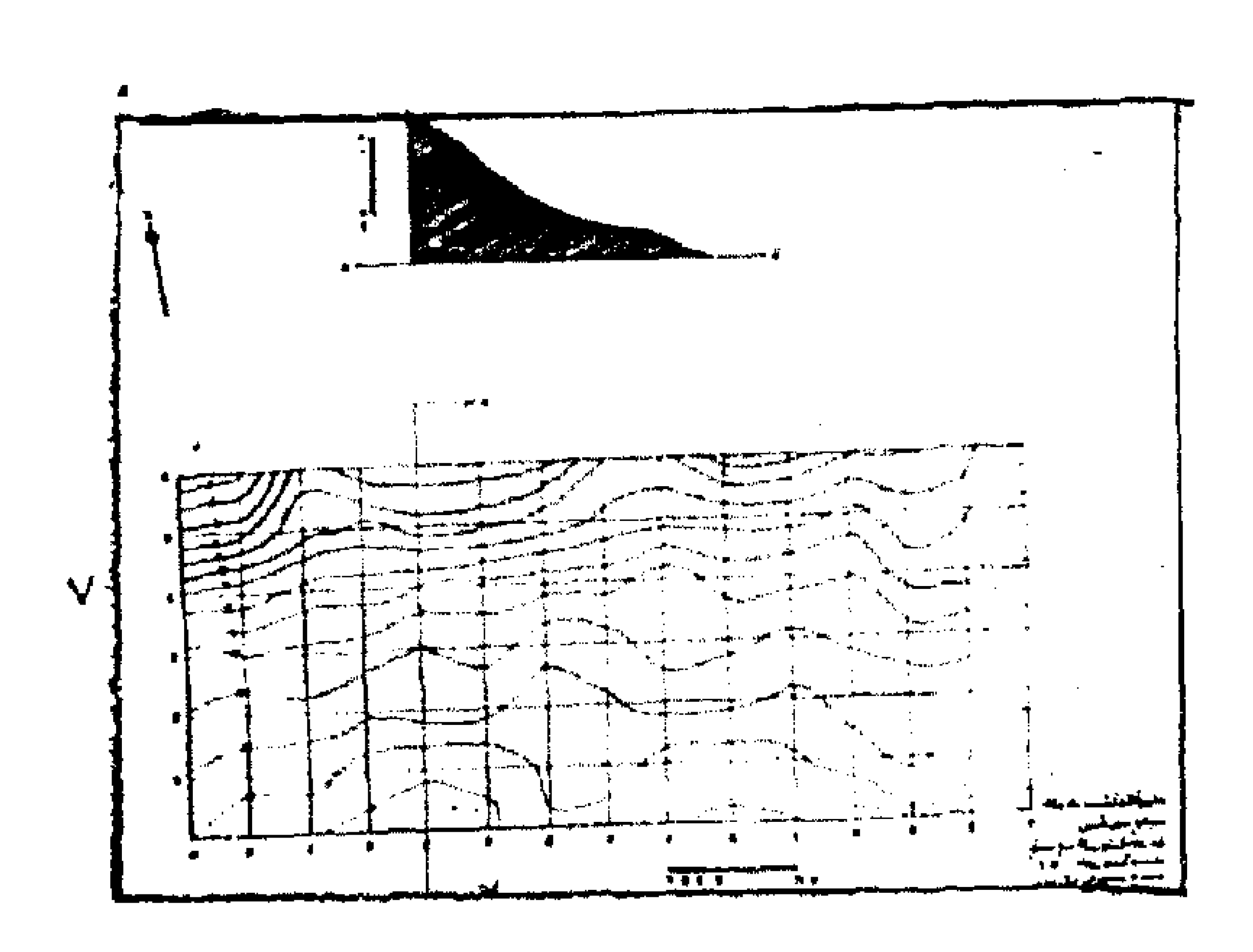
٣- احيطت بخندق عميق او وادي يفصل الموقع عن ما يحيط به يملىء بالماء عند الضرورة

٤- ان المواقع محاطة بأسوار مكونة من خليط من الركام المكون من الحصى والجبس والأتربة وسور ثان مبني بالحجارة والطين او اللبن .

٥ ان بعض الأسوار مدعمة بدعامات أو أبراج .

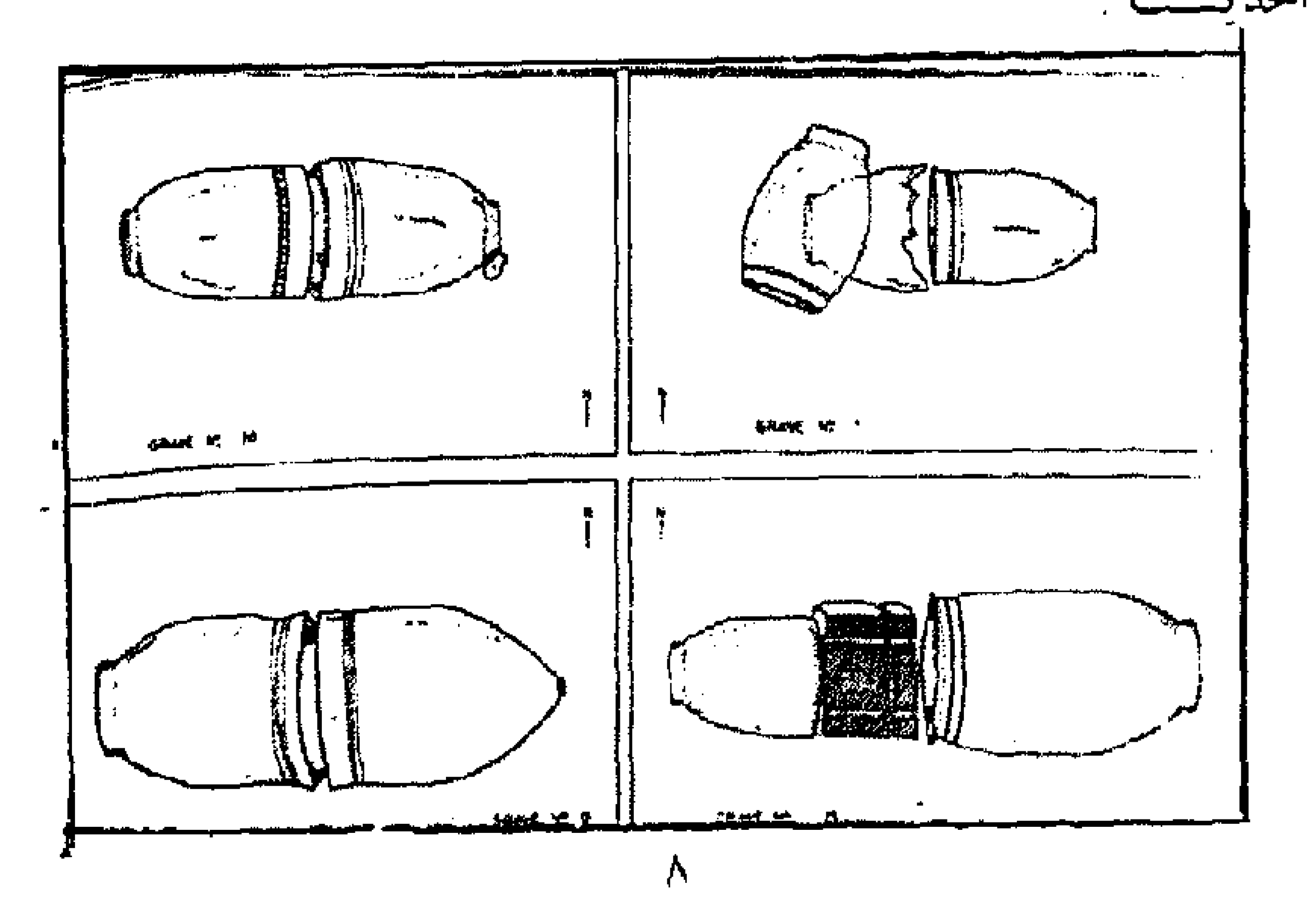
سور تلبس

في موقع سور تلبس تم الكشف عن مجموعة من القبور الفخارية خارج منطقة السور والقلعة . حيث حددت مساحة أبعادها ٢٨٠ × ١٢٠ م قسمت الى ٨٤ مربعاً



٧

أبعاد المربع ٢٠ × ٢٠ م (صورة رقم ٧) كشف فيه عن ٢٩ قبر قوام كل قبر جرتان فخاريتان متقابلتان . القبور موضوعة في اتجاهات مختلفة معدل طول القبر ١٦٠سم . الجرار ذات فوهات واسعة . تحت الفوهة زخارف متعددة قواعد الجرار ملصقة بالبدن صورة رقم (٨) في بعض الحالات وبالنظر لطول الهيكل فقد عمد الى ترك مسافة بين الجرتين . ومن ثم تغطيتها باللبن او استعمال جرة ثالثة (صورة رقم ٩) بعد دراسة القطع الأثرية المكتشفة في هذا الموقع . وبالمقارنة مع قطع أخرى مشابهة يمكن القول بأن هذه القبور تعود الى العصر الاشوري الحديث .

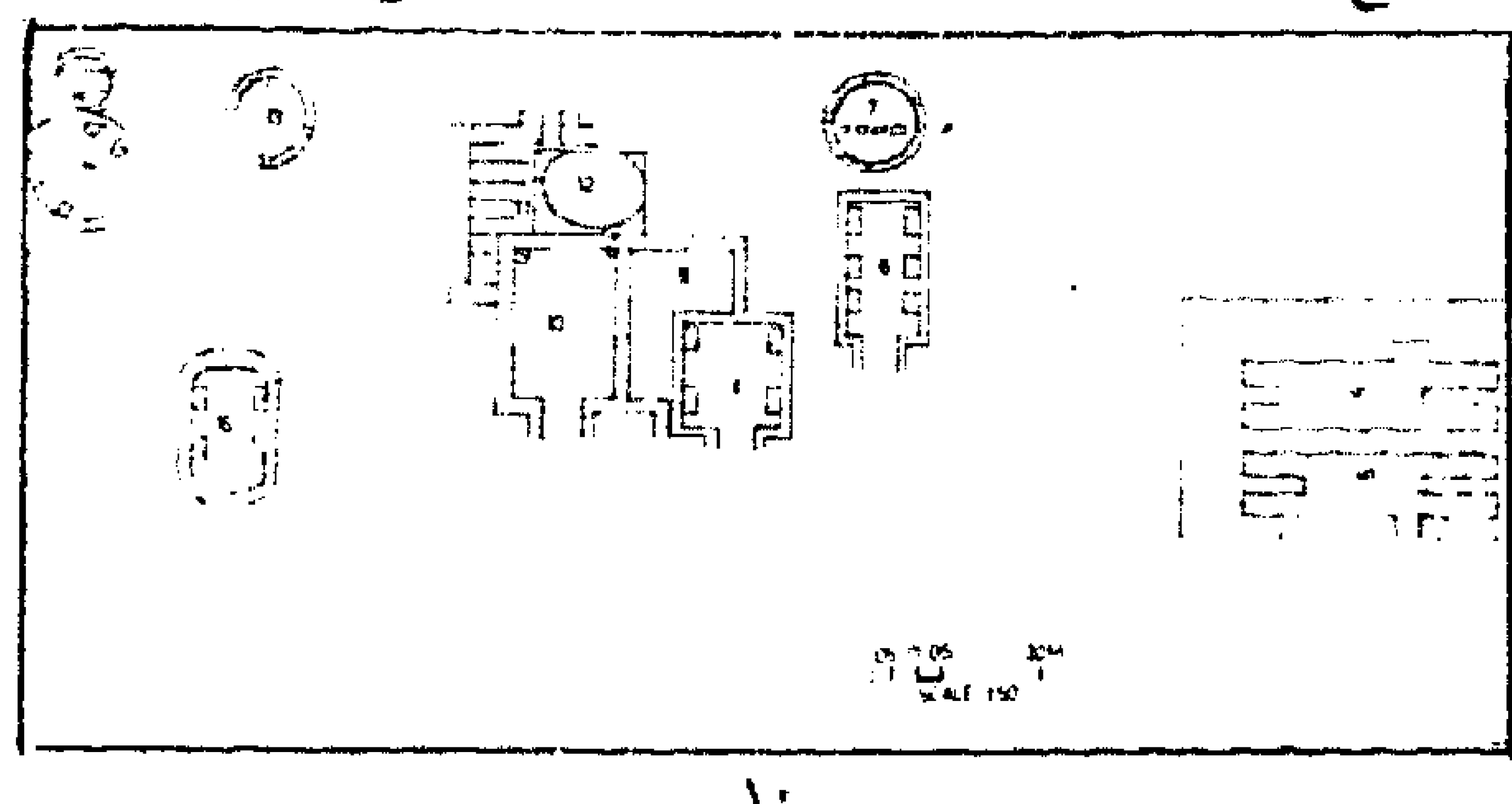


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وفي نقطة أخرى تقع على ضفة النهر مباشرة تم الكشف عن مجموعة من الكوربلغ عددها (١٦ كورة (صورة رقم ١٠) خصصت لصنع الأواني الفخارية.



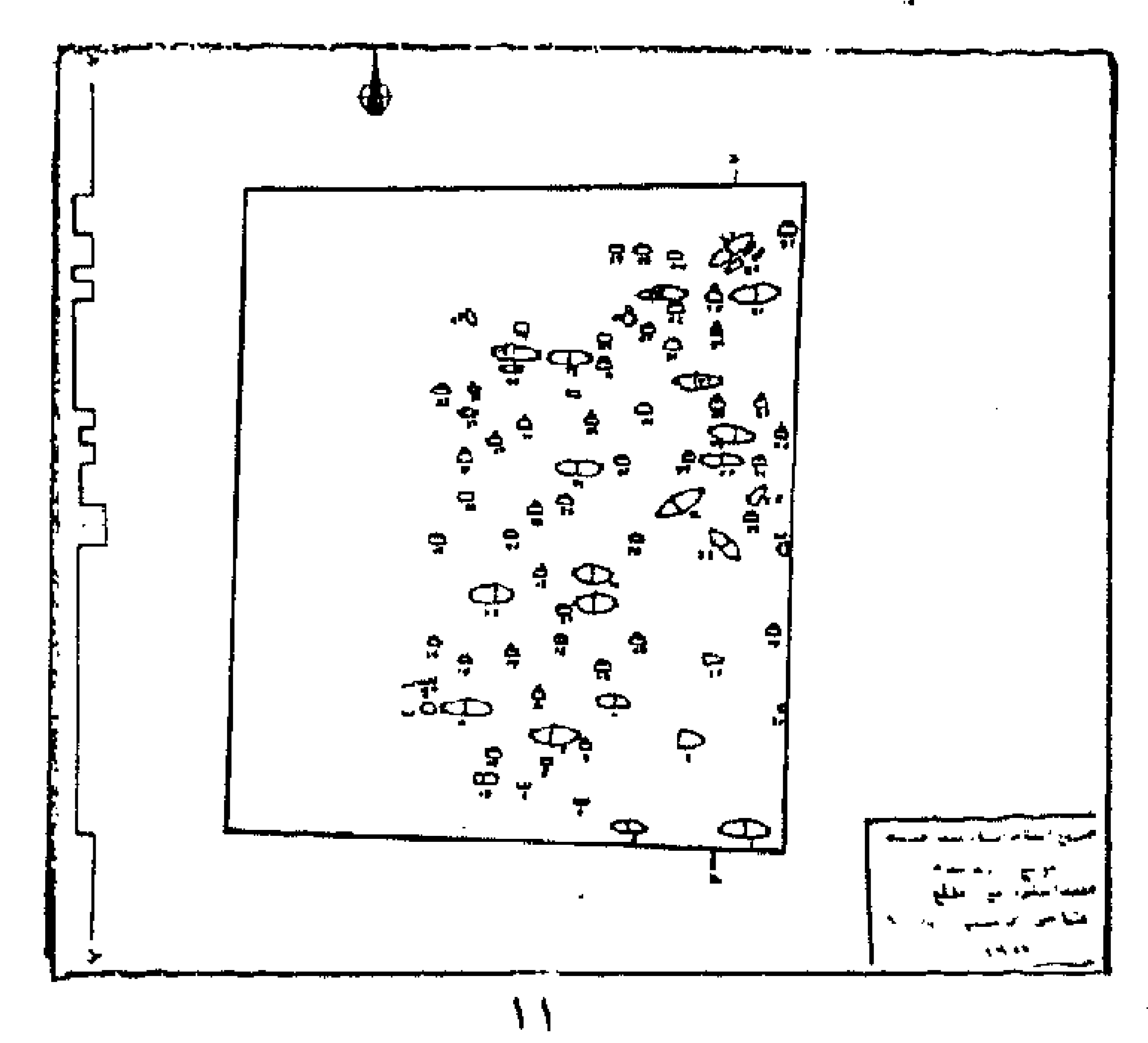
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وذلك لعثورنا على كميات كبيرة من الكسر الفخارية وبعض القطع داخل الكور أشكال الكور كما هو واضح في المخطط متعددة ومتنوعة بعضها مستطيل والبعض الآخر بيضوي . وقسم منها دائري . جميع هذه الكور تشترك في صفة واحدة . هي وجود بقايا جدران كانت تحمل أقواساً شيدت فوقها سقوف الكور التي كانت تضم عدة ثقوب لغرض تسرب الحرارة الى الأواني الفخارية الموضوعة فوق السقف . قسم من هذه الكور لها أقواس . اثنان في كل ضلع والقسم الآخر ستة أقواس ثلاثة في كل جهة .

من خلال دراسة بعض الكسر الفخارية والقطع الكاملة التي عثرنا عليها داخل الكور . تبين أنها تعود الى القرن الثاني قبل الميلاد .

موقع جديدة

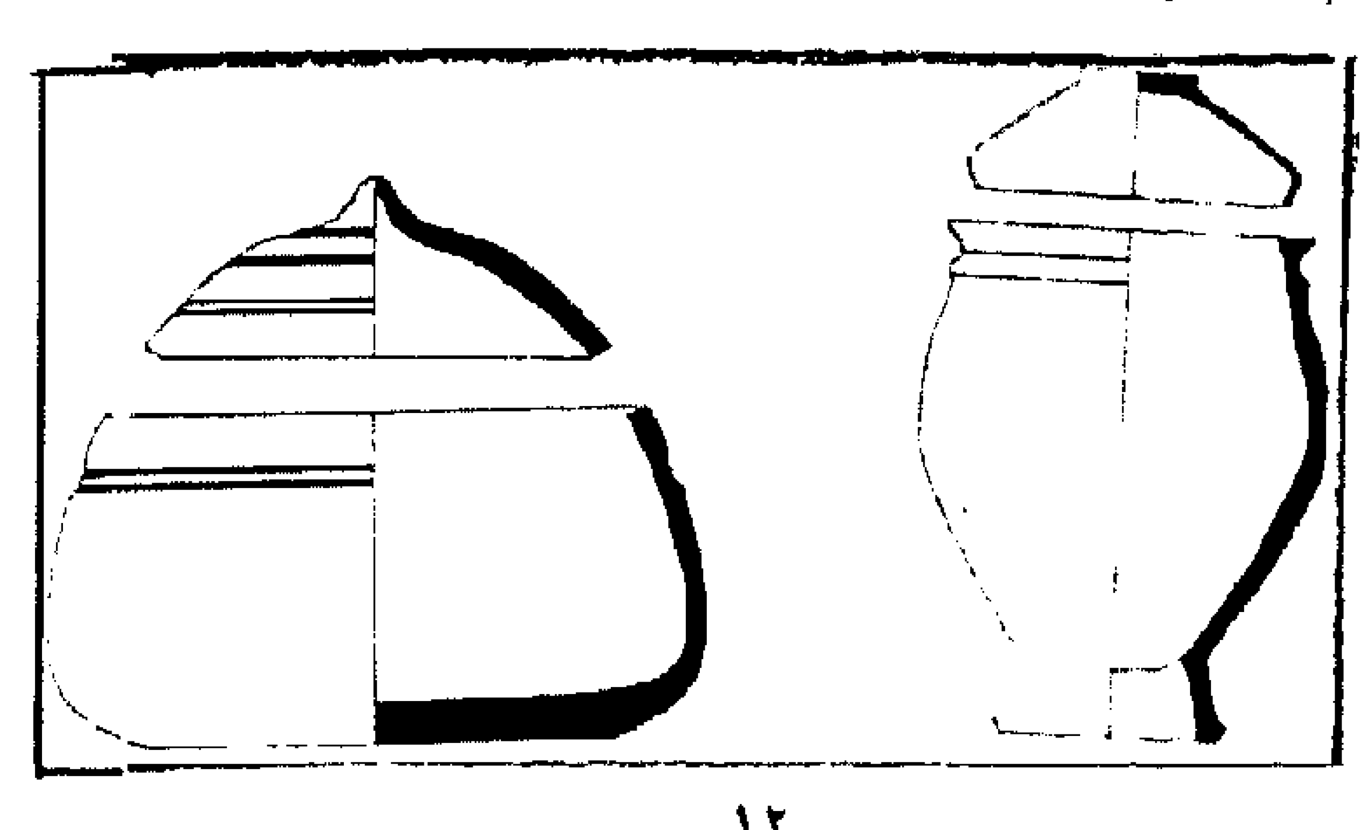
يعتبر موقع جديدة جزء من موقع (سور تلبس) الا أن التقسيمات الادارية جعلت منهما موقعين أطلق على الأول(سور تلبس) والثاني جديدة تركز العمل في نقطتين من هذا الموقع الأول أطلقنا عليها أسم مقبرة الأطفال والثانية القبور المحفورة بالحجر والتي يطلق عليها (Cata Com'B)



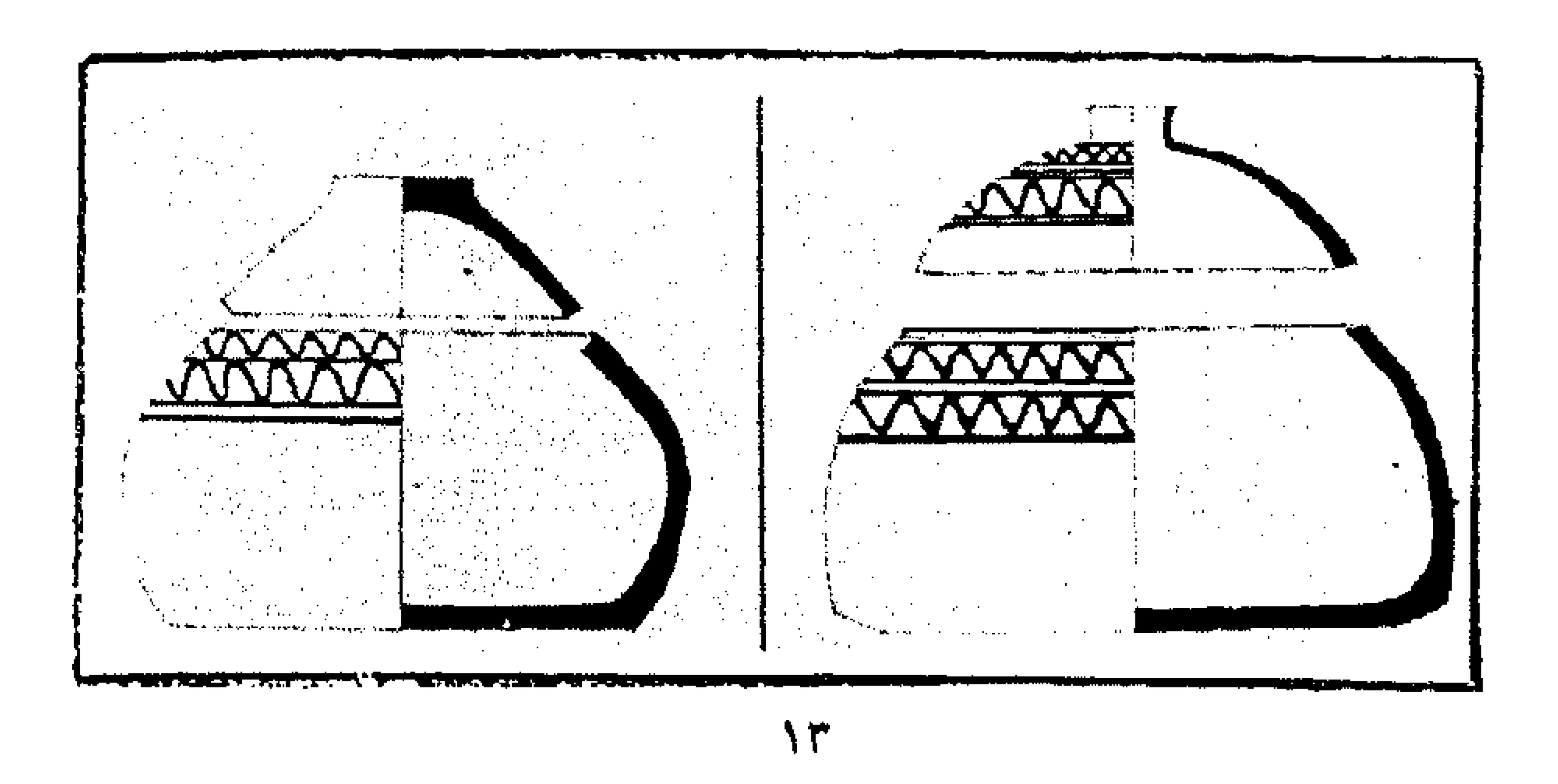
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١ - المنطقة الأولى

فوق مرتفع يقع نهاية الموقع في جهته الشمالية . تم تحديد مساحة معينة لبدء العمل أسفرت التنقيبات فيها عن الكشف عن مجموعة من القبور الفخارية المزخرفة ذات أغطية مزخرفة أيضاً وهي مختلفة الأشكال والألوان بداخل كل قبر مجموعة من الأواني الفخارية مع قلادة أو قلادتين مع مجموعة من الأساور المصنوعة من معدن الرصاص ومجموعة من عظام أصابع اليد فقط صورة رقم ١٢و١٣)

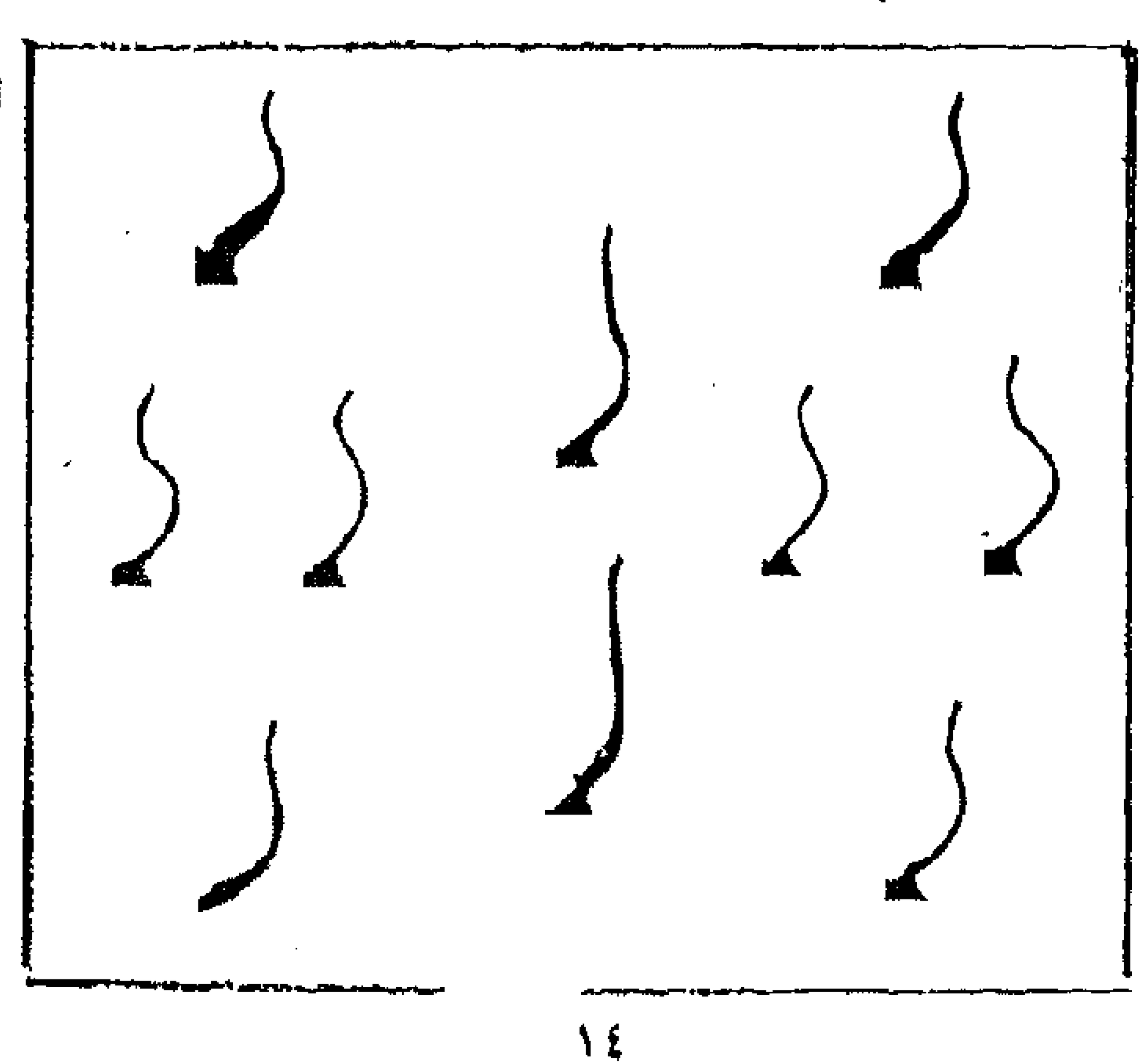


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بلغ عدد القبور التي تخص الأطفال ١٠٢ قبرا موزعة داخل المربع ان وجود هذا العدد من القبور يلفت الانتباه وخاصة انه لم يتبق من الهياكل العظمية سوى عظام اصابع اليد فقط . ووجود كمية كبيرة من الخرز والأصداف النهرية . وقطع من الفخار يختلف عددها من قبر لآخر . فمنها قطعتان ومنها ثلاث والبعض الآخر اربع . كما أن أشكال القبور كانت مختلفة أيضاً فبعضها دائري والبعض بيضوي عليها أغطية ربما كان بعضها صحوناً تستعمل للأغراض المنزلية



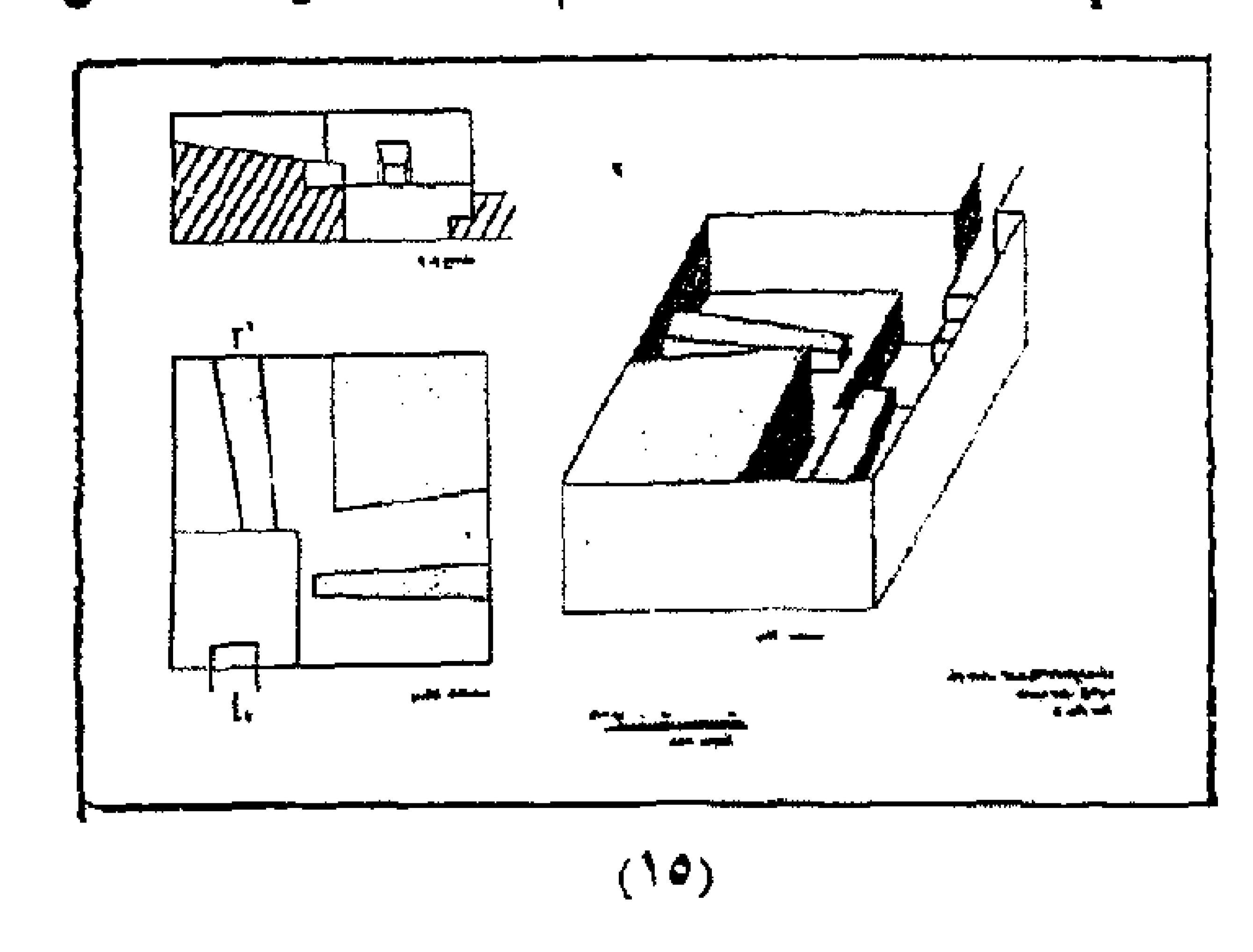
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من خلال مقارنة القطع الفخارية وبعض اللقى الاثرية يمكن القول بان المقبرة تعود الى العصر الآشوري الحديث (٩١١-٦١٢ ق.م) .

ب- المنطقة الثانية (القبور الحجرية)

على المرتفعات الحجرية التي تشكل الحدود الشمالية للموقع . تم الكشف عن ١٣ قبراً محفورة بالحجر والتي يطلق عليها (Cata Com B) تنتشر هذه القبور في منطقة فلسطين والاردن وسوريا ومصر والسودان ، كما تم الكشف عن البعض منها في منطقة الخليج العربي وخاصة في دولة البحرين .

اشكال القبور مختلفة . فمنها الدائري ومنها البيضوي . ومنها المستطيل الا أنها جميعاً تشترك في مخطط واحد (صورة رقم ١٥) : فلكل منها مدخل مسدود



(١٥)

بقطعة حجرية كبيرة . ينفذ الى سلم بدرجة اودرجتين تودي الى ساحة وسطية مربعة اومستطيلة أوبيضوية اودائرية . عميقة نوعاً ما . قسمت المساحة التي تحيط بها الى عدة اقسام استعملت لاغراض دفن الموتى تنتشر هذه القبور في مناطق واسعة من حوض سد حديثة . ويمكن مشاهدة بعضاً منها على الطريق العام المؤدي من منطقة هيت الى حديثة . الا أن جميع هذه القبور قد تعرضت للنهب والتخريب واستعملت في بعض الاماكن مخازن لحفظ الحبوب او علف الحيوانات وكان من الصعب تحديد الفترة الزمنية التي تعود اليها هذه القبور . الا أننا عثرنا على قبر واحد . والذي يحمل رقم ٥ يضم مجموعة من الهياكل العظمية في الساحة الوسطية . وفي الاقسام الاخرى مع مجموعة كبيرة من اللقى الاثرية هي كالاتي :-

١- مجموعة من القطع الفخارية الصغيرة المزججة . وقد عثر على مايشابههما في موقع الصالحية (دورا يوربس) وقد ذكر الرحالة موسيل أن هذه القطع كانت تصنع في الصالحية وتصدر الى الاماكن المجاورة لها .
٢- مجموعة كبيرة من القلائد الثمينة .
٣- مجموعة من رووس سهام من الحديد .
٤- مجموعة كبيرة من حلقات برونزية ورؤوس حراب .
٥- بعض القطع الزجاجية .
٦- مجموعة من الخواتم والخرز التي نقشت عليها رسوم ادمية .

وقد امكن تحديد الفترة الزمنية التي تعود اليها هذه القبور او فترة استخدامها لاغراض الدفن (بالقرن الثاني قبل الميلاد .)



اختام من حوض سد القادسية

حياة عبد علي الحوري

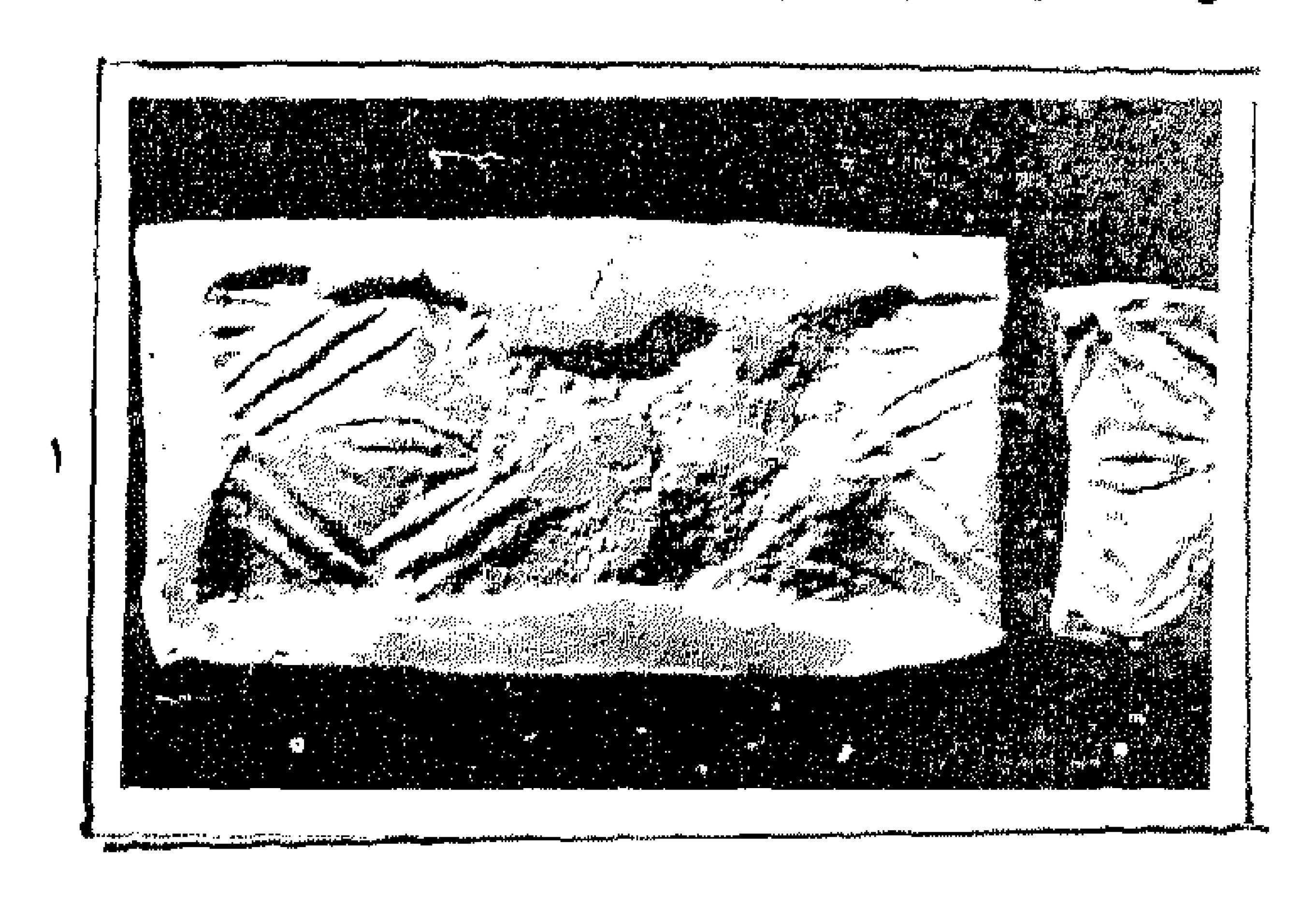
السيد رئيس الجلسة المحترم

السيد رئيس المؤسسة المحترم

السيدات والسادة الحضور الكرام

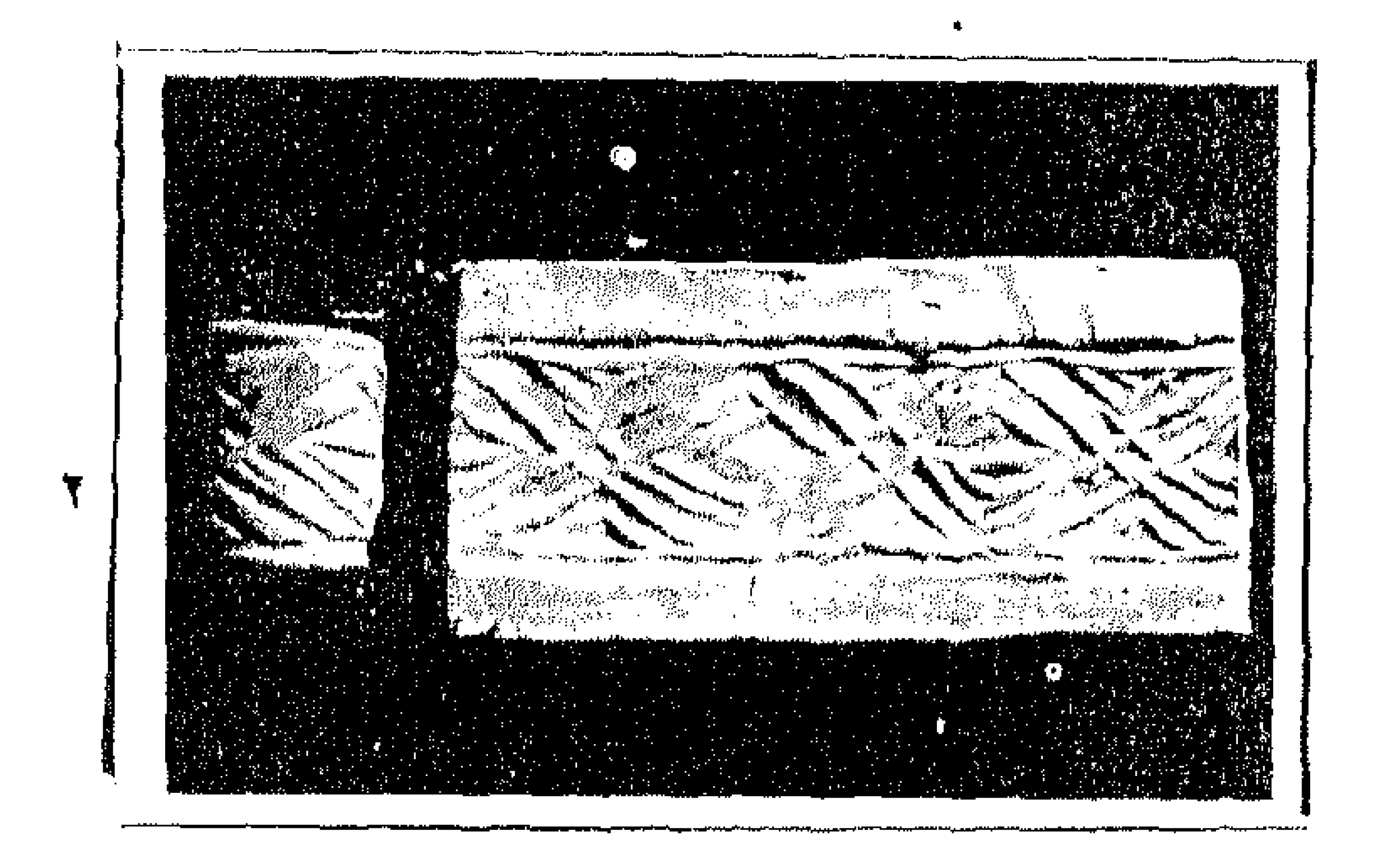
احييكم وأستعرض معكم مجموعة الأختام التي تم العثور عليها خلال التنقيبات التي جرت في مواقع متعددة من حديثة وهي السواري . العوسية . البجارية . وسورجرعة من قبل المنقبين وهم السادة محمد عجاج . عبد الرحمن محمد علي . جبار خواص . تحسين عبد الوهاب وأبليا ملكي حيث تفضل الدكتور محمد باقر الحسيني مشكوراً بتكليفي بعرضها لحضراتكم قبل أيام معدودة فقط .

(وتضم المجموعة . أختاماً اسطوانية ومنبسطة . ترجع الى عصور مختلفة . تبدأ من عصر جمدة نصر صعوداً الى العصور اللاحقة . وقد صنفتها حسب تلك العصور سأبدأ بعرض الاسطوانية منها أولاً .



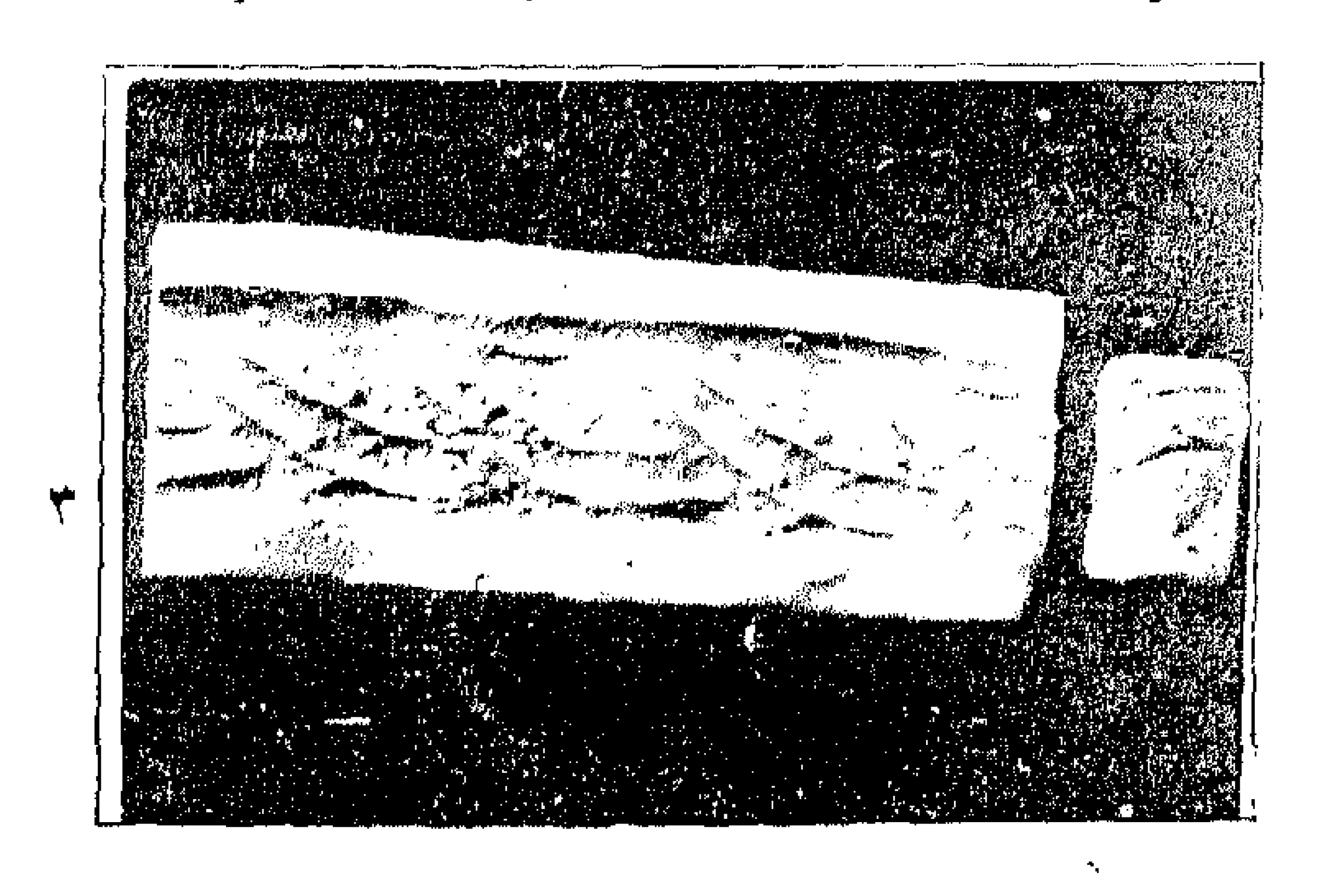
صورة ١
صورة ٢

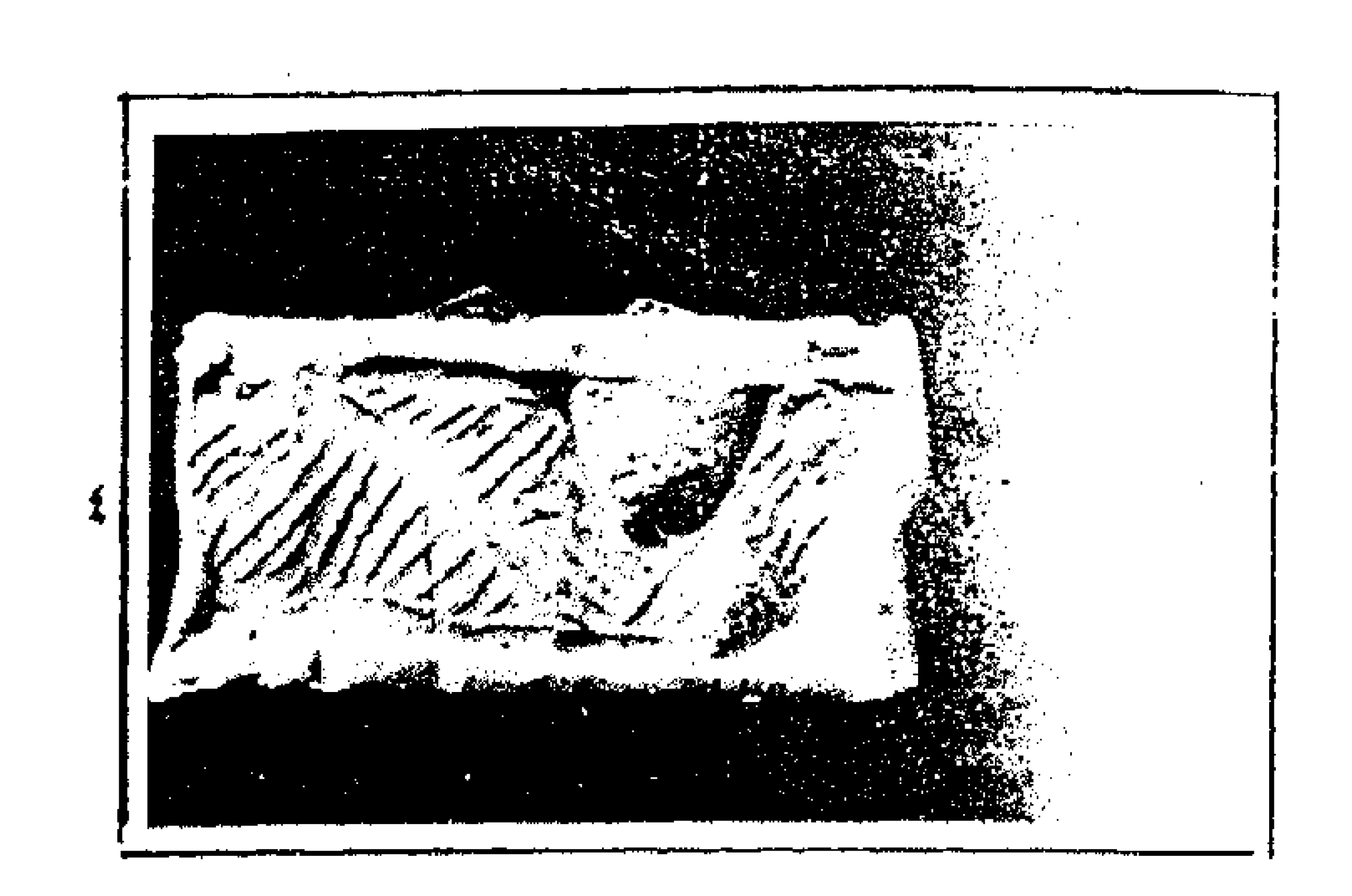
ختمان اسطوانيان يعودان الى عصر جمدة نصر . يشمل كل منهما زخرفة هندسية . تتألف من خطوط متوازية تشكل معينات في داخلها مايشبه العين . أن هذا الطراز من نقوش الأختام سائد ومألوف في هذه الفترة حيث نجد مايشابه هذا الختم على ختم آخر منشور في كتاب انطوان مورتكات

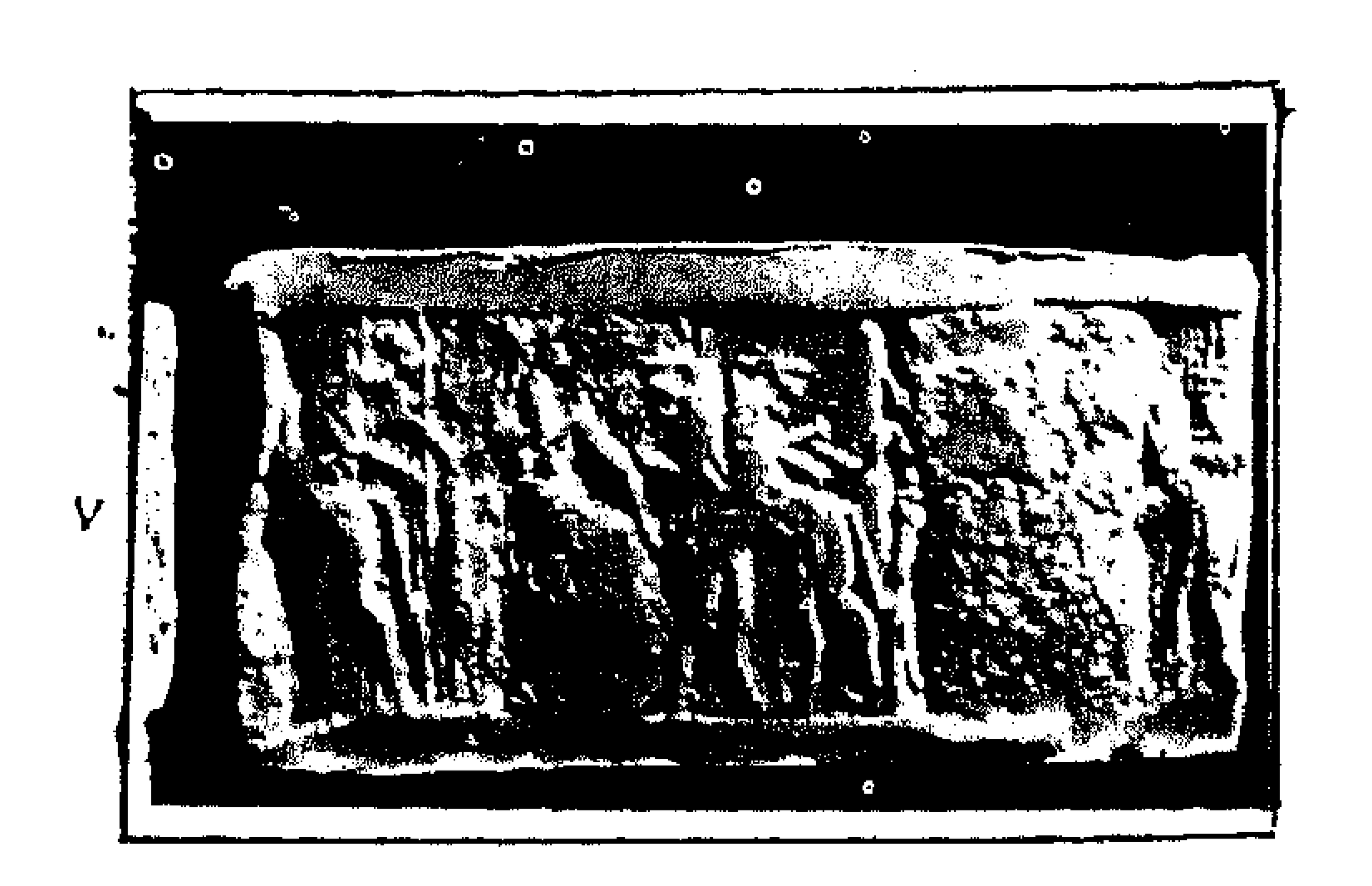


صورة ٣
صورة ٤

ختمان اسطوانيان تتألف نقوشهما من مجموعة خطوط رسمت بشكل تجريدي أومايسمى بالطراز الزركشي) وهما يعودان الى فترة الانتقال من العصر الشبيه بالكتابي الى عصر الكتابة أي عصر فجر السلالات الأول . ونجد هذا

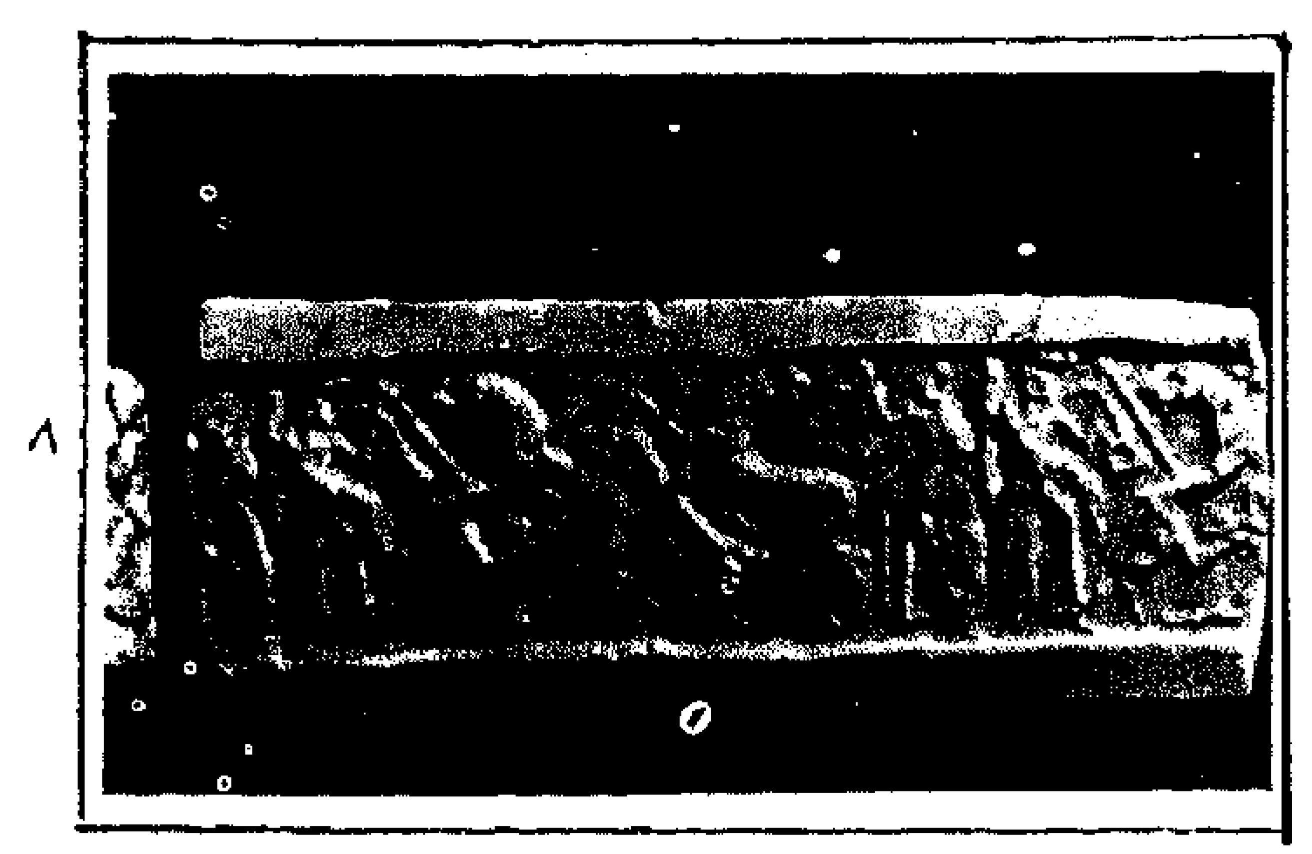


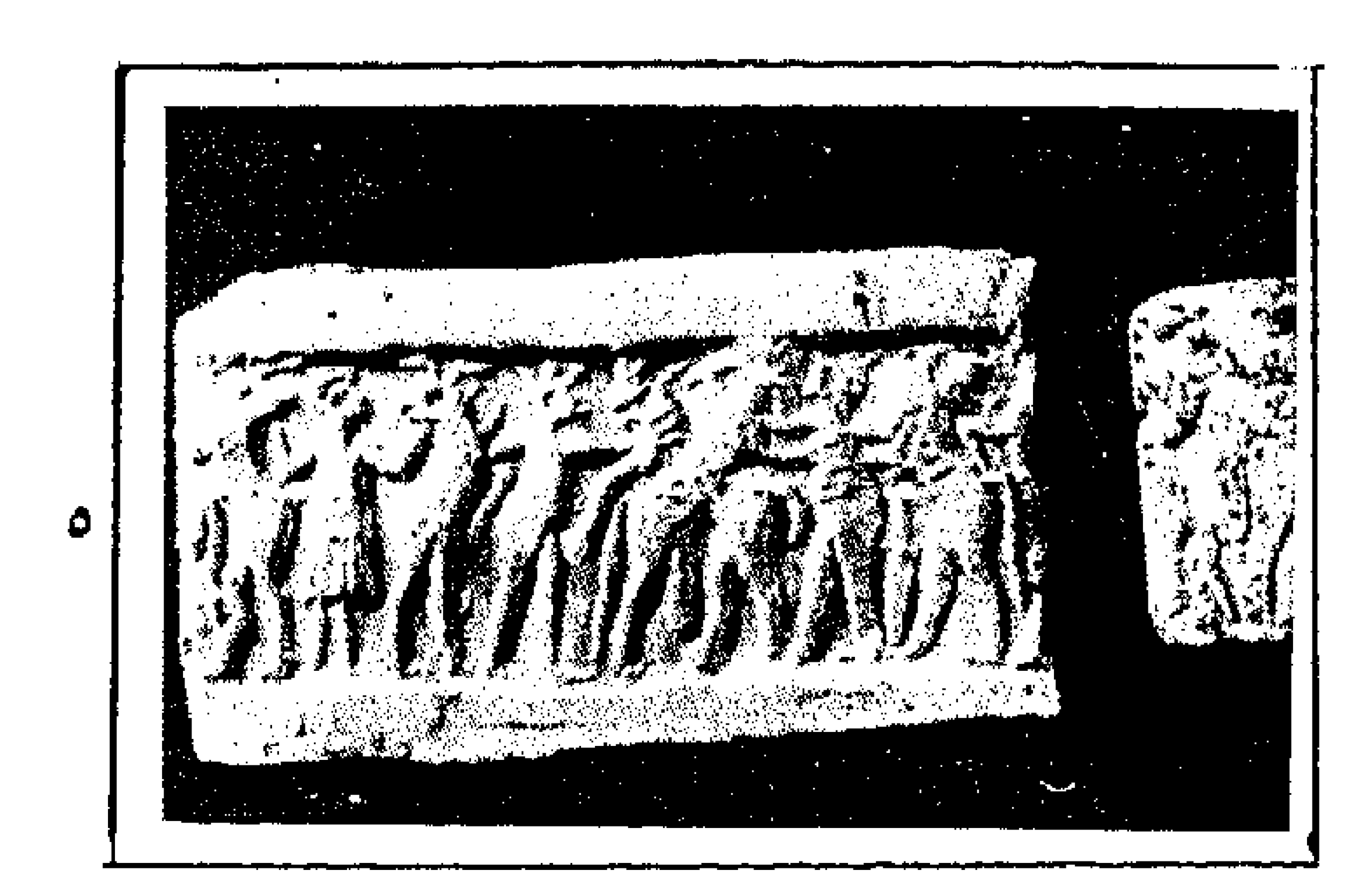

٤


٧

الطراز من النقش على أختام كثيرة منها منشور في كتاب ايدث بورادا وكذلك في كتاب هنري فرانكفورت .

صورة ٥
صورة ٦
صورة ٧
صورة ٨

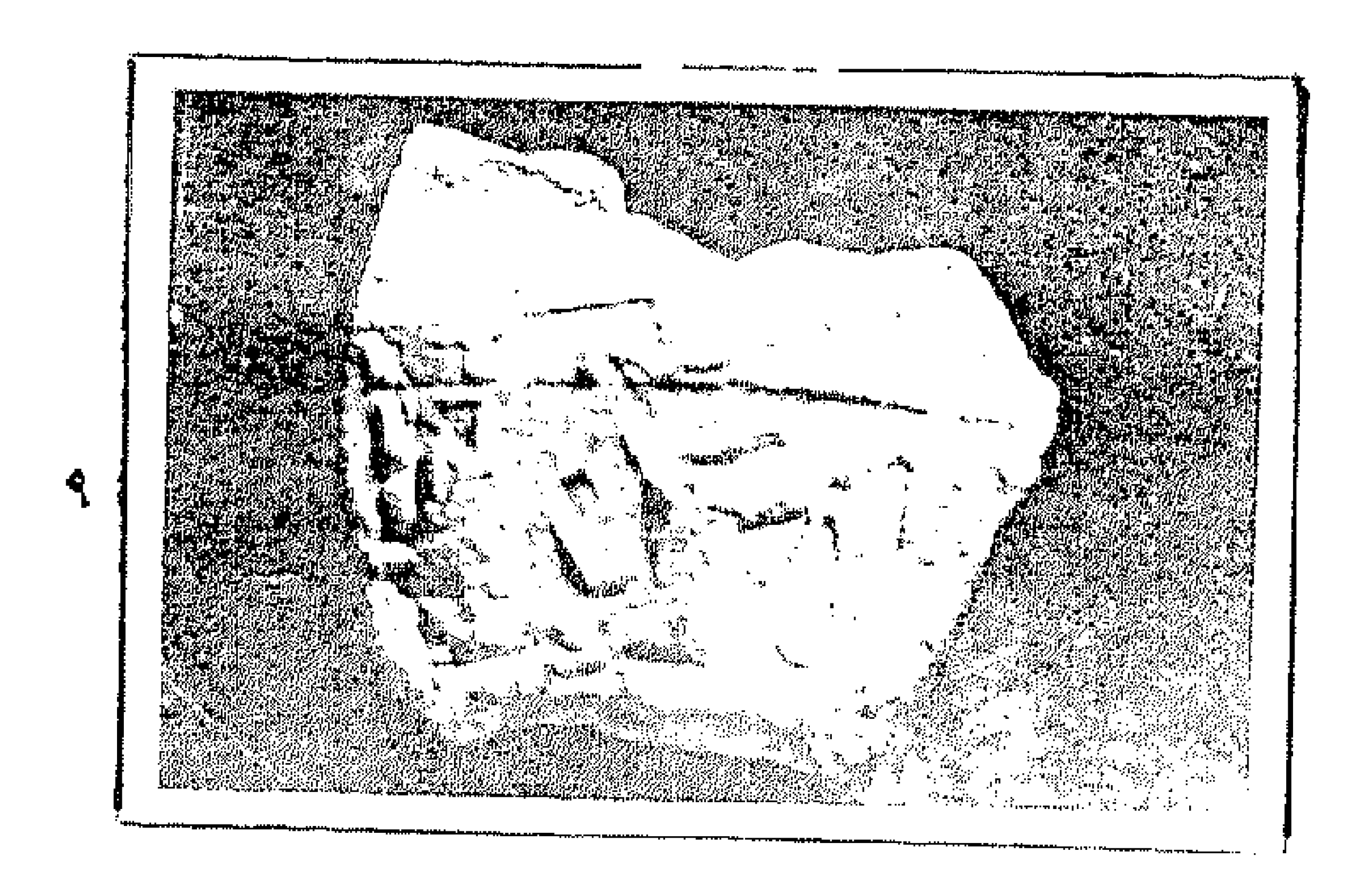

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٦

(وأربعة أختام اسطوانية تمثل مشاهدها صراع الحيوانات المفترسة والأليفة وتدخل الانسان أو البطل لحماية الأخيرة .. جميعها تعود الى عصر فجر السلالات الثاني) وكذلك الى مرحلة الانتقال من الثاني الى الثالث ونجد أيضاً أن موضوعات تلك الاختام واردة في اختام نشرها كل من هنري فرانكفورت في كتابه Cylinder Seals وبورادا وكذلك أنطوان مورتكات وقان بورن كما ترون في الامثلة المقارنة .

وهذه طبعة (ختم اسطواني يظهر فيها شخص يرتدي رداءاً يكشف عن ساقه الأيسر يتجه) باتجاه اليمين . في حين ادار جسمه الى الخلف ممسكاً بالغزال من ساقه الخلفي وقد تدلى الغزال الى الأسفل .. يعود الى عصر فجر السلالات الثاني .


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صورة ٩

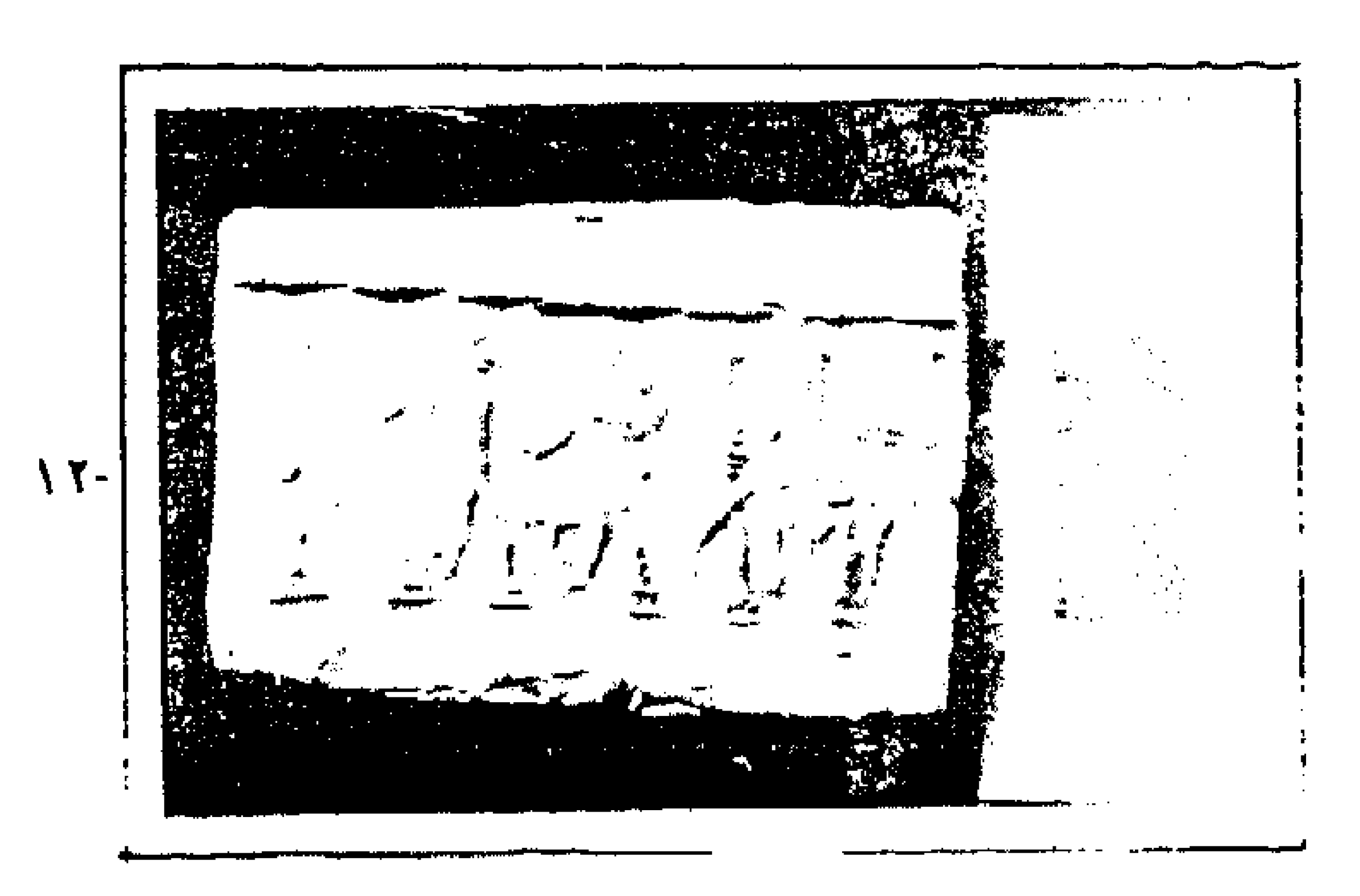
وهذا ختم اسطواني يعود الى العصر البابلي القديم . يتألف مشهده من الملك المحارب ببدلته الحربية يقف في مواجهة الألهة الداعية في الختم حقل من كتابة مسمارية غير واضحة ، وعناصر ثانوية منها الهلال ..... الخ .

صورة ١٠

وهذا الختم يرينا موضوعاً مشابهاً للختم السابق لهذين الختمين أمثلة مشابهة منشورة في كتاب مورتكات وبورادا .

صورة ١١

يتألف موضوع هذا الختم من شخص واقف يضع على رأسه قبعة وقد هاجمه من الجانبين مخلوقين مركبين من رأس أسد وجسم طير . وقد وقف في الجهة الأخرى الرجل الثور يرتدي قبعة ونطاقاً مثل بشكل خطين أمسك بكلتا يديه براية . في الختم عناصر ثانوية منها العصا والكرة والاناء والهلال .. يعود الى العصر البابلي القديم .. هناك مثال مشابه منشور في كتاب بورادا .

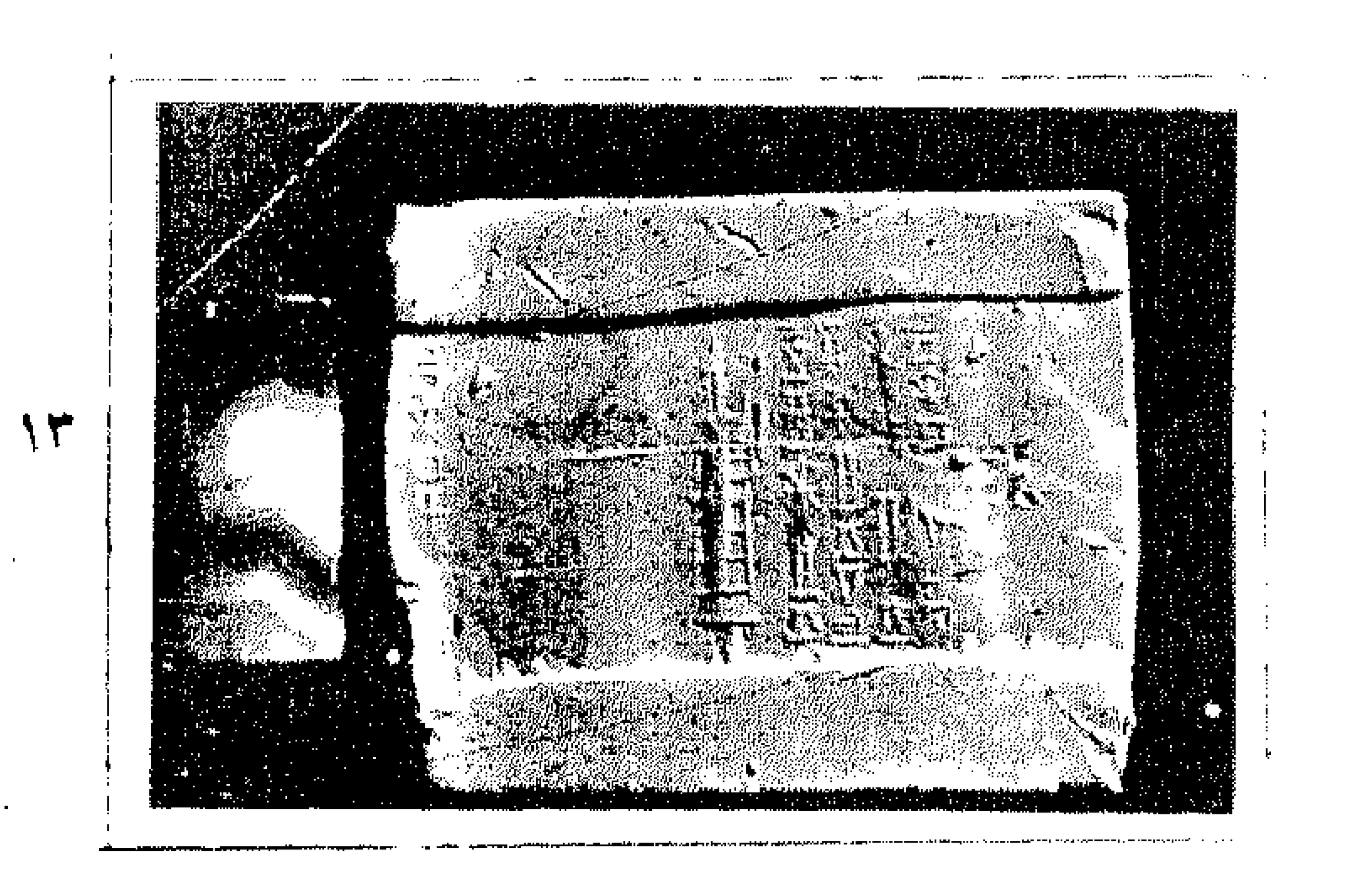


١٢-

صورة ١٢

يتألف موضوع هذا الختم من الهة واقفة في وضعية التعبد والدعاء باتجاه حقل من كتابة مسمارية .. يعود أيضاً الى العصر البابلي القديم أوعلى وجه التحديد هذا الطراز من النقش يعود الى مابعدعصر حمورابي (أي الىعصر سمسو ايلونا) .

ولهذا الختم أيضاً أمثلة كثيرة منشورة في كتاب مورتكات وبورادا .



١٣

صورة ١٣

ختم اسطواني رسمت أشكاله بشكل تجريدي جداً استطعت أن أميز منها عربة يجرها حيوان تحمل شخصاً واقفاً ممسكاً بلجام الحيوان .. يلاحظ في الختم أيضاً شخصان واقفان متقابلان يحتسيان الخمر (على الأكثر) من جرة بينهما حيث وضعا فيها قصبتين في حين وقفا على جسم انسان ممدد على الأرض ، أن هذا الموضوع ربما مُثِلَ ليعُبر عن مشهد احتفال بالنصر على عدوما ، وهو الممدد على الأرض .. ان هذا الطراز من الحفر على الأختام يجعلنا نعود بالختم الى العصر الآشوري القديم ، وعلى وجه التحديد أختام الشمال من أطراف المملكة الآشورية حيث قد يكون تقليداً لصناعة محلية لهذا الطراز من الأختام التي ترسم بشكل تجريدي .

هناك ختم مماثل من ناحية الطراز منشور في كتاب فان بورن .



صورة ١٤

ختم اسطواني يتألف موضوعه من شجرة (نخلة) تتدلى منها الثمار يقفز باتجاهها حيوان ذو قرن .. في الختم عناصر اخرى منها المخلوق المركب ونجمة وهلال .. نجد أمثلة تشابه هذا الختم منشورة في كتب بورادا وفرانكفورت .

صورة ١٦

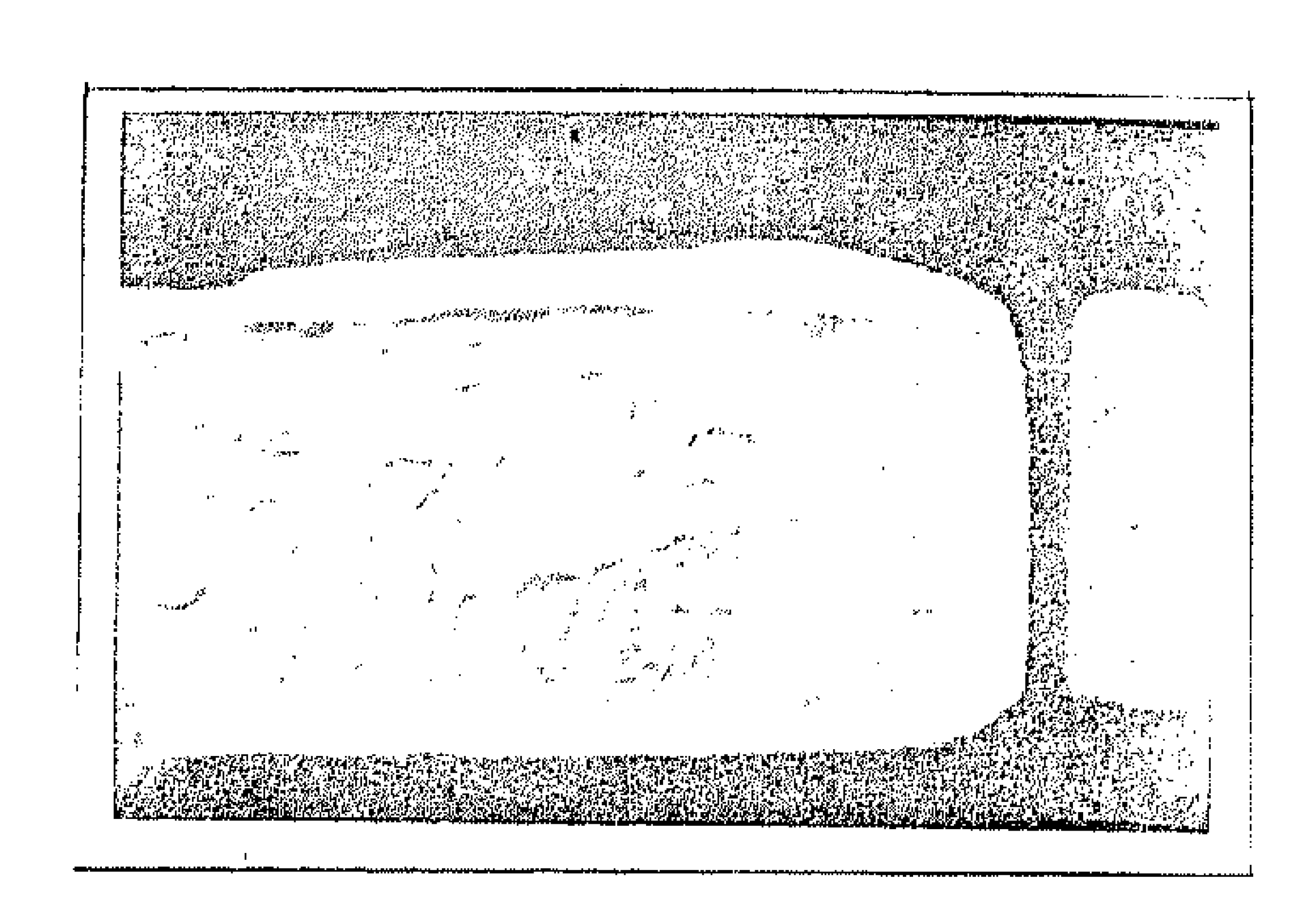
وهذا (ختم اسطواني دقيق النحت ملئت فيه جميع الفراغات تظهر النخلة في الوسط) ومثلت بشكل طبيعي على جانبيها وبمواجهتها يقف شخصان عاريان مجنحان وقد مدّ كل منهما يديه الى الأعلى يقف كل منهما على ظهر حيوان جاثم أحنى رأسه الى الأسفل في مواجهة جذع الشجرة .. هناك شخص ثالث عاري برزت عضلاته على غرار ما نجده في المنحوتات كما وضع ساقه الأيمن على ظهر أحد الحيوانين بينما ترك الأخرى سائبة .. في الختم قرص الشمس المجنح وهورمز الأله أشور .. يعود هذا الختم الى العصر الآشوري الحديث .

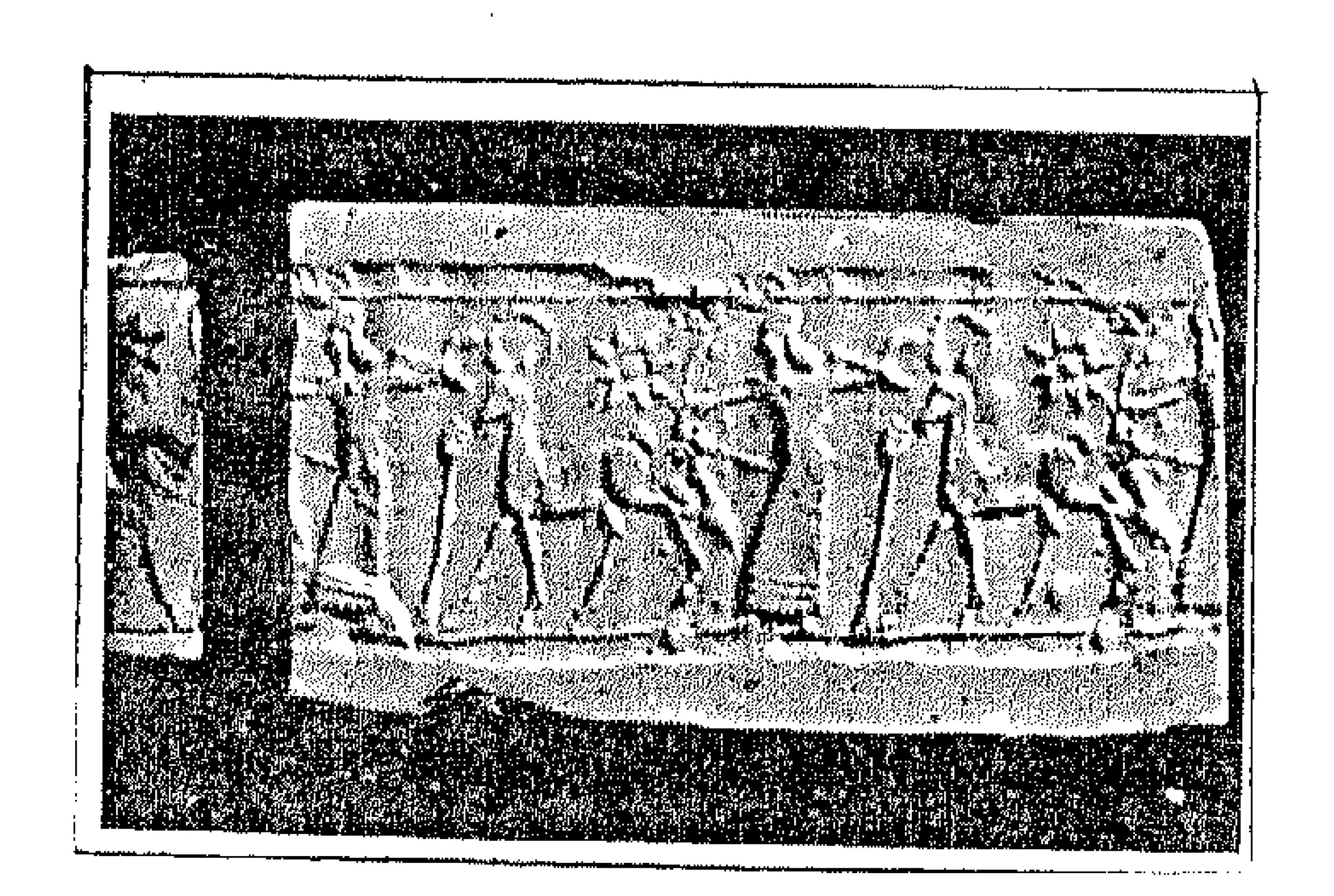


صورة ١٧ و١٨

ختمان منقوشان كلاهما بموضوع يمثل بطلاً يصوب من قوسه السهم نحو الغزال) من الخلف وهما يعودان الى العصر الآشوري الحديث (أي الى فترة القرن التاسع ق.م).. ترد موضوعات هذه الأختام كثيراً في أختام سبقت منشورة في كتاب مورتكات، وفان بورن وبورادا .

صورة ١٩ .. يشابه موضوع هذا الختم للموضوع الذي سبقه ماعدا وقوف الحيوان في مواجهة الصياد .





صورة ٢٠

وهذا (ختم آخريمثل مشهده ملكاً جالساً وأمامه جرة الخمريقف في خدمته شخصان) .. في أعلى الختم رمز الأله أشور.. يعود الى العصر الآشوري الحديث .

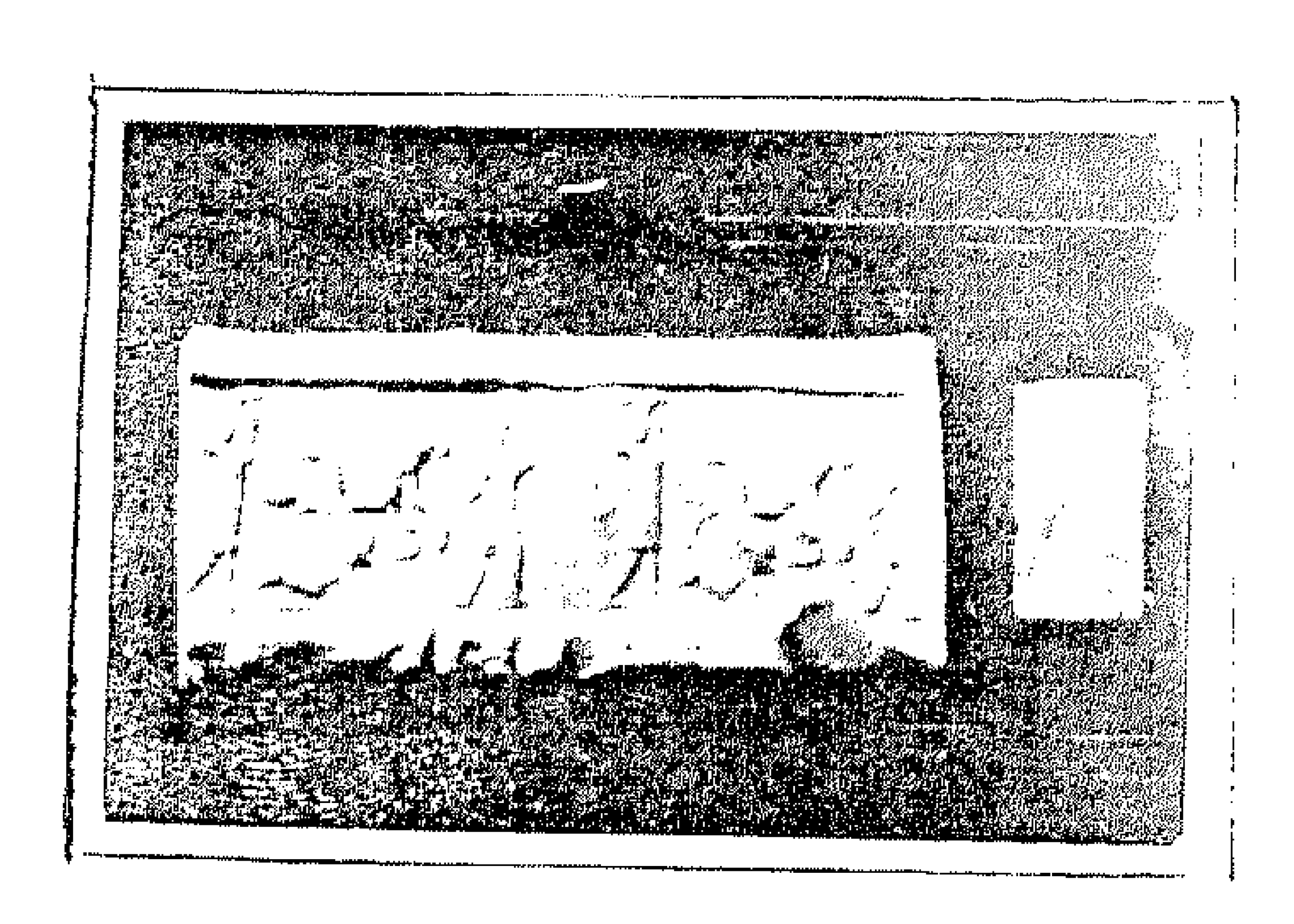
صورة ٢١

(وختم آخريمثل مشهده شخصين بينهما رمزكبير للاله أشور) يمسكان به . نقش تحت الرمزكلب .. في الختم عناصر ثانوية .

صورة ٢٢

ختم اسطواني يتألف مشهده من حيوانين وثب أحدهما على ظهر الآخر في حين نشاهد حيواناً آخرثالثاً صغيراً يرضع من أحد الحيوانات على جانبي الحيوانين شخصان متشابهان أختلفا في نوع الرداء فقط أمسك كل منهما بسلاح رفعه الى الأعلى .. يعود الختم الى العصر الآشوري الحديث .

هناك مجموعة أختام اسطوانية سنستعرضها معاً وهي من العصر الاشوري الحديث أيضاً لكن مشاهدها تضم صفاً من حيوانات مركبة أو خرافية رسم البعض منها بشكل تجريدي نعرض منها :



صورة ٢٣ ، ٢٤

يشبه السلايد الثاني الأول من حيث الموضوع ويختلف عنه في نوع الحيوان حيث نشاهد هنا الطير المركب في حالة تحليق .

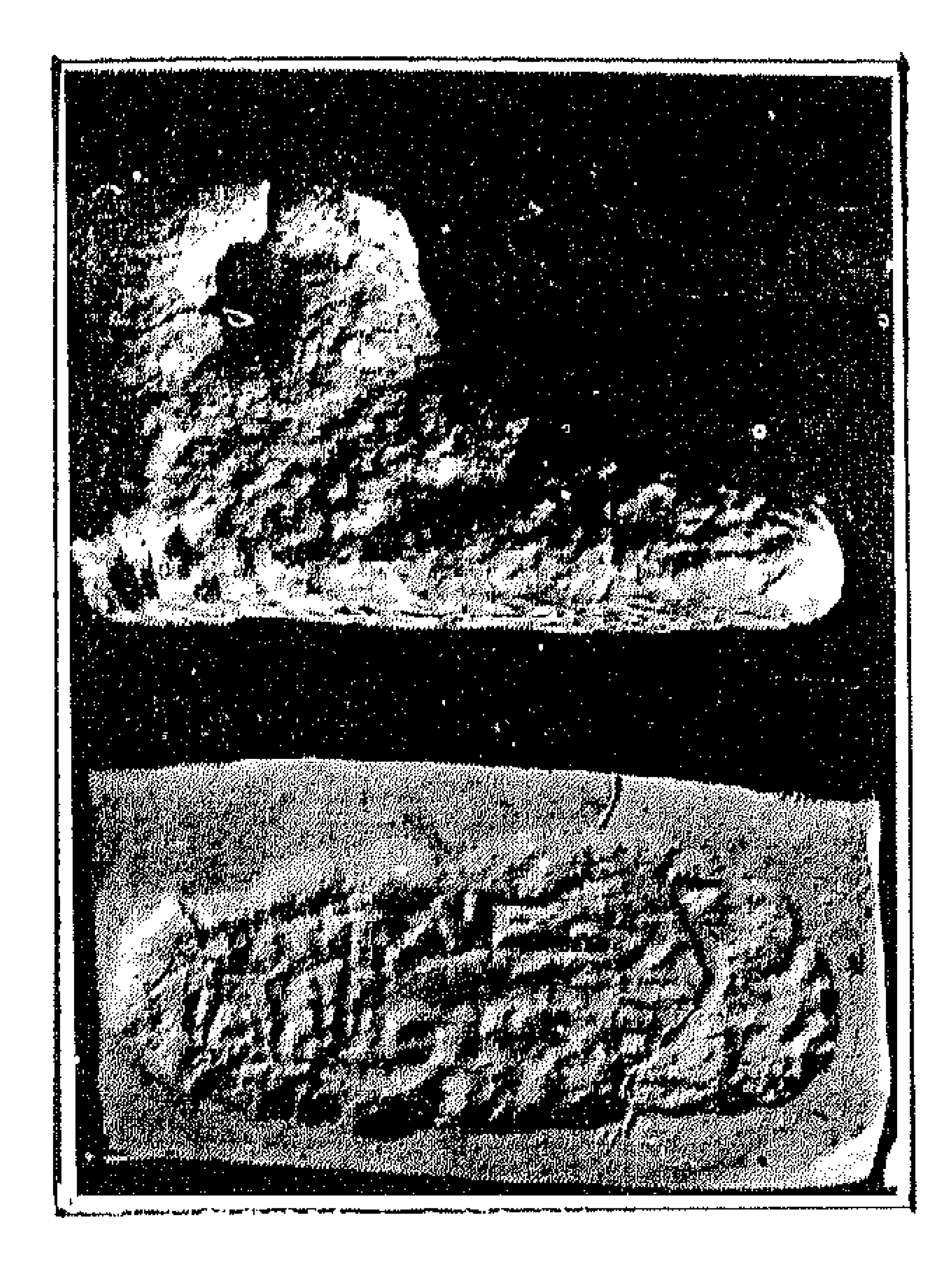
صورة ٢٥

يضم حيوانات في حالة جري رسمت بشكل تجريدي .

وقد عثر في مواقع حديثة المتعددة بالاضافة الى الأختام الاسطوانية على مجموعة أختام منبسطة وهي تعود الى فترات مختلفة نشاهد منها :

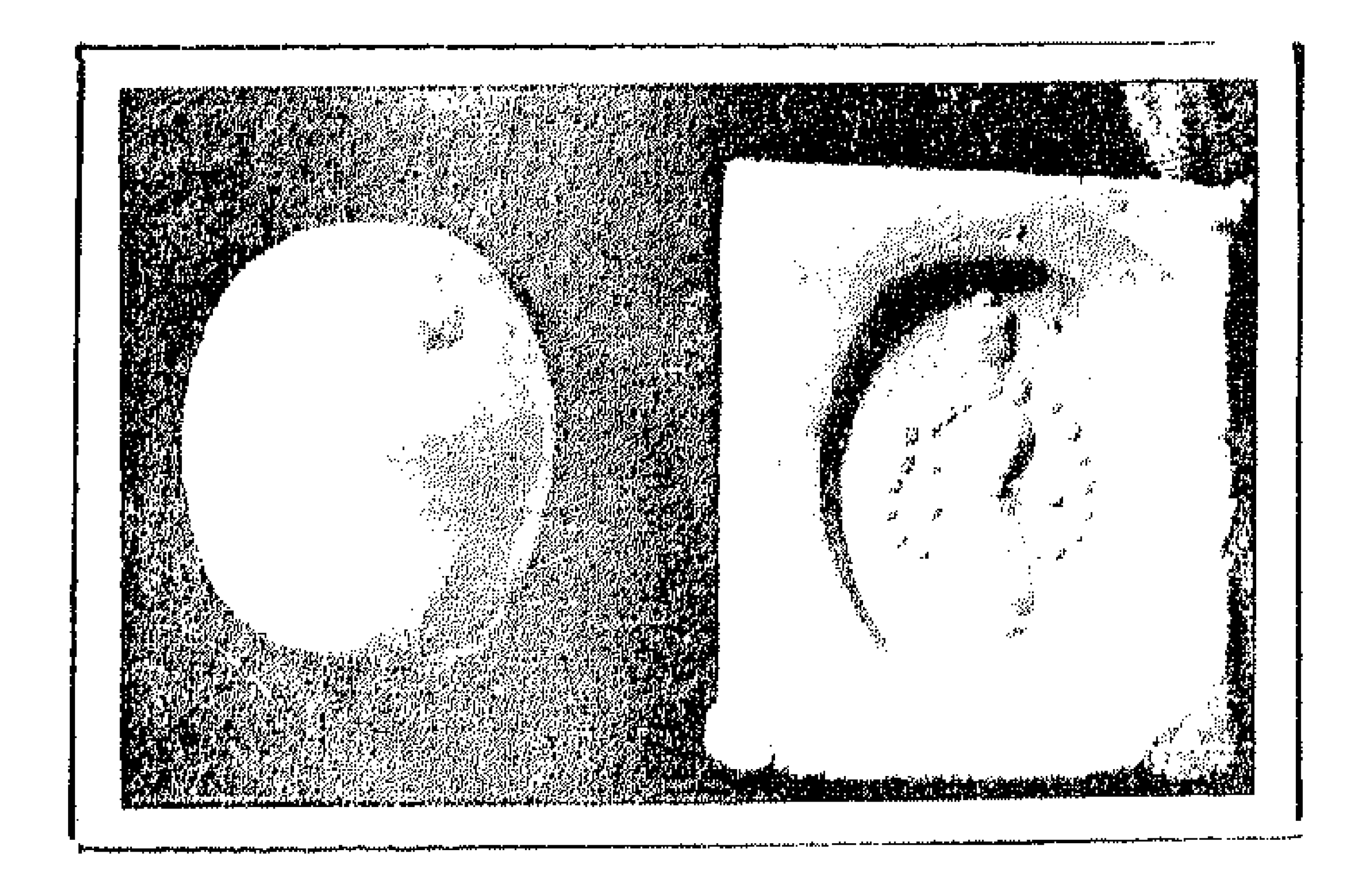
صورة ٢٨ .

ختم منبسط عمل بشكل قدم انسان نقش أسفله بنقش غير واضح . وهو من حيث الشكل يعتبر من الأختام المنبسطة الفريدة يعود الى عصر جمدة نصر .



صورة ٢٩

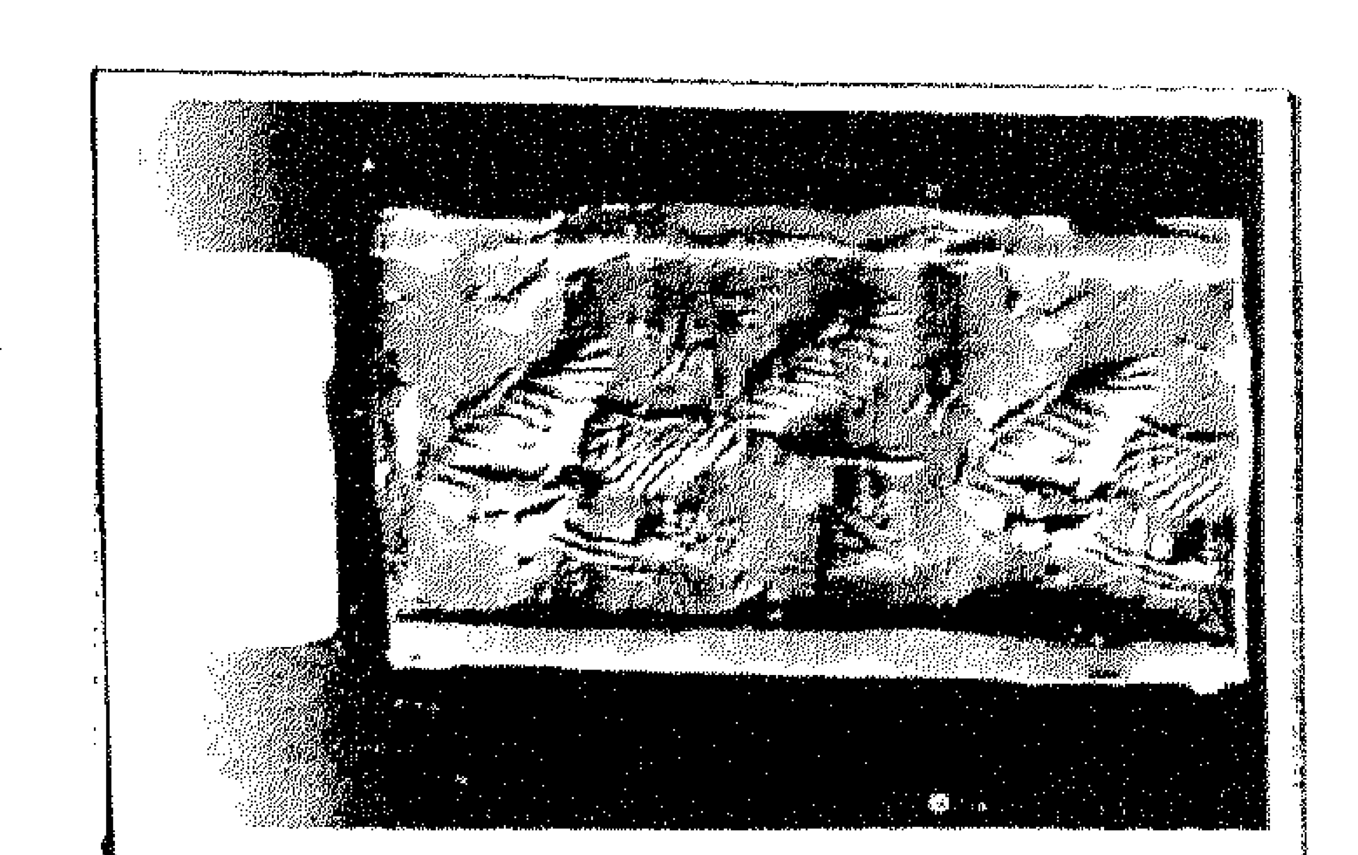
ختم منبسط يضم شخصاً ربما يمثل الهاً أوملكاً محاطاً بهالة رسمت بشكل كرات صغيرة . نظمت بشكل دائري . يعود الختم الى العصر الاشوري الحديث .. وقد ورد ذلك النقش كثيراً على أختام مشابهة وحتى على أختام اسطوانية .

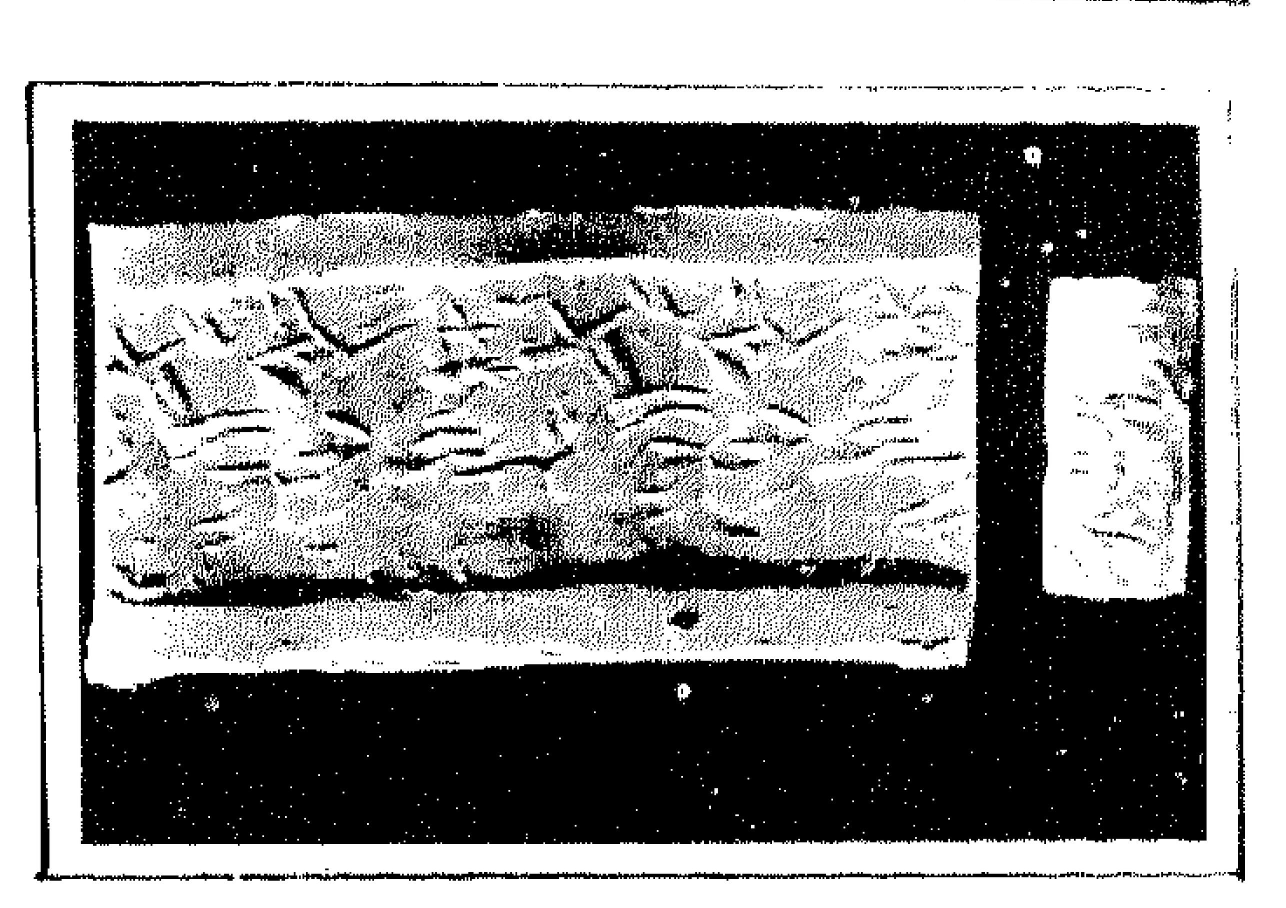


صورة ٣٠

ختم منبسط اخر من العصر الاشوري الحديث يقف فيه شخص رفع يديه الى الأعلى في هيئة تضرع وتعبد أمام نصب للبخور . في الأعلى نجمة . للختم أمثلة مشابهة منشورة في بورادا .

وقد ظهرت أختام منبسطة اخرى من مواقع حديثة تعود جميعها الى فترات متأخرة . في الأكثر . الى العصر البابلي الحديث نشاهد منها :





صورة ٢٦

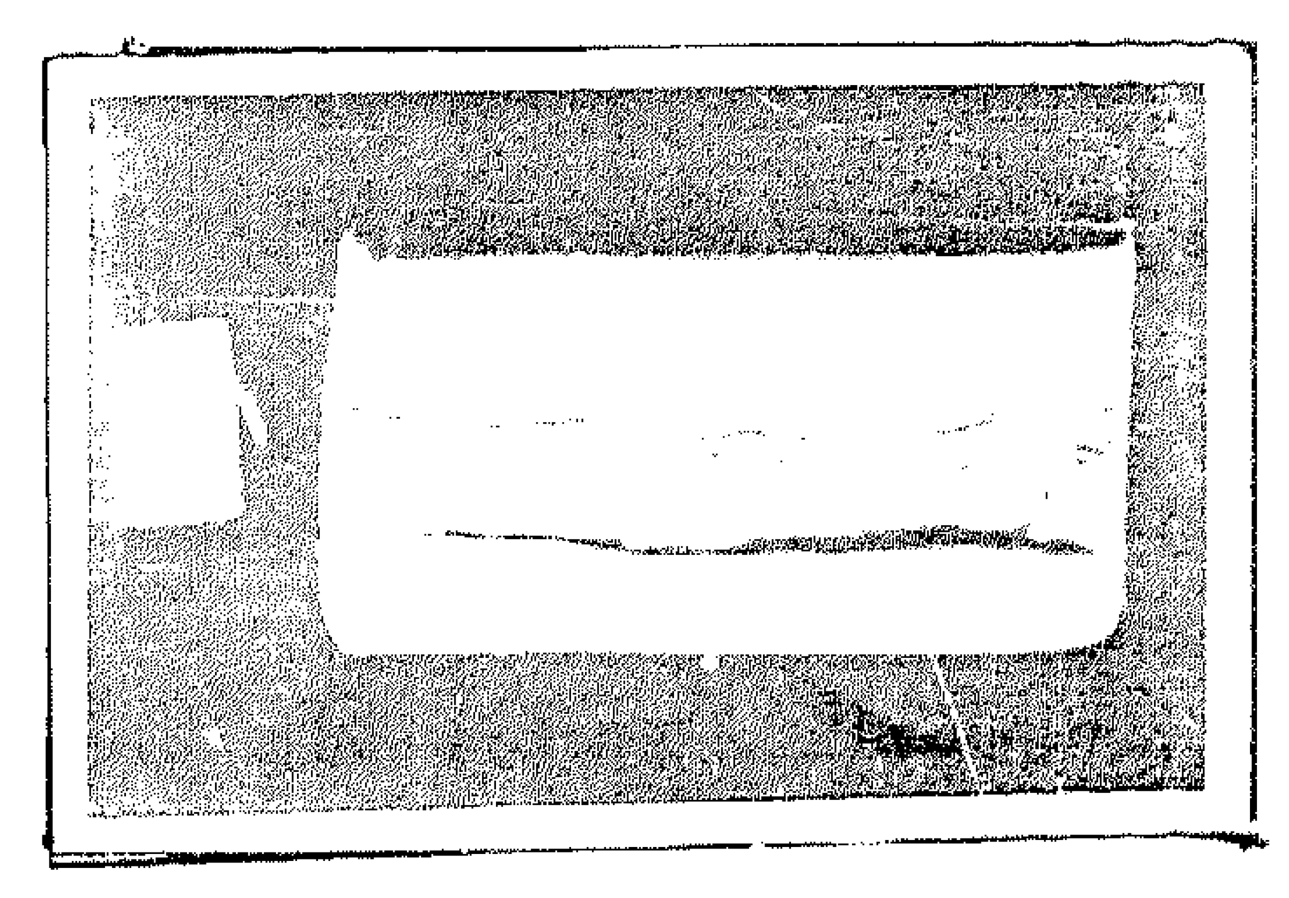
نفس الموضوع

أمثلة مقارنة للاختام السابقة نجدها في كتاب مورتكات .



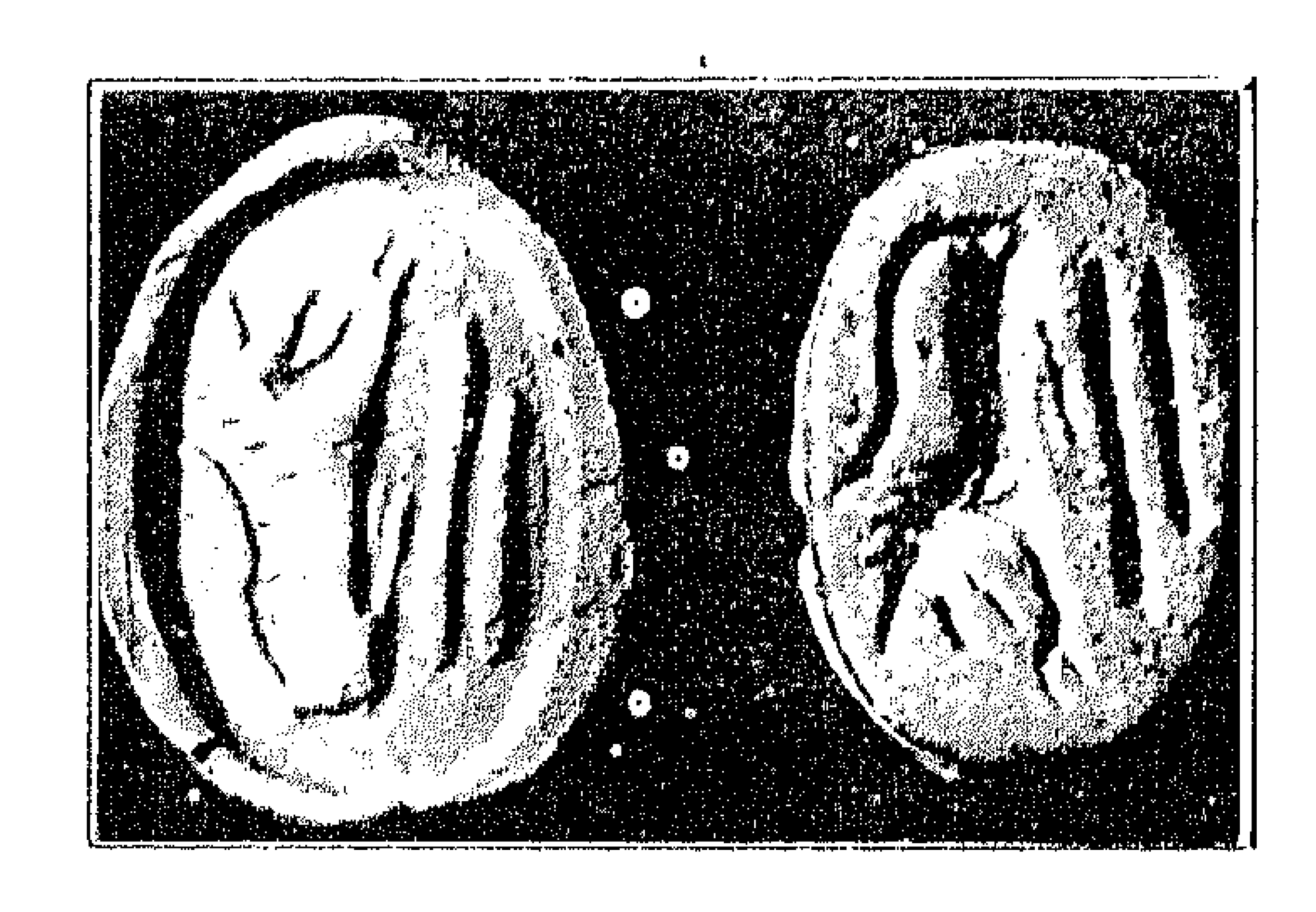
صورة ٢٧

يتألف موضوع هذا الختم من مخلوقين خرافيين نقش أحدهما في مواجهة الآخر في حالة هجوم وقد تشابكت أيديهم الأمامية . في الختم شجرة تعلوها نجمة وكذلك هلال . يعود الى العصر الاشوري الحديث .



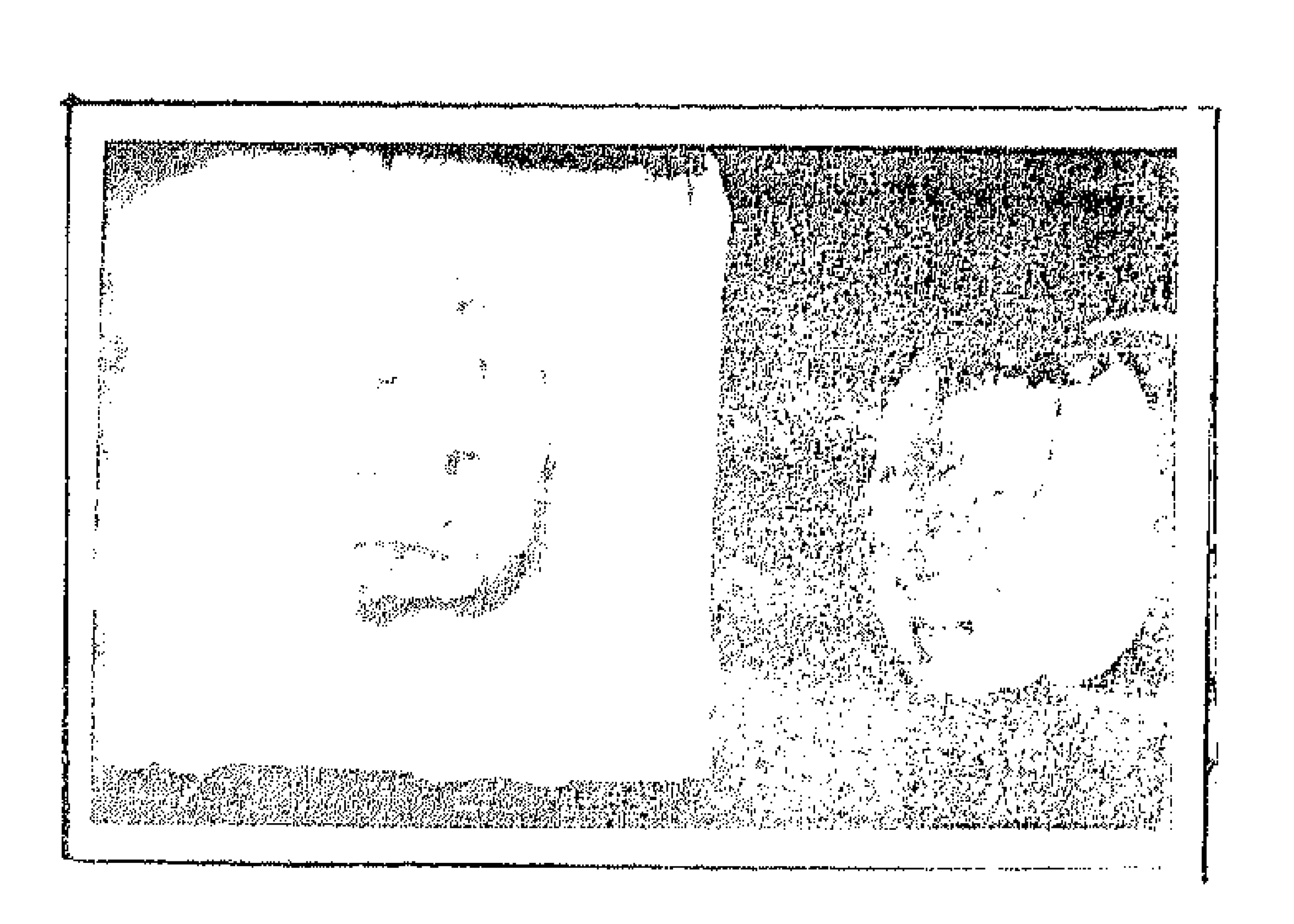
صورة ٣١

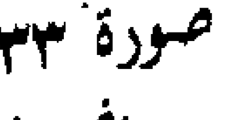
نرى أسداً جاثماً فاغراً فمه ورافعاً ذنبه الى الأعلى تحته خــطان .



صورة ٣٢

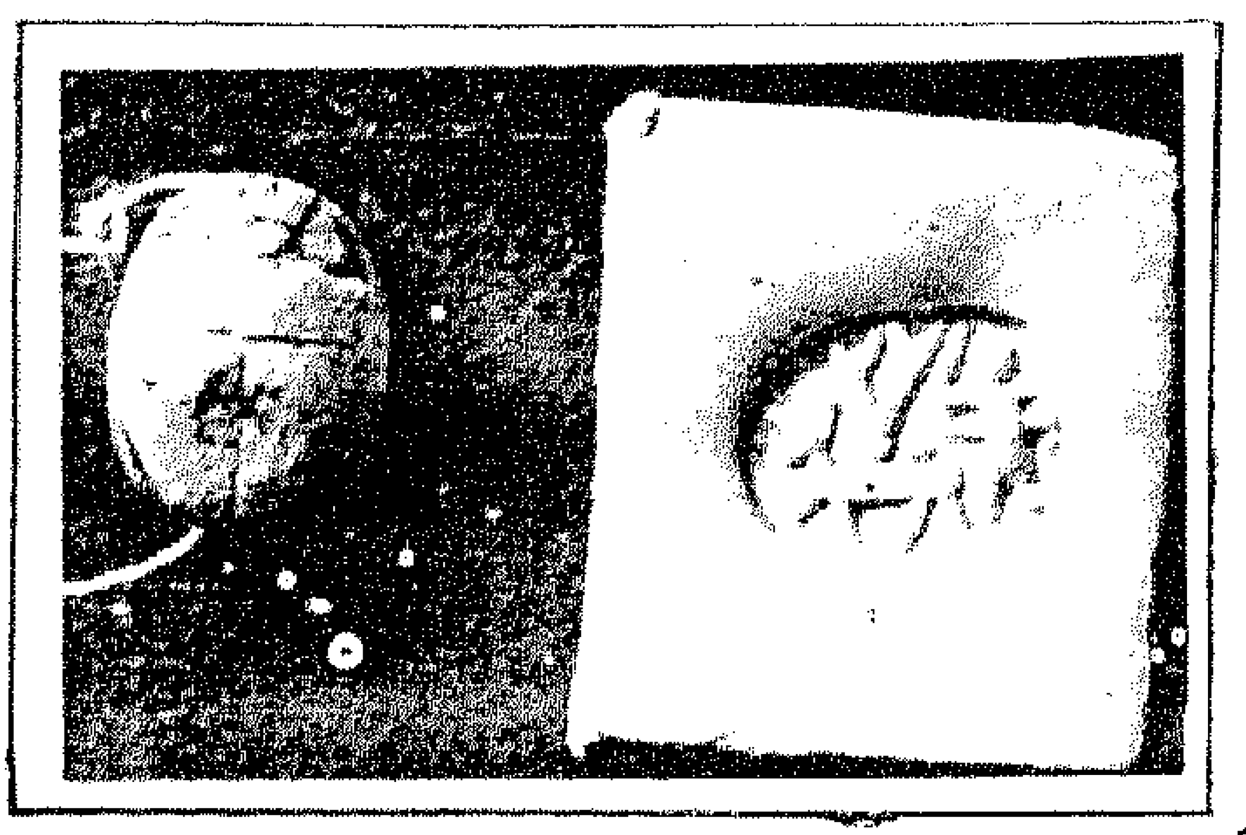
ختم منبسط اخرنشاهد ضمن مشهده . ركيزة في الوسط جثت عليها حمامتان مثلتا بجسم واحد يتجه رأسيهما الى جهتين مختلفتين وهناك شخصان واقفان غير واضحي المعالم .





صورة ٣٣

يضم مشهد هذا الختم حيواناً رسم بشكل تجريدي ، وقف خلفه شخص ممسك بذيله . على ظهره عمودان يتصلان ببعضهما من الأسفل ، وينتهيان من الأعلى بشكل هلال وجوده هنا ربما لملأ الفراغ .



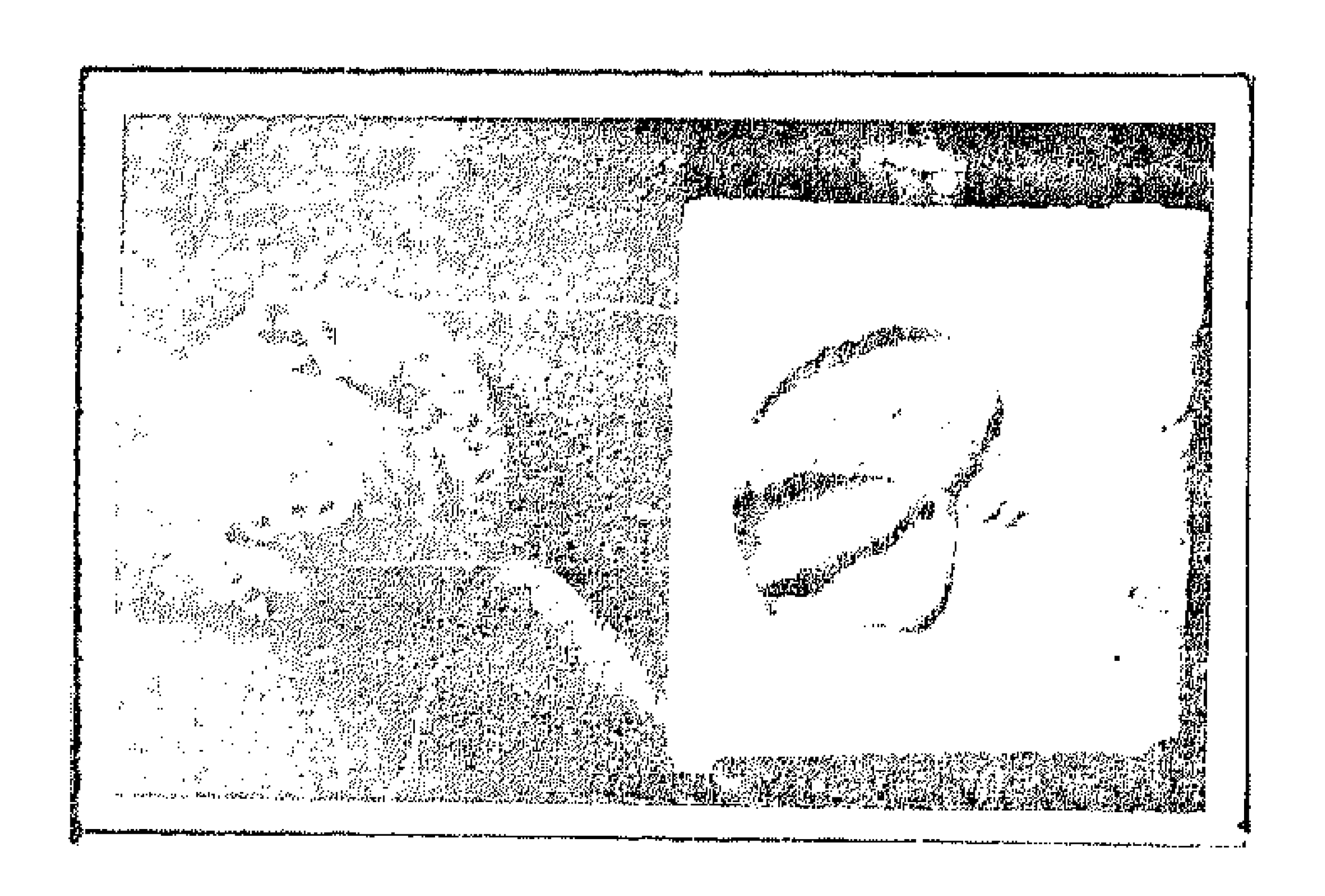
صورة ٣٤

نقش هذا الختم بشكل بمثل حيوانين رأسيهما غير واضحة .



صورة ٣٥

يتألف مشهد هذا الختم من حيوان . ربما يمثل الغزال أوربما يمثل طيراً وقد غرس الطير الجارح . الذي ظهررأسه فقط . منقاره في رقبة هذا الحيوان أوالطير.



عالم (الزمان – المكان – العدد)
عند قدماء العراقيين

زهير محمد حسن

يوماً بعد يوم . تتراكم الادلة على اصالة وعظمة حضارة اجدادنا في وادي الرافدين . وتتضح وبصورة لاتقبل الشك . ابعاد وتأثيرات هذه الحضارة على الحضارات الاخرى في جميع المجالات . ولحد الوقت الحاضر . مما يؤكد عبقرية ومكانة البنية او الهيكل الذي ارتكزت عليه هذه الحضارة اصلاً . بحيث استطاعت أن تطغي على جميع من جاورها . وأن تستمر الاف السنين بدون تغييرات جوهرية في الاساس .

ان الدور الرئيس الذي لعبه اجدادنا في التأثير على جميع الحضارات اللاحقة هو حسن اختيارهم للرموز اللازمة لتطوير الانسانية . بحيث تكون قادرة على تفسير اكبر عدد ممكن من الظواهر الطبيعية . وبطريقة اقتصادية . رغم ذلك . عند اختراعهم للنظام العددي العشري الستيني .

ارتكزت على هذا النظام العددي جميع معتقداتهم والامور الاخرى . من علم الفلك والرياضيات وعلم الكلام وايقاعات الشعر والغناء والموسيقى وغيرها من العلوم والفنون . نسجت جميعها على منوال هذا النظام العددي المتجانس الذي يمثل نظرتهم الى الكون والالهة والانسان . والعلاقة بينهما ممثلة برموز عددية تربط الزمان والحركة بالمكان بصورة اقتصادية أي التعبير عن كامل المضمون باقل عدد ممكن من الرموز .

قبل سنتين توصل الباحث الى انظمة متواليات عددية . واستطاع تحليل ايقاعات الشعر . ومعرفة بحوره بواسطتها . ومنذ البداية اتضح له بان هذه المتواليات العددية ما هي الآ رموز زمانية مكانية . لتنظيم بنية اللغة الصوتية . ولها علاقة مباشرة بالنظام العددي العشري الستيني . الذي اخترعه اجدادنا في وادي الرافدين . الموضوع الحالي بخص تأملات حول النظام العشري الستيني لبلاد الرافدين . وسوف تؤجل بحور الشعر وبنية اللغة الصوتية لمطبوع مستقل . فقط نماذج من التقطيع للشعر العمودي والحديث حسب النظرية الجديدة . والعمود النهائي . لعدد البحور وعدد الاصوات او الحروف في اللغات المتكونه ستدرج في نهاية هذا البحث (انظر شكل رقم (١١) و (١٢) .

الخطوط الرئيسية للنظام العشري الستيني . ستدرج اولاً بعد ذلك تحليلاً لأسطورة الخليقة البابلية . على ضوء هذه الأعداد . بعد ذلك احصاء للاعداد المذكورة . في نص ملحمة كلكامش . وعلاقة هذه الأعداد بالنظام . وأخيراً بعد الملاحظات حول اللعبة الملكية من أور والألعاب الشرقية الأخرى ، كالشطرنج والدمينو ولعبة الورق . حيث بنتيجة البحث تبين ارتباطها جميعاً بعبقرية أجدادنا في بلاد الرافدين . وعلاقتها المباشرة بحضارة وادي الرافدين ، والنظام العشري الستيني بالذات .

ارتبط الزمان بالمكان في وادي الرافدين منذ أقدم العصور ، حتى أن قسماً من اسماء الأوقات . مشتق من أسماء الأطوار والميل السومري (دانة) هي المسافة التي يقطعها الفرد ماشياً خلال ساعة سومرية أي خلال ساعتين من توقيتنا الحالي ، وحسب معتقداتهم فأن المكان ينقسم الى ثلاثة أجزاء ، السماء والأرض والعالم السفلي . ومأهول بالآلهة والبشر والأموات على التوالي . أما الزمان فيتكون من الزمن المستمر الأبدي الخاص بالآلهة (Universal) ، وزمن البشر زمن الغناء والايقاع والأبتهال الى الآلهة (Temporal) أما الأموات فقد استنفذوا أيامهم المعدودة ونزلوا في مكان اللارجعة (عالم الأموات) .

رمز أجدادنا للزمان بالعدد خمسة . وللمكان بالعدد ثمانية ، وسوف لانتطرق الى التبريرات الرياضية لذلك الاله لضيق المجال . فالزمان لديهم يتكون من خمسة أجزاء . مرتبة على شكل دائرة . بحيث يكون موقع الصفر والخمسة في أعلى الدائرة في نقطة واحدة . ومن هذه الأعداد جاء النظامان العشري (زمن البشر) والستيني (زمن الألهة الأبدي) عند ترتيب هذه الأعداد في متواليات اوسلاسل . وهذه المتواليات بسيطة التكوين . وكل عدد منها يساوي مجموع العددين السابقين له . مع الرجوع الى الواحد بعد الخمسة . حيث أن الصفر والخمسة يحتلان الموقع نفسه وكما جاء أعلاه وابتداءاً بالواحد . نحصل على الزمن الستيني : (٥١٤٢٢٥٢٣٤٤٥٤١٣٣٥٣٢١١) مكررة الى مالانهاية . عند جمع أعداد المتوالية نحصل على ستين ثانية قديمة . فهو وقت يستمر بصورة دائرية الى الأبد أما الوقت العشري (الزمن البشري) فابتداءا من الأثنين نحصل على أزمنة الأيقاع .

(٤٣١٢) مكررتان الى ما لا نهاية .

عند جمع اعداد المتوالية نحصل على عشرة ثواني قديمة (الثانية القديمة تساوي ربع الثانية الزمنية الحالية أوما يستغرق التلفظ بحرف . اوبصوت واحد في الانشاء) وهو وقت محدد كميا . ومحدد باتجاه واحد في اركان (انظر الشكل رقم ١) .

والمكان يتكون من ثمانية اجزاء مرتبة على شكل دائري كذلك ، بحيث يكون موقع الصفر والثمانية في نقطة واحدة ، ويتطلب الامر ثلاث سلاسل او متواليات عددية لخلق هذه الاعداد الثمانية ، وكل متوالية تكرر نفسها الى مالانهاية بعد اثني عشر عدداً ، وبعدد ساعات اليوم المضاعفة (انظر الشكل رقم ٣، ٤، ٥) . وتتكون كل متوالية من ثلاثين مقطعاً صوتياً اودقيقة (ما عدا المكونات الاولية) ، وتجمع اعداد هذه المتوالية ثمانية واربعين ثانية ، ومع الفواصل الزمنية التي تفصل مكانياً بين عدد وآخر ، يكون مجموع الثواني لكل سلسلة اومتوالية عددية (٦٠) ستين ثانية ، وهذه المتواليات بسيطة التكوين كذلك ، وكل عدد يساوي مجموع العددين السابقين له مع الرجوع الى الواحد بعد الثمانية ، حيث أن الصفر والثمانية يمتد نفس الموقع وابتداءاً بالواحد نحصل على :

متوالية الاحد (الشمس)

(١ . ١ . ٢ . ٣ . ٥ . ٨ . ٥ . ٥ . ٢ . ٧ . ١ . ٨ .) مكررة الى مالانهاية

وابتداءاً بالاثنين نحصل على متوالية الاثنين (القمر).

(٢ . ١ . ٣ . ٤ . ٧ . ٣ . ٢ . ٥ . ٧ . ٤ . ٣ . ٧ .) مكررة الى مالانهاية

وابتداءاً بالثلاثة نحصل على متوالية الثلاثاء (المريخ)

(٣ . ١ . ٤ . ٥ . ١ . ٦ . ٧ . ٥ . ٤ . ١ . ٥ . ٦ .) مكررة الى مالانهاية

وفي الحقيقة فان متوالية الثلاثاء ، هي ظل او صورة متوالية الاثنين ، وكما يتضح ذلك من شكل رقم ٣ وعند جمع متوالية الثلاثاء ومتوالية الاثنين فاننا نحصل على متوالية الاحد وبذلك نكون قد ادركنا الواحد من الثلاثة (الثلاثة الى الاثنين والاثنين الى الواحد).

ومن متوالية الاحد نحصل على متوالية السبت اذا بدانا بالمتوالية مع العدد سبعة (زحل) . (٧ . ١ . ٨ . ١٠١ . ٢ . ٣ . ٥ . ٨ . ٥ . ٥ . ٢ .) مكررة الى ما لانهاية

ومن متوالية الثلاثاء نحصل على متوالية الاربعاء والخميس ، اذا بدأنا بالعدد اربعة وخمسة متبوعة بالواحد .

الاربعاء (عطارد)

(٤ . ١ . ٥ . ٦ . ٣ . ١ . ٤ . ٥ . ١ . ٦ . ٧ . ٥ .) مكررة الى مالانهاية

الخميس (المشتري)

(٥ . ١ . ٦ . ٧ . ٥ . ٤ . ١ . ٥ . ٦ . ٣ . ١ . ٤ .) مكررة الى مالانهاية

أما يوم الجمعة (الزهرة) فيتكون من جمع اوقران متواليتي الشمس والقمر ، ومشابهة لمتوالية الاثنين بنسبة زحف ٥ الى ٧

(٣ . ٢ . ٥ . ٧ . ٤ . ٣ . ٧ . ٢ . ١ . ٣ . ٤ . ٧ .) مكررة الى ما لانهاية

وبذلك نحصل على أيام الاسبوع السبعة ، وبعدد الاجرام السماوية المعروفة انذاك . انظر الشكل رقم (٦) .

أما عن قياس الوقت فالمقارنة ادناه قد تفسر التقسيمات الى ساعات ودقائق وثواني ، وارتباط قياسات الوقت الحالي بالاسس القديمة

	ساعة	دقيقة	ثانية
قياسات بلاد الرافدين القديمة	١٢	٤×٣٠	٤×٦٠
=			
قياسات الوقت حالياً	٢٤	٦٠	٦٠

ان التأملات التي حاول العراقيون الاقدمون أن يخترقوا بها الغموض الذي يكتنف اصل الكون ، بنيت حسب اعتقادي ، على المباديء الاولية للنظام العشري الستيني ، أو بالأحرى القول بان النظام العددي اخترع كأداة الفلسفة ولربط ، وتفسير الظواهر الطبيعية وعلاقتها بالإنسان ، ولفهم هذه العلاقة نرجع الى اسطورة « عندما في الاعالي » . لقد كتبت هذه الاسطورة باللغة الاكدية في اواسط الالف الثاني ق.م. من اصل سومري وتتضح في هذه الاسطورة أبكر مرحلة من مراحل الكون ، وهو بعد فوض من الماء ، ومن الممكن الرجوع الى المصادر العديدة حول تفاصيل هذه الاسطورة . التفسير المختصر ادناه ممكن حسب رأيي ، وخاصة ما يتعلق باعداد النظام العشري الستيني .

ففي الاسطورة تتألف المتوالية من ثلاثة عناصر متداخلة اوبالاحرى ثلاثة صور للواحد . الأب (آبسو) ويمثل المياه العذبة (ماء المطر) الأم (ممو) ويمثل حسب رأيي تراب الارض (Mother Earth) وتيامات ويمثل حسب رأيي الطين (طيانات) اوالمياه المالحة وذلك اذا اعتبرنا بان ماء المطر ممكن هطوله على اليابسة اوالبحر . وبداية الخلق كانت (الالهة) حيث من الماء والتراب والطين وماء البحر ، ولدت الالهة انشاروكيشار ، وانشاروكيشار يلدان آنو اله السماء ، ويلد هذا نوديموت اله المياه العذبة وبقية الآلهة (انظر شكل ٦ آ) ومن اول متوالية للمكان . وعند تذمر الالهة من العمل ثم التفكير بخلق البشرية لتقدم عن الالهة بالعمل ، فاخذ الطين (تيامات) وخلط بالماء اودم احد الالهة في نص اخروولد لحمو (آدم) ولحامو (حواء) وبقية المخلوقات انظر شكل رقم (٦ آ) المتوالية الثانية للمكان ، ولكون البشر معدودة ، والخلود للالهة فقد ارجع لحمو الى التراب ، ثم خلق العالم السفلي وحراسه (متوالية المكان الثالثة).

اما عند إحصاء الاعداد المذكورة في نص ملحمة كلكامش مع العلم بان اقدم مدونات هذه الملحمة جاءت باللغة السومرية ، فان تعداداً اولياً يبين بان الاعداد سبعة وستة وثلاثة (٧، ٦، ٣) تكررت اربعة وعشرين ، واثني عشر ، واثني عشر مرة على التوالي وجاءت الستة مرتبطة بالسبعة سبع مرات .

أما الاعداد اثنان ، عشرون ، وثلاثون (٢ . ٢٠ . ٣٠) فتكررت ستة مرات لكل عدد والأعداد واحد ، واثنا عشر ومائة وعشرين (١ ، ١٢ ، ١٢٠) فتكررت أربعة مرات لكل عدد وكذلك النسبة ثلث وثلثين . وفي الحقيقة من الممكن ايجاد علاقة مباشرة بين جميع الاعداد المذكورة في ملحمة كلكامش ، والنظام العشري – الستيني لحضارات بلاد الرافدين ، ما عدا العدد عشرة الاف الذي جاء مرتين في النص .

اذا كانت هذه المقارنات تعني اي شيء ، فهي تؤكد ما اتفق عليه العلماء من ان اصل النظام العشري – الستيني عراقي سومري بلغ درجة الكمال في الحسابات الفلكية والرياضية في العهود البابلية المتأخرة ، وان اندثرت اصوله الفلسفية في العصور المتأخرة عن السومريين ولكن بالتأكيد بقي جوهريا بدون اي تحوير اساسي خلال جميع فترات حضارات بلاد الرافدين .

ان من الادلة الواضحة على تأثيرات هذا النظام العددي على جميع الحضارات ، هو تطابق الألعاب الشرقية المتوارثة على مر العصور وصياغتها حسب قواعد واعداد النظام ، فعند تدقيق أعداد اللعبة الملكية من اور التي اكتشفت ضمن لقى المقابر الملكية في اور ، اتضح وجود سبعة أنواع من المربعات او الرسومات

(خمسة على اللوحة وأثنان على الحافات الأربعة للوحة) . أعلى اللوحة مقسم الى مربعاً تمثل اربعة وثلاثون رقما ، ومجاميع عيون (اثنان وثلاثة) موزعة ومرسومة على الحافات الأربعة للوحة تمثل بمجموعها ستة ارقام وبذلك يكون مجموع أرقام (٣٤ + ٦ = ٤٠) .

بالفحص . اللعبة بالتأكيد ذات طبيعة عددية . وكمحاولة لأيجاد العلاقة بين أرقام اللعبة المثبتة على اللوحة والفرضيات الأساسية للنظام العشري الستيني أعلاه . سأدرج جميع أنواع المربعات المذكورة أعلاه مع بيان عددها المكرر على اللوحة انظر شكل (٧) ومن الشكل وبالتدقيق توجد اشارات مشجعة حول صحة الفرضيات الأساسية للنظام العشري الستيني وأن هذه اللعبة مبنية على هذا النظام.

أما الألعاب الشرقية الأخرى كالشطرنج والدومينو والورق فأدون أدناه موجز سريع لعلاقتهم بالنظام العددي لحضارة وادي الرافدين .

الشطرنج : لعبة شمسية
(ستة أحجار - ثمانية مربعات)
(٣٢ = مجموع الأحجار في اللعبة)
انظر شكل رقم (٨)

الدومنة : لعبة قمرية
(ستة أرقام . تصبح سبعة مع الصفر (البياض)
(٢٨ = مجموع الأحجار في اللعبة)
أنظر شكل رقم (٩)

السورق : لعبة ملكة السماء .. انانا (عشتار)
وتمثل موديل رياضي لكل النظام
أنظر شكل رقم (١٠)

تلاحظ الصور ضمن البحث المنشور في القسم الأجنبي من هذا المجلد من مجلتنا سومر ص ٥٥



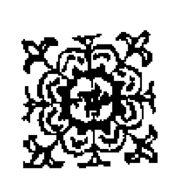
بحوث أشور

في الندوتين العلميتين العالميتين الثانية والثالثة

بحوث الندوة العلمية العالمية الثانية

١ - ١٠ تشرين الأول ١٩٧٩

تمت ترجمة هذه البحوث من اللغة الانكليزية الى اللغة العربية من قبل السيد سمير عبد الرحيم الجلبي



كلمة السيد المشرف على احياء مدينة اشور

الدكتور طارق عبد الوهاب مظلوم

السيد عضو مجلس قيادة الثورة : نائب رئيس الوزراء الاستاذ طارق عزيز
السيد وزير الثقافة والاعلام
حضرات السيدات والسادة

هذا هو الموسم الثاني في آشور حيث يجد الزائر هناك اعمال الهيئة وقد تركزت في عدة نقاط للترميم والصيانة للمباني المكتشفة . بعد أن كرس الموسم الماضي كله للتنقيب والتهيئات اللازمة للعمل .

شكراً للدعم اللامحدود من القيادة السياسية للحزب والثورة لمشاريعنا في حقل الاثار فقد اعطي لنا الدعم بكل صورة ، ونحن سوف نكون اوفياء في خدمة هذا البلد العظيم ورفع شأن تراثه الذي يعرفه العالم اجمع .

ان من مميزات العمل الاثاري في عراقنا الحبيب في الوقت الحاضر هو ان تمتزج اعمال التنقيب باعمال الترميم والصيانة فكل يكمل الآخر

فالمنقب كان همه ان يستحصل على المعلومات الاثارية بما في ذلك مخططات المباني المكتشفة ليضعها في مقالة اوكتيب . ان واجب الاثاري اليوم ليس فقط نشر نتائج اعمال تنقيباته بمقالة اوكتيب وحصر المخططات البنائية بقسم من تلك البحوث . فعلى الاثاري اليوم القيام بنفسه بالاشراف على الصيانة الاثرية بمساعدة جميع الاختصاصات المتوفرة وان يكون له رأي في اعادة الترميم بالشكل والمادة والغاية . فالمشاهد لاعمال الصيانة في مباني اشور يرى بزوغ وظهور التكوينات البنائية نتيجة لدلائل عمارية لايفهمها الا المنقب ولولا الصيانة واعادة الترميم لذهبت تلك الاثار عن انظارنا الى الابد وتلك خسارة كبرى .

صحيح عندما قال المؤرخ العربي ابن خلدون ان الحضارة هي العمران فكيف نضيع البقايا والافكار العمارية القديمة ونتركها بلاسيل للديمومة والبقاء .

ان امر التنقيب اصبح سهلاً تجاه موضوع الترميمات والصيانة الاثرية اليوم . فالصيانة تتطلب خبرات هندسية وكمياوية وتخطيطية واسعة ودقيقة . فمشكلة المنقب هنا هو ان صيانة المباني الاثرية وبعث الحياة فيها مرة ثانية من الامور التي تشغل البال على الدوام . فقد اصبح المنقب يخشى التنقيب مالم يجهز نفسه بجميع المتطلبات اللازمة للصيانة . هذا ما تقوم به هيئة مشروع احياء اشور في التنقيب وتهيء له لصيانة المباني المكتشفة حيث كدست ملايين الاعداد من اللبن بالقياسات المطلوبة وشيدت الافران لعمل الطابوق . وكذلك دربت العمال المحليين على البناء بالاساليب القديمة .

كل ذلك من اجل احياء تراثنا البنائي الذي هو احدى المحصلات الكبرى لحضارتنا العريقة . ولابد من العودة لدراسة محتويات تلك المباني دراسة اوسع . ففيها الاستنارة الكاملة لحل كثير من القضايا العمارية التي يواجهها المهندس اليوم في بلدنا .

شكراً لحضوركم

وشكراً لجميع العاملين في هيئة مشروع آشور مختصين وعمال .

والسلام عليكم .

نتائج أعمال هيئة احياء مدينة اشـــور
للموسم الثاني لسنة ١٩٧٩ م

ميسر سعيد عبد الرزاق العراقي .

اكمالا لخطة المؤسسة العامة للآثار والتراث في احياء مدينة آشور الاثريـة . باعتبارها أحدى الحواضر القديمة والمهمة . فقد رصدت لها المبالغ اللازمة للموسم الثاني بلغت (مائة وتسعين الف ديناراً) موزعة بين تحريات وصيانة اوليـة . ودراسات أثرية وشراء لوازم وعدد ووسائط نقل وغيرها .

بدأت الهيئة أعمالها في هذا العام ١٩٧٩ م عند بداية شهر آذار . مركزة أعمالهـا في النقاط التالية : -

١ - بوابة تابيرا :-

قامت الهيئة بدراسة ما اذا كان لهذه البوابة مرافق بنائية أخرى اضافة لمـا كشفته تنقيبات البعثة الألمانية من عدمه . لذلك أتجه معول الحفار بالبحث الى ما تبطنه الأجزاء الشمالية من البوابة والتي لم تنقب سابقاً . ومن خلالها عثرنـا على طبقة بنائية تعود للفترة الاشورية المتأخرة ضمت مجموعة من الغرف وقاعة كبيرة . سوف يشرح لكم زميلي السيد فاضل عباس عنها مفصلاً .

في مجال صيانة البوابة نفسها أعددنا كمية كبيرة من اللبن غير المشوي . وبدأنا اولاً بتغطية اللبن الآشوري المكتشف في محاولة لحمايته من الرطوبة وحرارة الشمس . وبدأنا مستعينين بالمخططات المتوفرة بتأشير مقدمة البوابة ومدخلها الرئيس اللذين تعرضا للضياع بصورة نهائية تقريباً . العمل جار . وصيانتها سيتكلم عنها زميلي السيد كاظم كاطع .

٢ - البوابة الغربية :-

وهي الاخرى كانت اقسامها الامامية . وخاصة ابراجها . قد تلفت مما دعانا الى تغطية كافة الاقسام المستظهرة في الموسم الماضي بطبقة جديدة من اللبن . وبوشر العمل بتثبيت حدود وابعاد هذه البوابة وفق المخططات . خاصة في مقدمة البوابة . والعمل جار في اكمال صيانتها . مع صيانة اجزاء من السور الخارجي الملاصق لها . وسيشرح لكم السيد حكمت بشير تفصيل ذلك .

من جهة اخرى . استمرت اعمال التنقيب في الاقسام الواقعة داخل المدينة قرب مدخل السور الداخلي . حيث عثرنا من خلالها على ابنية ولقى اثرية . يعود قسما منها للفترة الاشورية المتأخرة . والاقسام العلوية منها كانت اغلبها مدافن فرثية " .

٣ - القصر الفرثي :-

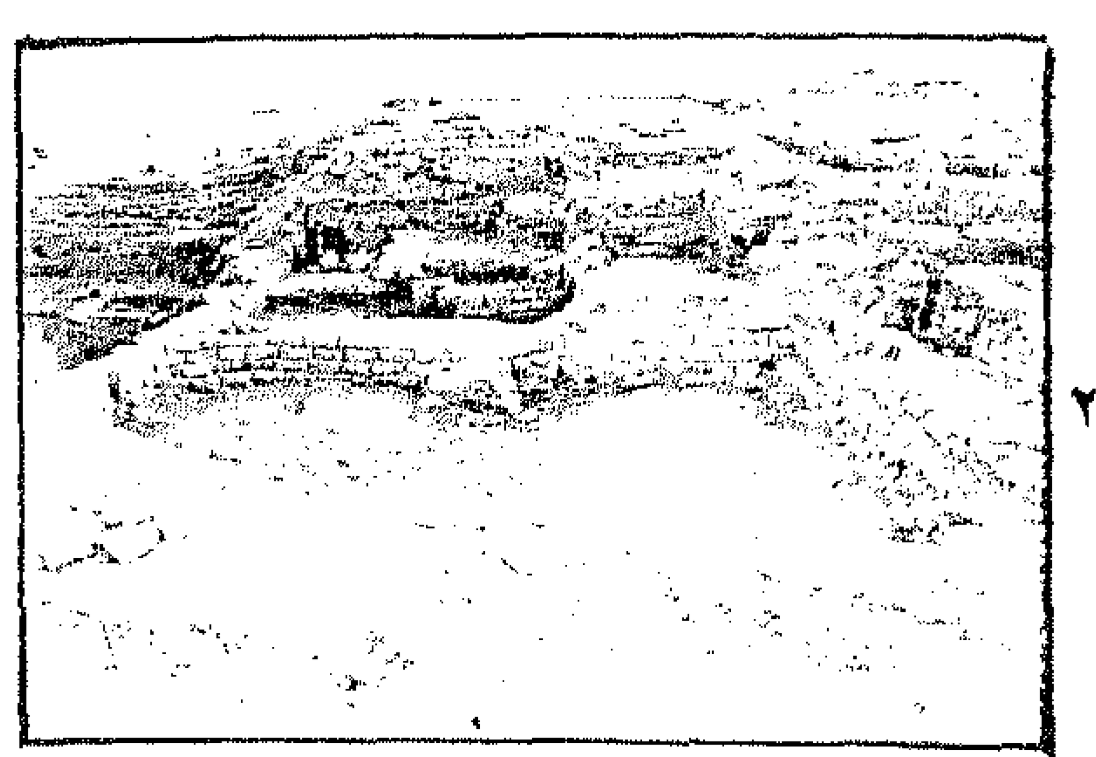
في هذا الموسم . استمر تتبع واستظهار مرافقة بطبقاته الثلاث . وانتهت منه . خاصة الطبقة السفلى . بصورة نهائية تقريبا . مما دعانا الى البدء باعمال الصيانة اللازمه له . مبتدئين بالايوان الشمالي . حيث كانت الهيئة قد عثرت على مجاميع من الزخارف الجصية الفريدة امامه . وسوف يقدم لكم زميلي السيد محمد عجاج شرحا مفصلا عن هذه الزخارف . وعما توصلنا اليه من خلال العمل في القصر عموماً . كما سيقدم شرحاً عن اعمال التنقيب في الجزء الواقع شمال القصـــر والتي اسميناها بالمخازن .



٤ - قصر الامير :-

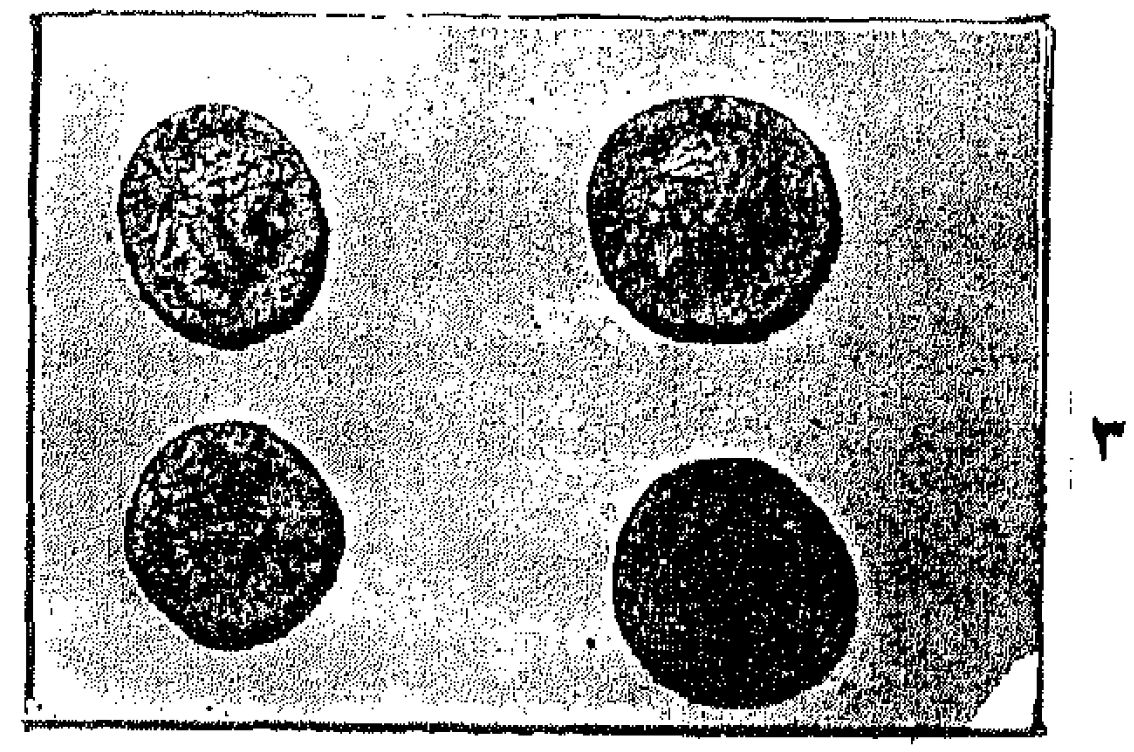
في هذا الموسم تم اختيار موقع قصر الامير لتجديد التنقيب فيه . وقد اختيرت هذه النقطة لتوقعنا في ان نصل الى نقطة قد تكون اشورية بحتة . لنتمكن من التعرف على اوجه طرز بناء قصور ملوك وامراء اشور من قبل بعثاتنا العراقية . واختير هذا الموقع كذلك اكمالاً للخطة الموضوعة . وهي صيانة الابنية المكتشفة حديثا . لتفادي تلف وانهيار هذه الابنية . كما انهارت اجزاء من ابنية المدينة في الماضي . لقد ذكر

اسم هذا الموقع من قبل الاستاذ فالتراندرية في كتابة (حفريات آشور) . الذي قام السيد طالب حامد مشكوراً بترجمته . وذكر فيه (ان هذا المرفق لسنحاريب) وكثيراً من الكتل تحمل نص سنحاريب الذي يقول : ان هذا البناء قد شيد للابن الاصغر اشور- ابلو- موبالتسو- ويجوز الافتراض ان هذا الامير كان نائباً للملك في اشور)



٢

الا ان النتائج الاولية التي توصلنا اليها من خلال الحفر في الاقسام العلوية منه . والتي بلغت مساحتها ٩٠٠ م٢ هي اربع وحدات سكنية تعود للفترة الفرثية مبنية باللبن فوق اسس من الحجر الحلان غير المهندم . وقسماً من واجهات الجدران الداخلية مطلية بالطين . وكانت حصيلة تنقيباتنا مجموعة من اللقى الاثرية الفخارية واعداد غير قليلة من القطع النقدية النحاسية . تم جمعها وتنظيفها في مختبر المتحف العراقي .



٣

وفي الخندق القريب من هذا المرفق تم عمل مقطع لتحديد عدد الطبقات البنائية فيه . وقد تمكنا لحد الان من تحديد اربع طبقات فرثية . ونزولاً الى الادوار الاشورية . وما نزال في الطبقة الاولى منها . حيث اعترضتنا عندها كتلة بنائية من اللبن تشكل اجزاء من امتداد سور المدينة

٥ – القبور الملكية :–

والنقطة الثانية التي تم أعادة كشفها وتحريرها من الأتربة ثانية . كانت منطقة المقابر الملكية التي تقع الى الجنوب الغربي من الزقورة الكبيرة . وقد كشف منها اربع غرف دفن مبنية جدرانها باللبن ومغلقة بالطابوق . وكشف في أحدى هذه الغرف عن تابوت الملك اشور - بيل - كالا المعمول من حجر الحلان . وسوف يشرح لكم السيد عبد محمد مسؤول التنقيب في هذه النقطة النتائج التي توصل اليها .

ووفق الخطة المرسومة . فأن هذا المكان سيكون مشمولا بالصيانة حتى يتمكن الزائر من التعرف على واقع القبور . كما ستشمل الصيانة كذلك أعادة صيانة وتركيب كسر حجر البازلت التي تكون مع بعضها توابيت للدفن .

من جهة أخرى تم فتح النفق المعمول داخل المقبرة الحالية . المعروفة بأسم (المجنة) للتأكد من ماهية النفق الذي سبق أن تم حفره . ونحن نجهل في الوقت الحاضر أسم من حفر هذا النفق . ولعله هرمز رسام الذي قام بحفر عدة أنفاق في اشور لحساب المتحف البريطاني . ولدى أزالة الانقاض التي كانت تسد المدخل وصلنا في عمق يزيد على عشرين متراً . الى مكان ينتهي ببناء . قد يكون قبراً . مغلف بالطابوق الذي ماتزال بعض قطعه ثابتة في مكانها . يقابله مكان يشبه غرفة لم نتمكن من الدخول اليها في الوقت الحاضر . لتعذر العمل مالم نتفادى المخاطر التي قد تنجم من جرائها . وذلك بسبب تداعي بعض كتل الحجارة غير المتنظمة ووجود شقوق واسعة في الاقسام العلوية من النفق يحتم علينا أتخاذ الأجراءات الكفيلة بحماية الأشخاص العاملين فيها ؟

٦ – المتحف

تقع بناية المتحف – المعروفة بأسم القلعة – عند الزاوية الشمالية الشرقية من المدينة . فوق معبد آنو الذي كشفه الأستاذ اندرية . وكانت هذه البناية قد تعرضت للهدم خاصة في سقوفها بعد الحرب العالمية الأولى . ويعود زمن بنائها حسب المصادر المسموعة الى عهد حكم مدحت باشا . وكانت قد بنيت لرئيس عشيرة شمر الشيخ فرحان صفوك . لغرض توطين البدو التابعين له . وتحويلهم الى مزارعين . ولكنهم لم يفلحوا . وفي بداية الحرب العالمية الأولى . شغل هذه البناية الحاكم العسكري العثماني حتى نهاية الحرب . ثم استخدمت بعد ذلك مركزاً للناحية . واطلق عليها السكان اسم القلعة او بناية الدكتور . حيث كان هناك طبيب انكليزي يعالج المرضى فيها وبعد ذلك هجرت واستغلها الأعراب كمكان يأوون اليه مع أغنامهم في الشتاء وظلت كذلك حتى قيام هيئتنا بتنظيفها وأصلاحها

ومن اجل جعل هذه البناية ملائمة لتكون متحفا . تمكن الزائر من التجول فيه بشكل ينسجم وطبيعة عرض الآثار . فقد تم اجراء بعض التحوير في أجزاء من مرافقه بحيث غُلق المدخل الرئيسي الذي يقع وسط البناية . واستخدم المدخلان الجانبيان طريقين للدخول والخروج .

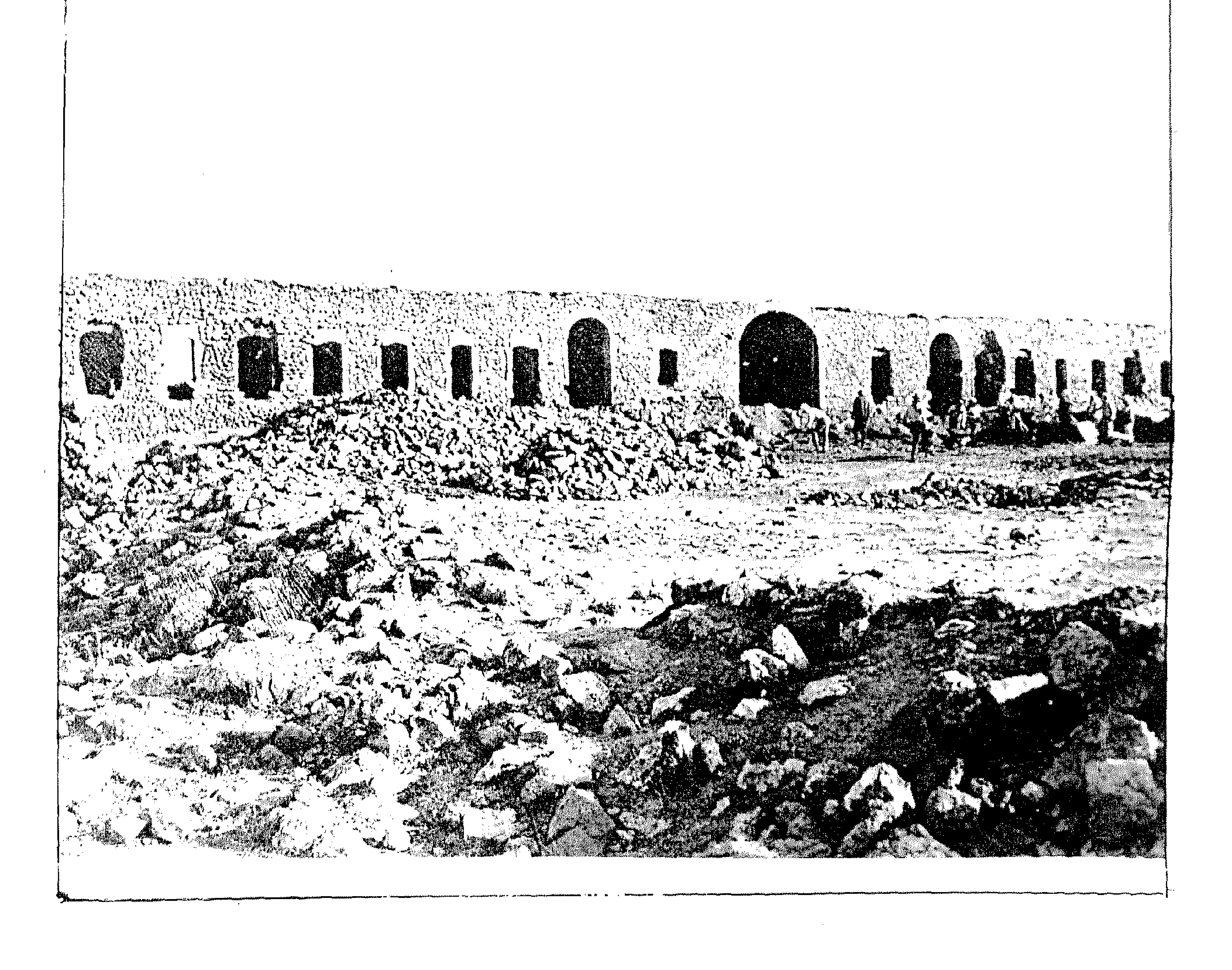
ولأن أعمال الصيانة في هذه البناية . قد بدأت متأخرة فأننا لم نتمكن من أكمالها بصورة نهائية . لذلك فقد تم تنظيم قاعة واحدة فيه . عرضت فيها نماذج من قطع الآثار الفخارية والنحاسية والرقم الطينية في خزانات . كما عرضت نماذج من القبور الفرثية المكتشفة على دكاك وقواعد خاصة لها . نأمل في أن تنال رضاكم عند زيارتكم القريبة للمدينة .

قطع اللبن وانتاج الطابوق .

تقضي أعمال الصيانة ضرورة أنتاج كميات كبيرة جداً من اللبن غير المشوي، وهو المادة الرئيسة في الأبنية الأشورية . لذلك قامت الهيئة بقطع كميات منه نقل الى البوابتين تأبيرو والغربية والعمل جارٍ في قطع كميات أخرى منه قبل حلول فصل الشتاء .

وفي مجال عمل الطابوق – الذي هو المادة التي اعتمدنا عليها لتكون واجهة لجميع الأبنية المعرضة للأمطار وحرارة الشمس . فقد قمنا بعمل كورة طولها ٧ م وعرضها ٣ م وأرتفاعها يزيد على أربعة أمتار تستوعب اكثر من الفي لبنة من القياس الآشوري وقد بنيت وفق التصميم الذي قدمه لنا السيد المشرف العلمي بعد زيارته لموقع بابل ومناطق أخرى في جنوب القطر ومشاهدته للطريقة التي ينتج بها الطابوق حالياً .

وبعد حرقها بطريقة (الرشك) الأعتيادية ولمدة (٥٩) ساعة متواصلة . حصلنا على نماذج من الطابوق بتقديرنا أنه مايزال دون المستوى المطلوب . والسبب الرئيسي في ذلك هي مادة اللبن اذ رغم تعدد الترب التي جلبت من مناطق قريبة من المدينة وأختلاف نسبة خلط مادة التبن فأن أغلبه تكاثر فيه الشقوق قبل التجفيف . ومع هذا فان تجاربنا مستمرة لغاية الوصول الى الشكل الكامل له



نص تكريسي من العهد الآشوري القديم

لينا ياكوب روست

بالمقارنة مع الألواح المسمارية المكتوبة في بلاد الرافدين . توجد كتابات قليلة جداً تعود الى العهد الآشوري القديم . من الوثائق النادرة من بداية الألف الثاني قبل الميلاد[1] نص تكريسي عثر عليه في عام ١٩١٢ أثناء التنقيبات الألمانية في اشور في منطقة معبد عشتار . وهو الآن ضمن مجموعة متحف اثار الشرق الأدنى في برلين ويحمل رقم VA ASS 4286

أن موضوع بحثنا لوحة مثلثة من البرونز ذات أطراف متساوية . وهي مهشمة ولكننا نستطيع أن نتأكد بسهولة من قياساتها السابقة فهي بطول ١٧ سم وعرض ١٢٫٣ سم الآن وكانت سابقاً بعرض ١٥ سم . يظهر على أحد الجانبين حلية عبارة عن ثلاث لفات مجدولة بشكل ثلاثي ومربوطة باللوح بعدة أوتاد . الكتابة على الوجه الثاني تنقسم الى عمودين : الأول يتكون من ١٢ سطراً والثاني من خمسة أسطر . اتجاه الكتابة يترك قمة اللوحة الثلاثية الى اليمين والعمود الأيسر محاط بخط واضح وكذلك الخطوط المختلفة للنص .

واضح أن هذا اللوح عبارة عن ulra ونستطيع تأيده بسهولة من الشكل ومن النص التالي والالاهة المخاطبة واستناداً الى مقدمة الوثيقة . فان النص يعود الى عهد سرجون الأول الملك الآشوري أي حوالي عام ١٨٥٠ ق.م . ويؤكد فحص الأسماء وشكل الرموز والكلمات المستعملة . والمكان الذي عثر فيه على اللوح الى نفس التاريخ تقريبا .

توجد بعض الصعوبات في قراءة النص . ففي السطر الثاني رموز اسم الأنسي غير واضحة ونرى أن الرمز بعد دينكير هو لوكال ونقرأ الرمز التالي بأنه دو أو جين . أن شكل الحرف لايتبع تماماً التقليد الكتابي في العهد الآشوري القديم . ولكن بوسعنا أن نؤيد بصورة عامة أن الكتابة تبدو أقدم قليلاً من النصوص الكابادوكية التي تعود الى نفس الفترة . وقد يعود ذلك الى طبيعة الكتابة أو المادة . تدعى المرأة التي قدمت هذا اللوح . خاديتوم وهو اسم يمكن أن نرجعه بسهولة الى خدو (يكون مسروراً) . ولا بد من الأعتراف هنا أن مؤنث هذه الكلمة غير مؤيد في النصوص من العهد الآشوري القديم . كما تصعب قراءة اسم الزوج . ونرجح أنها بيلوم – نادا المكتوبة ايناداو لكن بالامكان أيضاً التفكير بالأسماء التي تبدأ بـ اينا من العهد الآشوري القديم . وهكذا قد يكون الأسم ايناشا . ولكن هذا الأسم غير معروف لحد الآن في النصوص من العهد الآشوري القديم . وأخيراً لابد أن نذكر احتمال كون الأسم ايناشا بحروف كبيرة . ويعني بيلي – شا . وهذا يعطينا صلة مباشرة بين خاديتوم وشاروم – كين بيلي شا سيدها .

في السطر الخامس من العمود الثاني نقترح المعنى شيرو (طفل) لكلمة شريشا . وربما كانت مشتقة من شيرو (لحم ، جسم) . أن تفسير باشتو في حالة الكلمة المكتوبة تيس بمعنى (حاجة امرأة) يقودنا الى الأعتراض على (كاد) التي لايمكن أن تعني (باشتو) أي جزء من الجسم .

النص الكامل هو :

اينوما لوكال كين اينسي أسور أنا ابانا أسوريتيم نيناني خاديتوم دام ايبادا (؟) تاكروب أنا بالات موتيسا بالاتيسا أوبالات شريشا تيس توسيريب .

وفيما يلي ترجمة النص :

عندما كان شاروم أنسي آشور قدمت خاديتوم روجة بيلوم نادا نذراً الى مولاتها تارمن أجل حياة زوجها ومن أجل حياتها وحياة طفلها جلبت حاجة نسائية . (Oülra) .

(١) هذه خلاصة لبحث كتبته قبل مدة مع زميلي الدكتور هيلموت فريد ريك .

تلاحظ الصور ضمن البحث المنشور في القسم الأجنبي من هذا المجلد من مجلتنا سومر ص ٩٨



سجلات المحفوظات من مدينة آشور من العهد الاشوري الوسيط

ج . ن . بوستكيت

مدير البعثة الآثارية البريطانية

في العراق

كان من اهم منجزات تنقيبات اندريه في اشور اعادة اكتشاف التاريخ المبكر لبلاد اشور عندما جعلت منها مدينة اشور دولة عظيمة خلال النصف الثاني من الالف الثاني قبل الميلاد . لتتقلص اهميتها الى حد كبير . في حوالي عام الف قبل الميلاد تحت ضغط الغزوات الارامية . لقد عثر على ادلة اثارية كثيرة عن هـــذه الفترة . من معابد وقصور وبيوت خاصة وقبور . وعدد كبير من الالواح المسمارية ايضاً . ولم يكتشف اندريه كتابات تاريخية كثيرة ومكتبة تيكلات بيلصـــر الاول [1] وحسب . بل ورسائل ووثائق قانونية وادارية في انحاء كثيرة من المدينة . وقد نشر ايلنك معظمها مع مساهمات كبيرة لشرويدر وفايدنر[2] . ورغم العثـــور على سجلات محفوظات اخرى من العهد الاشوري الوسيط في مواقع اخر ى منــذ ذلك الحين . مثل تل بيلا وتل الرماح في العراق وتل فخرية وشيخ حماد في سوريا . تبقى نصوص أشور الاكثر عدداً بكثير والاهم ايضاً لانها من عاصمـة المملكة [3] .

وكما هو المتوقع من منقب من نوعية اندريه فقد سجل مصدر الالواح بعناية عموماً بحيث انه لحد اليوم . يمكن ان نكتشف من سجلات التنقيبات مكان كل لوح . ولكن لدى نشر نسخ النصوص لم يذكر ايلنك ولاشرويدر مصدر الالواح . وهو امر مؤسف بصورة خاصة لان الكثير منها عثر عليها كسجلات محفوظات كاملة في جرة غالباً . والفهم الصحيح لكل وثيقة قانونية او ادارية يسهل الى حد كبير اذا استطعنا تحديد اماكن اكتشافها بجانب الوثائق الاخرى التي خزنت معها . ان فشل عالم المسماريات وعالم الاثار في التفاهم – وهو امر لايقتصر على اشور وحدها – يعوض عنه الان الى حد كبير نشر مقالات فايدنر التي وفرت المعلومات عن المصدر الدقيق لمعظم سجلات المحفوظات . ويرد قوائم بالنصوص المنشورة وغير المنشورة التي تعود اليها [4] . وبجانب جدولـة الادلة من قبل كلوديوسابوريتي في كتابه Onomastica Medio-assira وهومؤلف قيم . لولاه لاستحال تقديم هذا البحث . وبعد ان نشر الدكتور فريدريك مؤخرا بعض النصوص في Vorderasiatische Schrifdenkmäler XIX فاننا الان في وضع افضل بكثير اذ يمكننا من وصف سجلات المحفوظات التي وجدها المنقبون الالمان في آشور وبحث الضوء الذي تلقيه على المدينة والدولة في تلك الحقبة .

لايمكن هنا ذكر سجلات المحفوظات المعروفة كافة ومناقشة كل واحـد بالتفصيل . ولكنني قمت باختيار احسن عشر مجموعات مستدة من الالواح من مدينة اشور . واهملت الوثائق الادارية المهمة التي نعرف انها من كارتوكولتي – نينورتا على الضفة الاخرى لنهر دجلة . وسوف اذكر في كل حالة . ماهو معروف عن مصدرها الاثاري . ثم اذكر باختصار مايمكن معرفته عن المؤسسات الخاصة او العامة التي يعود اليها اصل كل سجل محفوظات .

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١ . حول مكتبة تيكلات – بيلسر انظر

E. Weidner, Archiv fur Orient farschung (AFO) 16 (1952 - 53) 197 - 215 .

2. E. Ebeling, KAJ (= Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristis en Inhalts. WVDOG 50), O. Schroeder, KAV (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts. WVDOG 35); E : Weidner, AfO 10 (1935 - 36) 1 - 52; 13 (1939 - 40) 109 - 124 and 208 - 318; 17 (1954 - 56) 145 - 6; 19 (1950 - 60) 33 - 46 ; 20 (1963) 121 - 4

3. See J.J. Finkelstein, JCS 7 (1953) 111ff. ; D.J. Wiseman and E.W.F. Saggs, Iraq 30 (1968) ; H.G. Guterbock, in Soundings at Tell Fakhriyah (OIP 79) 86 - 90; W.W. Rollig, Orientalia NS 47 (1978) 419 - 430 . As yet unpublished are recen tlyfound tablets from Tell Fray (in Syria) and Tell Ali, on the Lesser Zab between Assur and Nuzi (to be published by Dr. Behijeh Khalil Ismail).

٤ . المقال الاساسي الذي يضم هذه المعلومات المهمة هو

E. Weidner, Amts - und Privatarchive aus mittelassyrischer Zeit, in Festschrift V. Christian (Wien 1956) 111 - 8;

وفيما يخص سجلات المحفوظات المناقشة نحيل القارىء الى هذا المقال . حول مصادر واعداد الالواح التي تعود الى كل رقم من ارقام لقى اشور (رغم أن المعلومات الاخيرة موجودة ايضاً في سابوريتي المذكور في المؤلف اعلاه) وانني ممتن جداً الى الدكتـور م. ترول لارسن لتزويدي بنسخة من مقال فايدنر الذي يصعب العثور عليه في المكتبات .

٥ . حول موقع هذه الغرفة انظر

A Haller & W. Andrae, Die Heiligtumer des Gottes Assur und der Sin - Samas - Temple in Assur (WVDOG 67), 51 :

وحول وصف الاكتشاف انظر نفس المصدر ص ٤٨ (يذكر ٨ أواني فقط) والجرة الثالثة ذات الكتابة موضحة بشكل في المصدر اعلاه . Taf. 4 9

١ – سجل محفوظات ايزبوليشير

اكتشف المنقبون في احد المخازن الواقعة بجانب الضلع الجنوبية الغربية من الفناء الخارجي لمعبد اشور (الغرفة ٣) عشر جرار فخارية . احتوت على ٦٥٠ لوحاً[٥] وقد وجدت على ثلاث من هذه الجرار نفسها كتابات تحدد محتوياتها يستحق اثنان منها ان نوردهما كاملين :

١ . حاملة وثائق حسابات صانعي الجعة في معبد اشور . باشراف ايزبوليشير المشرف على قرابين معبد آشور وخادم تيكلات – بيلصر الاول[٦]

٢ . « احدمموني الاطعمة والقائمين بعصر الزيت في معبد آشور ، تحت اشراف ايزبوليشير المشرف على قرابين معبد اشور وخادم تيكلات – بيلصر الاول »[٧]

يدلنا هذان النصان على نوع الاشياء التي نتوقعها من الالواح . ولكن لسوء الحظ لم ينشر سوى عدد قليل جداً منها .

وقامت الدكتورة بهيجة خليل اسماعيل بنشر عدد قليل منها في المجلد الرابع والعشرين من مجلة سومر . ونشر الدكتور فريدانك اثني عشر لوحاً آخر مؤخراً . لقد ناقشت بتفصيل اكثر مايعرف الان عن سجل المحفوظات في عرضي لكتاب الدكتور فريدانك . الذي سينشر في Bibliotheca Orientalis ولاداعي لاعادة ذلك هنا . وعلى اساس العينات القليلة المنشورة يتضح ان المحفوظات كانت سجلاً للنشاطات الرسمية لـ ايزبوليشير . الذي كان مسؤولاً عن القرابين المنتظمة (كينائي) لمعبد آشور تحت حكم تيكلات بيلصر الاول . ونشاطات الموظفين والمستخدمين الاخرين التابعين له . وهكذا تسجل النصوص كيفية اعادة توزيع القرابين – وكانت بصورة رئيسية عبارة عن الحبوب والفاكهة والعسل والبيرة الخ – بين موظفي المعبد ولكنها تعد ايضاً القرابين المتسلمة ولذا لابد انها تحتوي على معلومات رائعة عن الاراضي والمدن التي كانت تدين بالولاء للدولة الاشورية اثناء حكم تيكلات – بيلصر الاول بارسال الهدايا بشكل منتظم الى المعبد القومي الرئيسي .

٢ – سجل موتا[٨]

عثر في جرة فخارية في الدفن الرخو قرب شمال البوابة بين القصر القديم ومعبد انواداد . على (١١٢ لوحاً تشكل سجل محفوظات لسنة واحدة وقد نشر وحده بكامله تعود الالواح الى فترة غير معروفة جيداً . عندما حكم نينورتا – توكولتي – آشور بلاد آشور – بين الملكين البارزين توكولتي – نينورتا وتيكلات – بيلصر وهي عبارة عن حسابات قسم اداري مسؤول عن تسلم واصدار الاغنام . (وبدرجة اقل الماعز والثيران) . وكان الرجل المسؤول يدعى موتا ويعرف بانه كان شاكورولتي اوراب زاريكي ويبدو ان المفتاح لمعرفة وظيفته يكمن في حقيقة ان الحيوانات الواردة كافة كانت تجلب الى الحاكم « هدايا مقابلة » (نامورتو) . اذ عندما كان يجيء مسؤول اوسفير الى القصر كان يجلب معه هدية للملك . وكثيراً ماكان يجلب حيواناً أو اكثر . ويبدو ان مهمة موتا كانت تسلم تلك الحيوانات بعد تقديمها والتأكد من اطعامها . والتصرف بها حسب مشيئة الملك . ولما كان ذلك في عهد الملك توكولتي – نينورتا فبوسع المرء ان يتصور ان القصر الملكي الرئيسي كان قصره الجديد في الزاوية الشمالية الغربية من المدينة . ولكن نينورتا – توكولتي اشور لم يكن آنذاك ملكاً في الحقيقة رغم انه كان يحكم عملياً . ولذا يمكن ان نتصور ان بلاطه كان في القصر القديم الى الشرق من معبد انو – اداد . وهذا يكفي ليفسر سبب وجود هذه المجموعة من الالواح هناك .

٣ – سجل محفوظات اوبرو

هذه المجموعة من الالواح . يصعب وصفها بالمقارنة مع المجموعتين الاولى والثانية . اذ لم يعثر عليها كمجموعة واحدة . ويبدو ان بعضها – ومعظمه عبارة عن قوائم ادارية طويلة – بحالة سيئة وجد في الممرات خلال سور المدينة المعروف بـ بوتيرنن بينما عثر بعد فترة قصيرة على مجموعة بحالة أفضل من ٥٨ لوحاً . معظمها صغيرة داخل اناء فخاري على مسافة غير بعيدة الى الشمال من بوابة تابيرا . وقد نشرنا مجموعة ٢٢ من هذه المجموعة الاخيرة . معظمها يعود الى فترة حكم توكولتي – نينورتا الاول (حوالي ١٢٤٤–١٢٠٨ ق.م) . ولكن من الصعب ان نقرر من هذه الالواح : لماذا وضعت سوية ؟ توجد رسائل موجهة الى شخص يدعى اوبرو الذي يبدو انه كان مسؤولاً عن اختيار الجنود ، وقد اخترنا اطلاق اسمه على هذا السجل . كما توجد رسالة اخرى كتبت من كالح (نمرود) تتعلق بتحسين احوال بعض اسرى الحرب البابليين هناك كما توجد رسائل اخرى من كبار المسؤولين في الدولة الى مختلف الموظفين . وتدور مجموعة من اربعة نصوص في الاقل حول اصدارات الطعام وخمسة الواح تذكر الاغنام والماشية . الصفة المشتركة الوحيدة للمجموعة هي انها تعود جميعاً الى الادارة الحكومية . وليس الى شؤون خاصة ولايوجد سبب واضح لخزنها سوية . كما لاتوجد اية اشارة لسبب العثور عليها قرب البوابة .

٤ – سجل محفوظات سامنوها – اشاريد[١٠]

في عام ١٩٠٨ واثناء التنقيب في احد الحفر الاختبارية الشمالية الشرقية . عثرت بعثة اشور على ارضية بيت يعود الى العهد الاشوري الحديث . فوق طبقة من الالواح بسمك ٢٠ – ٤٠ سم . ربما كانت من البيت الاقدم الموجود اسفل البيت . ولم يكن من الغريب ان يكون الكثير منها بحالة سيئة . ويذكر احد التقارير انه عثر على اربعة وعشرين منها فقط كاملة مقابل اكثر من ٢٠٠ كسرة

ولم ينشر من هذه المجموعة حتى عام ١٩٧٦ سوى لوح واحد . ولكن كتاب الدكتور فريدانك الجديد الذي يتضمن نسخ الالواح وفر (١٥) لوحاً آخر . ومن الغريب ان معظم هذه من نوع واحد من النصوص وربما من سجل محفوظات واحد

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٦ . انظر A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, Vol. 2, p. 42 No. 26 (with bibliography)

٧ . انظر A.K. Grayson, ibid., No. 27 (with bibliography)

8. The archive of Mutta: Assur Fundnummer 6096. For afull discussion, E. Weidner, Af0 10 (1935 – 36) 1ff.; additions and corrections in V. Donbaz, Ninurta - tukulti - Aššur zamanina ait orta Asur idari belgeleri (Ankara 1976). For the interpretations of the archive as a whole, see J.N. Postgate, Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire, s.v. namurtu.

9. The Ubru archive: Assur Fun dnummer 11017 (only VS 19:29 published), 11018 (in KAJ, KAV and VS 19) and 11019 (in KAJ and KAV). Provenance: see E. Weidner, Afo 13 (1939 - 40) 111 for the pot containing 58 tablets in spuare bB61 (quoting M DOG 33 (1907) 16), and for the other tablets see MDOG 33 (1907) 15

10. The archive of Samnuha – asared: AssurFundnummer 13058. Publication: H. Freydank, VS 19 and B.K. I smail, Sumer 24 (1967); also one tablet published by E. Weidner, Afo 10 (1935 – 36) 30. However, KAJ 129, given as Assur 14327, must from internal evidence have belonged to this archive, Provenance: square eE 6V (see MDOG 38 (1908 21 - 3, especially 22).

فقط . الشخصية الرئيسية هي سامنوها – ايشاريد وتسجل النصوص مجموعة متنوعة من المواد التي تعود للقصر . وقد اصدرت تحت سلطته : مواد خام لصنع الاقواس وادوات برونزية وسهام ومجارش وعدد للخيول وملابس الخ . واحياناً . يتـم الاصدار وفق تعليمات الملك كما هي الحال بالنسبة لتقديم الملك نينورتا – ايل – ايكور بعض المجوهرات الى ابنته الكاهنة الكبرى لـ شالا – واحياناً بناء على تعليمات شخص آخر . ولاتذكر الواح كثيرة القائم باصدار امر الاصدار . ولكن سامنوهـا – اشاريد نفسه هو الذي اصدر الامر في عدة حالات .

من كان هذا ؟ لحسن الحظ تذكر لنا النصوص انه كان (اباراكو) وتترجم عادة ب « وكيل القصر » فقد كان لكل القصور مثل ذلك الموظف الذي يعهد اليه بمهمة التنظيم الداخلي . خاصة السيطرة على البضائع والممتلكات الاخرى التي تدخل او تغادر القصر . ويوجد ذكر عدة « وكلاء قصر » في سجل محفوظات موتا عندما يجلبون الاغنام الى الحاكم . ولما كان سامنوها – اشاريد مسؤولاً عن الحاجيات التي تعود الى القصر فمن المحتمل انه كان وكيل القصر . او أحد وكلاء القصر في الاقل وربما « الوكيل الاول للقصر » . فقد جلب في احدى المناسبات خروفاً بنفسه الى نينورتا – توكولتي – اشور . ونعرف من قرابين معبد بابل ان « بيته » كان يستعمل لخزن الذرة . وربما كان من ممتلكات القصر . وهكذا فان الادلة من سجلات المحفوظات الاخرى . تؤكد انه كان مسؤولاً مهماً . وربما كـان (ليمو) بالاسم نفسه . ويبدو انه قضى فترة طويلة في منصبه . اذ تمتد فترة السجل من حكم نينورتا – ايل – ايكور (المتوفى في حوالي سنة ١١٨٠) ونينورتا – توكولتي – آشور (حوالي ١١٧٩) وحتى حكم تيكلات – بيلصر (تولى العرش في سنة ١١١٥) أو ربما ملك قبله . وهنا لابد ان نعترف ان نسبة الاشخاص (ليمو) الى فترات حكم ملوك معينين من العهد الاشوري الوسيط . غير مؤكد . ودراسة دقيقة للسجلات المختلفة لابد ان تؤدي الى تصحيح المقترحات السابقة [١١]

٥ – سجل المحفوظات الداخلية (بابو – اها – ايدينا

يعتبر بابو – اها – ايدينا احد اشهر الشخصيات المعروفة من العهد الاشوري المتوسط وقد كرس فايدنر مقالاً مهماً حول هذا الرجل . الذي يصفه بانه كـان « مستشار شالمنصر الاول » . وقد اكتشفت رسالة كتبها الى الملك الحيثي فـي بوغازكوي وتدل على انه كان يرتبط بشكل وثيق بشؤون الدولة العليا اثناء فترة التوسع الاشوري الكبير في القرن الثالث عشر قبل الميلاد . وفي الحفرة التجريبية : BI اكتشف عام ١٩٠٨ بيت كبير . يعود الى العهد الاشوري المتوسط ذو جدران متينة . بشكل غير مألوف يقوم على اسس حجرية . بسمك يزيد على المترين . وعلى بعد حوالي عشرين متراً الى الشمال . عثر على اغنى كل القبور في مدينة اشور . وقد ضم هيكلين مزينين بمجوهرات انيقة . مع حاجيات دفن من الذهب والفضة والعاج الخ (Gruft 45) . وفوق النهاية الشرقية لهذا القبر . عثر على مجموعة من حوالي ٥٠ لوحاً وكسرة . كان واضحاً انها تعود الى السجلات الداخلية لمحفوظات بابو – اها – ايدنا . ضم السجل رسائل تلقي الضوء الساطع على تنظيم قصر كبير في ذلك التاريخ . بجانب وثائق ادارية . ولااجد ضرورة لوصفها بالتفصيل لانه سبق وناقشها ايلنك وفايدنر . وهي تبين أن هذا المسؤول الحكومي الكبير . استخدم عدداً من الاشخاص للقيام بادارة أعماله الخاصة . بالاضافة الى صناع مهرة من مختلف المهن . وأنه كانت لديه مخازن في انحاء مختلفة من المدينة . وبقدر ما نعرف فان تلك النصوص تتعلق فقط باعماله التجارية الخاصـة ، وليس بشؤون الدولة – رغم أنه ربما حصل تداخل بينهما احياناً .

اذ من الواضح أن مراسلاته الدبلوماسية . وسجلات المحفوظات المتعلقة بنشاطاته كمستشار . لم توضع في المكان نفسه . ويعتقد أن النصوص التي وصلتنا كانت محفوظة في مسكنه الخاص . سواء كان يستعمل هذا لنشاطاته الخاصة أم لا . ويرى فايدنر أن المبنى الضخم الذي اكتشف في الخندق الاختباري كان فعلاً بيت بابو – اها – ايدينا . ويبدو هذا محتملاً في نظري . وأود أن أتبع ذلك باقتراح آخر . وهو : أن القبر الغني الذي اكتشف سجل المحفوظات فوقه . يعود ايضاً الى بابو – اها – ايدينا ويضم السيد نفسه مع زوجته . وهذا يفسر بالتأكيد ثراء القبر . ويبدو ايضاً من الافتراضات السليمة مثل افتراض اندريه بربطه بمعبد عشتار الى الشمال الشرقي .

٦ – سجل محفوظات عائلة اشور – اها – ايدينا [١٢]

على بعد حوالي ٥٠ متراً الى الغرب من البيت المذكور اعلاه . اكتشف سجـل محفوظات مهم آخر يضم ٨٣ لوحاً نشر فيها حوالي ٧٠ لوحاً . ولسوء الحظ لاتتوفر تفاصيل حول الظروف الدقيقة للاكتشاف . رغم انها لو كانت قد حفظت سوية في جرة واحدة . لكان قد ذكر ذلك بالتأكيد . ولانستطيع ان نقول سوى انه بالنظر لمحتويات النصوص فان فكرة . فايدنر بان لها صلة وثيقة بسجل محفوظات بابو – اها – ايدينا المذكور سابقاً تبدو غير محتملة وذلك لأن هذه النصوص تشكـل بوضوح سجل محفوظات عائلة واحدة . هي عائلة اشور اها ايدينا وابنه وحفيده . لايعود عدد كبير من الالواح الى الجد (حوالي ١٤ فقط) . ولا نعرف الكثير عنه . ولكن ولده مليساه كان حاكم مدينة ناهور في اقصى شمال بلاد الرافدين . تحت حكم شالمنصر وعمل الحفيد اوراد شيروا كمسؤول تحت اشراف ابيه . وربما احتل المنصب نفسه . او منصباً مشابهاً فيما بعد . وبالتالي فان بعض النصوص من سجل المحفوظات . تتعلق بنشاطاتهما الرسمية كمسؤولين كبيرين في الاقاليم الشمالية . وتلقي ضوءاً مهماً جديداً على نظام الادارة الاقليمية في ذلك الوقت : وعـلى اساس هذا السجل . ومصادر اخرى معاصرة مثل النصوص من تل بيلا . نستطيع ان نستنتج : ان منصب حاكم الاقليم كان ينتقل من الاب الى الابن . وان مشكلة ادارة المناطق التي يستولي عليها حديثاً . كانت تحل بتخصيص الاقاليم للعوائل الاشورية العريقة . وبالنظر لمشاركة اشور القديمة بالتجارة . فليس من الغريب ان نجد انه كان يتوقع من الحكام تنظيم العلاقات مع الحكومة المركزية واتباعهـم . بصياغة مسؤوليات ادارية . وكأنها ديون تجارية . وربما لم يكن يفصل بشكـل واضح . وهذا يفسر : لماذا عثر على وثائق تخص الوظيفة العامة للعائلة في الشمال في

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١١ . يتعارض قول فايدنر حول تاريخ نصوص اشور رقم ١٣٠٥٨ في Afo 20 (1963) 123 مع سابورتي الذي يؤرخ الكثير من الاسماء (الليمو) من سجل المحفوظات بعهـد تيكلات – بيلصر الاول . ولكن بالنظر للفترة الطويلة جداً التي يعطيها مثل هذا التحديد لنشاطات سامنوها اشاريد فربما كانت لفايدنر اسباب جيدة لقوله .

The domestic archive of Babu - aha - iddina: Assur Fundnummer 14327. Provenance: squared A8I (MDOG) 38 (1908) 42 3. E. Weidner Afo 19 (1959 - 60) 35

رغم انني لااتفق مع الربط باشور رقم ١٤٤١٠) يستند وصف السجل على دراسة الكاتب للسجل الموجود في جزء غير منشور من اطروحته المقدمة الى ترينتي كوليج – جامعة كمبردج بالنسبة لنصوص معينة من السهل انظر

C. Saporetti, in Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Atti), 25 (1970) 437 - 453

مسكنها بآشور . ولاشك ان الحكام كانوا يزورون العاصمة بانتظام ويحتفظـــون بمؤسساتهم . وربما حتى عوائلهم في العاصمة آشور . ومن الوثائق الخاصة القليلة في سجل المحفوظات الوثيقة التي تحمل رقم KAJ 145 التي تسجل ان اشور – اها – ايدينا دفع ٥ طالينات (وحدة قياس قديمة) من القصدير مقابل شراء بيت في اشور ترى هل كان هذا البيت هو البيت نفسه الذي عثر فيه على بقايا الالـــواح ؟

٧ – سجل محفوظات ثانوي لـ بابو – اها – ايدينا[١٤]

في مكان من الخندق الاختباري 8I « على بعد حوالي ٤٠٠ متر شرق المبنى الكبير » ، عثر على مجموعة من الالواح ، رغم عدم نشر اية تفاصيل دقيقة عن مصدرها . وهناك ١٥ نصاً معروفاً ، ومعظمها وثائق ادارية صغيرة . وكما سبق ان لاحظ فايدنر ، فان بعضها تذكر بابو –اها – ايدينا ويكشف الفحص الدقيق للمجموعة كلها ان ٨ الواح في الاقل تذكرهُ او تذكر اشخاص ، يعرف انهم ينتمون الى عائلته . تتناول النصوص احجار الرحي والمعادن ومواد خام اخرى ، ومنسوجات وتعكس نشاطات تشبه تلك النشاطات الموثقه في المجموعة الاخرى . ويوجد لوحان استثنائيات لانهما يتعلقان بشراء بابو – اها – ايدينا لقطعة ارض .

من الواضح ان هذه المجموعة من النصوص وردت اصلاً من مؤسســة بابو – اها – ايدينا . ولذا يحتمل انه كان يمتلك بناية اخرى ، ربما كانت ثانوية ، من نوع ما في الجزء الشرقي من المدينة . يذكر سجل المحفوظات الرئيسي مجموعة منوعة من غرف الخزن – للبرونز والتوابل والخشب الخ – وتتحدث رسالة عن « الفناء الخارجي » . من هذه المجموعة الشرقية تواجهنا « بيت خزن فـي الفنـاء » (KAJ 178) وبيت كاتا مشغل) (KAJ 274) و « مخزن حبوب يقع في اعلى السلم » كانت تخزن فيه مختلف الاشياء البرونزية المرسلة من القصر » (KAJ 303) . كانت البيوت في مدينة قديمة مثل آشور متقاربة ولم تكـن الارض متيسرة حتى للعوائل الثرية . ولـكن من المحتمل ان بابو – اها –ايدينا وجد من الضروري الحصول على عقارات في انحاء مختلفة من المدينة ، لتلبية متطلبات اعماله التجارية الخاصة الواسعة .

٨ – الوثائق القانونية من القرن الرابع عشر قبل الميلاد[١٥]

الى الشرق مباشرة من سجل المحفوظات الذي ناقشناه اعلاه ، يوجد مسكن كاهن التعاويذ الذي اكتشفت فيه نصوص ادبية مهمة كثيرة . والى الشرق منه أيضاً وفي الخندق الاختباري نفسه توصل المنقبون الى مجموعة تبلغ اكثر من ١٣٠ لوحاً ، بحالة جيدة تحت السطح بـ ٢٫٧٥ م . وقد نشر ايبلنك الكثير من تلك النصوص في KAJ كما نشرت عدداً قليلاً آخر في مقالات متفرقة . ورغم انني يجب ان اؤكد ، انني لم ادرس هذه المجموعة الكاملة كسجل محفوظات ، فيبدو من الانصاف القول : ان هذه النصوص تضم معظم الوثائق القانونية المعروفة من العهد الآشوري الوسيط في مدينة اشور واكثرها نصوص تتعلق بشراء الاراضي ، وقروض القصدير والذرة ولكن توجد نصوص قليلة توثق حالات زواج وتعهد وتقسيم ميراث الخ ، يعود تاريخ السجل عموماً الى فترة مبكرة نسبياً من العهد الاشوري المتوسط استناداً الى فايدنر تشمل الفترة بصورة رئيسية حكم اريبا – اداد واشور – اوباليت (حوالي ١٣٩٢ – ١٣٣٠ ق . م .) وتشمل بالتأكيد السجلات المنفصلة لعدة عوائل مختلفة . يعكس الكثير من النصوص نشاطات ايدين – كوبة وابنه كيدين – اداد بل ويرى فايدنر ان المجموعة الكاملة من الالواح ، ربما كانت تعود الى هذه العائلة واذا كان الامر كذلك ، فيجب ان نتوقع ان بيتها الرئيسي يقع في هذا الجزء من المدينة . ومن الجهة الاخرى يمثل سجل محفوظات لعائلتيــن كبيرتين اخرتين .

ان حقيقة كون هذا ليس مجرد مصادفة يتضح من امتلاك العائلتين أراضي في القرى القليلة نفسها « عبر نهر شيشار » – والذي اعتقد مع بنسين أنه كان الاسم القديم للثرثار . ثم نستطيع أن نفترض أن كيدين – اداد قد اشترى أراضي تعود الى العوائل الاخرى . وفي تلك الحالة فان أية وثائق تتعلق بشراء تلك الاراضي سابقاً ، تنتقل اليه مع ملكية الاراضي . واذا كان ذلك التفسير صحيحاً حقاً ، فانه يعني أن العائلة قد اصبحت مالكة اراضي ثرية جداً ولـكن بدون اعادة فحص المجموعة كلها مرة اخرى – وبفضل نشر البقية – يكون من السابق لاوانه الاقتراح بان الالواح تضم سجل محفوظات عائلياً واحداً لانه قد تكون هناك تفسيرات اخرى لسبب وجودها سوية .

٩ – سجل عائلة ادماتي – ايلي

في الخندق الاختباري 9I عثر على غرفة مخزن تعود لمسكن خاص من العهد الاشوري المتوسط وهو لايزال مليئا بمختلف الاواني الفخارية احتوى احدها على ٥٤ لوحـاً .

ومن بين هذا السجل جيد التوثيق نشر ٢٨ لوحاً لحد الان . تشكل مجموعة مختلطة من المعاملات . معظمها قروض قصدير وذرة ، ولـكنها تضم ايضاً بضعة وثائق مهمة اخرى . ويوجد اسمان يتكرران اكثر من غيرهما احدهما : هـــو ادماتي – ايلي الذي يذكر مرتين . الاولى كجد لشخص يشتري جارية (التي نتوقع أن اللوح بقي في حوزتها) وفي الثانية كأب لـ سين – ناصر وطرف لعقد فريد « المساعدة المتبادلة » مكسور مع الاسف (KAJ 57) . ويظهر اثنان من ابناء سين – ناصر في KAJ 37 . حيث يقرض شخص اسمه ريش – آشور الـذرة الى اشخاص مختلفين . كما أنه يقرض القصدير في لوحين آخرين من المجموعة . ولذا فانه المرشح الثاني لاطلاق اسم سجل المحفوظات عليه . أننا لانستطيع على اساس العينة المنشورة . ان نقرر ما اذا كانت هذه الوثائق قد اضيفت الى تلك الوثائق العائدة الى عائلة ادماتي – ايلي او العكس بالعكس .

يوجد ايضاً عدد من عقود القروض من الجرة نفسها والتي يبدو أنه ليست لها علاقة باي من الطرفين . لاحد تفسيرات ذلك موجود في النصوص نفسها . تحتوي اربعة من القروض KAJ 16; 19; 31; & 71 وكلها الدائنين ومدينيـــن مختلفين عبارة « يجب أن يدفع الى حامل اللوحة » . وهكذا نرى أن ديوناً من هذا النوع كان يمكن أن تنتقل من شخص الى آخر بمجرد نقل اللوح الى مالك جديد . وقد يفسر ذلك كيف وصلت تلك الوثائق الى هذا المكان . رغم أنه تبدو غير ذات علاقة .

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١٤ . سجل المحفوظات الثانوي لـ بابو – اها – ايدينا رقم اشور ١٤٤٤٥ . لم ينشر مصدر دقيق ولـكن الالواح وجدت في المربع 8I غرب بيت كاهن التعويذ :
(E. Weidner, AfO 19 (1959–60) 38)

15. The 14th century legal documents: Assur Fundnummer 14446. See E. Weidner, Afo 20 (1963) 123, and 124 on the Hausarchiv' of Iddin - Kube and Kidin - Adad . Provenance: spuare iA8I, east of the House of the Incanta tion Priest (MDOG 38 (1908) 43).

١٠ – سجل محفوظات زيرو – ايكيشا(١٧)

يتألف سجل المحفوظات العاشر والاخير من الواح وجدت متناثرة على ارضية بيت كبير في النهاية الجنوبية من المدينة . في حفرة الاختبار 10 I .وقد نشرت اربعة وعشرون من هذه النصوص وتظهر بوضوح أن زيرو – ايكيشا (الاسم الكامل هو اداد – زيرو – ايكيشا) عاش هنا وتشير عدة الواح الى أنه كان يدير قطعان الاغنام التي تعود اليه . والى القصر . ويشير نصان الى شرائه بيتاً في مدينة اشور . والاخرى قروض قصد يروذرة الدائن فيها هوزيرو – ايكيشا .

وكما هو الأمر بالنسبة لسجل المحفوظات السابق . توجد ايضاً بعض الالواح التي يبدو انها تعود الى عائلة مختلفة تماماً . ومرة اخرى لايوجد تفسير واضح لذلك . ومرة اخرى كذلك يجب أن ننتظر نشر بقية الوثائق . على امل أن توفر الحل لسبب وجود المجموعتين سوية .

ختاماً اود أن اذكر نقطة او نقطتين تبرزان من تحقيق هذه السجلات . ومكان اكتشافها . وآمل أن يكون واضحاً انه بتمحيص كل نص – ليس بمفرده – بل في اطار سجل المحفوظات الذي يعود اليه يعرف المرء الكثير حول النص والسجل . وأنه بفحص كل نص ضمن المحتوى الذي وفرته تنقيبات أندريه الدقيقة . يعرف المرء المزيد من السجل والمحتوى الاثاري . وبصراحة لم يكن من الضروري بالنسبة لنا الانتظار سبعين عاماً لنستطيع الجمع بين البيانات النصية والاثارية . ومع ذلك فما تزال الصلة حتى اليوم بين الاثاري وخبير المسماريات ليست كاملة دائماً .

ومن بين السجلات العشرة التي ناقشناها عثر على ما لايقل عن خمسة منها في حفر الاختبار ذات عشرة امتار وهي التي حفرت في الموقع بين كل ١٠٠ متر . ان هذا يشير الى وجود سجلات محفوظات مشابهة اخرى تنتظر الاكتشاف خارج الحفر الاختبارية. وجدت المجموعات ١ و٢ و٣ في قطاع المعبد والقصر على طول الجانب الشمالي من المدينة . ومن الامور المهمة أن هذه فيما يبدو سجلات محفوظات عامة كلها تتناول الادارة الحكومية . وعلى النقيض من ذلك فان البقية يمثل للجمع بين الوثائق الخاصة والعامة للاشخاص ذوي العلاقة وهذا يشير بالتأكيد الى أنها اكتشفت في البيوت الخاصة . وليس في المباني الإدارية .

وقد سبق ان ذكرنا أن الخط الذي يفصل بين المسؤوليات العامة والمسؤولية الخاصة . لم يكن ثابتاً تماماً في العهد الاشوري المتوسط . وهذا يتفق مع بيانات سجلات المحفوظات من تل بيلا وتل الرماح .واخيراً اود أن الفت انتباهكم بصورة خاصة الى السجلات رقم ٤ و٥ و٦.

وهي تعود لعوائل مسؤولين كبار في الدولة مثل بابو – اها – ايدينا وحكام ناهور وربما الوكيل الاول للقصر. وربما كانوا من مرتبة اجتماعية أعلى من مالكي البيوت الواقعة الى الجنوب . والتي عثر فيها على السجلين ٩ و ١٠ . وهذا يسمح لنا أن نقترح أن بيوت العوائل الاكثر أهمية . تميل لأن تقع في أماكن أقرب الى المعبد والقصر. ولكن ليس من السهل القول ما اذا كانت لحقيقة وقوعها نحو الغرب أية صلة بموقع القصر الجديد توكولتي – نينورتا . ولكن كون « البيوت » الكبيرة لكبار مسؤولي الدولة تقع حول القصر الملكي احتمال يستحق التمحيص بالتأكيد(١٨) .



16. Admati - ili's family archine: Assur Fundnummer 14886. Provenance: see E. Weidner, Festschrift Christian 112, quoting MDOG 40, 20 with Abb. 4, Square eA9I.

17. The archive of Zeru - iqiša : Assur Fundnummer 14987. Provenance: square fE10I (MDOG 40, 22 - 3; K. Preasser, Die Wohnhauser, p. 13).

١٨ . في الختام اود أن أعبر عن شكري الى مكتبة المتحف العراقي والمعهد الاثاري الالماني للطريقة السخية التي وضعوا بها تسهيلاتهما تحت تصرف الزوار . اذ لولا هاتان المكتبتان لاستحال علي اكمال هذا البحث .

لغة آشور في الأمبراطورية الميتانية

(حوالي ١٤٥٠ – ١٣٥٠ ق . م)

البروفسور فولفرام فون زودن

ان العمل في اعداد معجم كبير. مثل Akkadisches Handwörterbuck الذي قمت بوضعه . هو مهمة مرهقة اذا كانت الكلمة قد تكررت مرات قليلة جداً . لكي تحقق نتائج مرضية او تتكرر كثيراً جداً . بحيث يصبح من الصعب ترتيبها وفهمها عندما تستعمل بشكل غير اعتيادي . ولكن هذه المهمة تقود الى ملاحظات تلقي الضوء على مسائل مهمة ليست مفرداتية بشكل محدد بل تاريخية تتعلق بالدين او العلوم او الاقتصاد اومواضيع اخرى من الابحاث . ان الملاحظات من هذا النوع هي نقطة الانطلاق لهذا البحث .

لقد دهشنا مراراً وتكراراً . اذ وجدنا في الرسائل والوثائق من اوغاريت وكذلك في العمرنة رسائل من شمال سوريا وكتابات وكلمات اشورية بدلاً من البابلية المستعمله عادة فيما يسمى باللهجة الاكدية المكتوبة التي كانت متداولة كلغة كلام ايضاً من فلسطين الى الاناضول وبلاد الرافدين بين القرنين الخامس والثالث عشر قبل الميلاد . واكتشف جزء صغير من المفردات الاشورية في الوثائق المتعلقة ببلاد آشور . او الرسائل الموجهة الى عناوين اشورية . وقد ازدادت دهشتي عندما ادركت ان المفردات الاشورية ترد في وثائق نوزي قرب الحدود الشرقية لبلاد اشور اقل بكثير من شمال سوريا . بينما يتوقع المرء العكس تماماً . وليس من اهداف هذا البحث الخوض في تفاصيل ملاحظاتي . ومناقشة المشاكل النحوية والمفرداتية ذات العلاقة لأن علماء اللغات القديمة فقط . هم الذين يمكن ان يبدوا اهتماماً بها . ولكن من الضروري ان نشير في القسم الاول باختصار الى الحقائق الاساسية في هذا الصدد لغرض اعطاء الادلة على الاستنتاجات التاريخية التي توصلنا اليها في القسم الثاني .

لم تنشر بعد قائمة الرموز المسمارية المستعملة في اوغاريت . ولدينا فقط بالنسبة لرسائل العمرنة من شمال سوريا . قائمة جيدة بالرموز اعدها اوتوشرويدر فـي VS X II . بدراسة هذه القائمة والنسخ الدقيقة لـ جان نوكايرول في مطبوعاته لوثائق اوغاريت البابلية نعلم انه سادت اشكال رموز تشبه تلك التي استعملت في بلاد بابل . في عهد الكاشيين . ولكن كثيراً ما يعثر على رموز شبيهة بالرموز المستعملة في وثائق اشور التي تعود الى العهد الاشوري المتوسط . اذ ان بعض الكتبة يستفيدون من الرموز الاشورية بالاضافة الى الاشكال البابلية الاعتيادية . ولكن الاشكـال الاشورية تسود في عدد من النصوص . ويبدو ان بعض مدارس الكتبة من اوغاريت كانت تدرس الكتابة الاشورية بجانب البابلية كما بالنسبة للرموز ., gar , ta , ra ki , di , i tin , tak , šul , ak , šar وغيرها وقد استعملت لكلمات بابلية واشورية بطريقة مماثلة.

بجانب اشكال الرموز الآشورية . نجد عدداً من مدلولات المقاطع الشائعة نسبياً غير الموجودة في بلاد بابل المعاصرة . وهذه المقاطع بصفة خاصة هي qi . التي تكتب بالرمز kin و ti. التي تطورت من tin. في العهد البابلي القديم و kil, kūl, nis خاصة في الظرف dan – niš (جداً) و šum (مختصر sam) و sum و tak وغيرها . ويمكن ان نجد معظمها في الالواح من حاتوشاس وبعضها من نوزي ايضاً .

وفيما يخص علم الأصوات الكلامية فاننا نجد عدداً كبيراً تتميز بما يسمى التناغم الصوتي الذي يميز كافة العهود التي مرت بها اللغة الآشورية مثل maḫšlu. (المدق) بدلاً من meḫšalu البابلية ويكتبون isaṭṭurn بدلاً من isaṭṭarū و aqtebi. iqtebi (هو تحدث . أنا تحدثت) بدلاً من ilaqtabi و ittesi. (خرج) بدلاً من ittasi وسنورد أشكالاً آشورية اخرى بعد قليل .

وفيما يتعلق بعلم الصرف يجب أن نذكر أولاً بعض الأشكال المتعلقة بالضمائر الآشورية في أوغاريت خاصة ana kuāša (اليك مفرد) بدلاً من ana kāša و ana kunāšunu (اليكم – جمع) بدلاً من ana kāšunu في البابلية وشكلا الضمير . šit و šut (هو . هي) بدلاً من si و šu في البابلية . ونجد اسم الاشارة ammiu (ذلك) في رسائل ميتاني فقط . ونجد في أوغاريت أحياناً allâ بدلاً من ullû البابلية .

اما فيما يتعلق بالاسماء فاننا كثيراً مانجد نهاية حالة الجر في الاشورية بدلاً من i في البابلية واللواحق المستعملة في الاسماء باستعمال tt مثلاً ittu بدلاً من itu و ūttu بدلاً من utu في البابلية كما في - ana dāritti (الى الابد) بدلاً من ana dariti في البابلية و annuti (تلك) بدلاً من annuti: و tamkarutta - šunu « عملهم التجاري » بدلاً من tamkarassunu ـ في البابلية .

وكثيراً مانجد صيغاً فعلية اشورية بوادىء المؤنث الشخص الثالث غالباً ماتكون و..و بدلاً من بوادىء المذكر . . و . في اللغة البابلية وفي هذه الحالة

فان التأثير الاوغاريتي ممكن ايضاً لأنه توجد الصيغ الاوغاريتية مثل tittadin (اعطت) بدلاً من tattadin في الاشورية و ittadin في البابلية . كما توجد حالات كثيرة للاحقة الاشورية المستعملة في حالة الشرط ni - كما في ša iddinū - ni (الذي اعطى) . وبالنسبة لحالة الامر كثيراً مانستعمل lū lā بدلاً من ohny lā في البابلية قبل صيغة المضارع مثل lū lā tezeme (لاتغضب) بدلاً من lā tezenni في البابلية . ومن الصيغ الشائعة الاخرى في الاشورية habbulāta (انت مدين) بدلاً من hubbulāta في البابلية و eppaš. (هو يفعل) بدلاً من tēlapaši ippuš (انت فعلت) بدلا من tētepuš في البابلية وصيغ كثيرة مثلها . كما يجب ان نذكر ušebbal (هو يرسل) بدلاً من ušebbil في البابلية و ušezzabanni (سوف ينقذني) بدلاً من ušezzebanni في البابلية و ile"e (يتغلب على) بدلا من tašamme في البابلية و tesemme (انت تسمع) بدلاً من tešemme و anla, latā.i-šu (بدون اختصار الحرف اللين) بدلاً من šu ītleti في البابلية (لكي يحطم الى قطع) وتستعمل tadin في الاشورية مقابل nadin في البابلية .

هنالك حاجة لمزيد من الابحاث المتعلقة بالكلمات الاشورية المحددة . اكثر مما هو متوفر الآن . خاصة مايتعلق بقاموس بالاكدية الاوغاريتية . بالنسبة لبداية

الكلام المباشر . كثيراً مانجد في الرسائل اللاحقة الاشورية mā بالاضافة الى umma البابلية الاكثر شيوعاً . ومن الكلمات الاشورية الاخرى namāšu (يرحل) و sarpu او sorpu (فضة) و šunnû (يغير) بدلاً من šunnū البابلية . الخ

انني أخشى أن هذه القائمة القصيرة لبعض أوضح الكتابات والصيغ والمفردات في نصوص أوغاريت من شمال سوريا وبعضها حثية من الأناضول ونوزي ربما كانت مرهقة لكم أيها الزملاء الأعزاء . ولكن قبل التوصل الى استنتاجات من ملاحظاتي كان محتماً تقديم الحقائق اللغوية الأساسية . ونحن الآن مستعدون لتوجيه السؤال التالي مجدداً : لماذا استعملت أوغاريت والمدن الاخرى بكثرة أشكالاً آشورية ؟ انا نكرر أنه بسبب المسافة البعيدة بين بلاد اشور وسوريا . والأهمية الضئيلة لبلاد اشور خلال القرن الذي سبق حوالي عام ١٣٥٠ لايمكن أن تعتبر الاتصالات المباشرة بين المنطقتين هي السبب . وكذلك لايوجد سبب يدعو للافتراض بأن الحضارة الآشورية خلال بداية الامبراطورية الميتانية كان لها نفوذ كبير على اقطار بعيدة نسبياً . ومن المؤكد أن معرفتنا بالتاريخ والحضارات أثناء الفترة المظلمة بعد سقوط امبراطورية حمورابي والمملكة الحثية القديمة قليلة ولذا يجب أن نتجنب الاستنتاجات المبكرة غير المسندة . ولكنني أعتقد أن بامكاننا تخمين أن حكومة الامبراطورية الميتانية أيدت استعمال اللغة الآشورية بجانب اللغة البابلية وبدلاً منها . وهناك أسباب قوية تؤيد مثل هذا التخمين .

ويبدو أن الامبراطورية الميتانية كانت غير قادرة على تثبيت اللغة الحورية كلغة لادارة الامبراطورية . ولو أن اللغة الحورية هي التي كانت اللغة السائدة لسلطات ميتاني لوجدنا وثائق ورسائل باللغة الحورية . أكثر مما وجدنا بكثير .
ان المصادر المتوفرة لدينا لاتسمح لنا بالتوصل الى اي استنتاج آخر سوى ان اللغة الاكدية سادت كلغة للادارة في تلك الامبراطورية . واعتقد ان احد اسباب هذه الحقيقة المهمة . هو عدم وجود نوع من اللغة الحورية الادبية القياسية فالنصوص الحورية التي وجدت لحد الآن . كتبت بلهجات مختلفة استناداً الى ملاحظات لاروش مثلا الذي درس النصوص الحورية من ايمار في سوريا والتي عثر عليها مؤخراً ولم تنشر بعد .

ان من المؤكد ان مصادرنا عن اللغة الحورية . التي كانت تستعمل في عاصمة الامبراطورية الميتانية واشوكاني في بلاد الرافدين قليلة العدد لاننا نمتلك فقط الرسالة الميتانية من محفوظات العمرنة فقط والتي دارت حولها مناقشات طويلة . كما نعرف بعض الكلمات من رسائل توشراتا الاكدية . ولا نعرف ما اذا كان الكتاب الحوريون في سوريا يستطيعون فهم اللغة الحورية في بلاد الرافدين وكم كان عدد الاشخاص في سوريا الذين كانوا يتكلمون ويفهمون اللغة الحورية . وعلى أية حال فان لغة الادارة المستعملة عادة في الامبراطورية من نوزي الى البحر المتوسط . كانت اللغة الأكدية ولكن اللغة البابلية لم تكن تستعمل في كل مكان علماً بأنها كانت تكتب في بلاد الرافدين منذ الألف الثالث قبل الميلاد . ولما كانت اللغة البابلية هي اللغة الأدبية القديمة ليس فقط لبابل فقد كانت محترمة أكثر بكثير من اللغة الآشورية حتى في بلاد الرافدين . وفي القرن الرابع عشر قبل الميلاد كتب توشراتا ملك ميتاني رسائل بابلية الى فرعون وفضل الملوك الآشوريون الذين تبدأ أسماؤهم بـ آشور ابالييت اللغة البابلية لكتاباتهم وحتى للمؤلفات الأدبية مثل ملحمة توكولتي نينورتا رغم أن النص والكتابة في معظم الاجزاء هي آشورية . ولكننا لانعرف ماإذا كان الملوك الميتانيون قبل توشراتا اللغة البابلية بالدرجة نفسها . ان دور اللغة الآشورية في شمال سوريا قد يقودنا الى اقتراح آخر .

كما في العهود التالية فأن الصراعات السياسية بين الدول المتجاورة في الشرق القديم لم تؤدي الى الحروب دائماً .

ان كفاءة الحرب الأقتصادية كانت أكثر فعالية من نصر في ميدان المعركة . ولكن ملوكاً كثيرين كانوا يدركون أهمية التنافس الحضاري والفكري للحصول على القوة والسمعة السياسية . لقد أستفاد الملوك الكاشيون لبلاد بابل مثلاً من نواحي كثيرة من نفوذ الحضارة البابلية على الأقاليم المجاورة . وقد منح التفوق الحضاري فرصاً كثيرة للعب دورهم في السياسة حتى في فترات الضعف العسكري . ونعرف من رسائل العمرنة ان مركز بلاد بابل كان قوياً نسبياً . رغم ضعفها العسكري . وكانت بلاد بابل بالنسبة لمصر . بمثابة القوة الموازنة للأمبراطورية الميتانية .

أما بالنسبة للأمبراطورية الميتانية فقد كان أصعب بكثير الحصول على مركز قوي ومتين بين جيرانها . كان شمال بلاد الرافدين ذا أهمية قليلة خلال القرون الأولى من الألف الثاني سياسياً وحضارياً . وكان مركزها ضعيفاً بين مراكز شرق الأناضول وشمال سوريا وماري واشور . كما نعلم من رسائل كابادوكيا والرسائل من ماري . وبعد عام ١٥٠٠ ق . م. أصبحت سلالة ميتاني في وضع تستطيع معه أن تستولي على بلاد الرافدين والأقاليم المجاورة لأن الدولة الحثية آنذاك كانت ضعيفة مثل بلاد بابل وآشور. وليست لدينا مصادر عن هذا العصر المظلم . لم يكن يكفي الامبراطورية أن يكون لها جيش قوي . والأهتمام بالتجارة والمواصلات بل كان من الضروري أقامة ادارة كفوءة وتطوير المراكز الحضارية التي كان لابد أن تكون أكثر من مجرد مراكز اقليمية . ولاشك ان اللغة الأكثر انتشاراً في جنوب وغرب الأمبراطورية . كانت اللغة البابلية المتأثرة بالكنعانية . ولكن البابلية كانت قبل كل شيء لغة بلاد بابل وكذلك أثناء حكم الكاشيين . لأن الكاشيين لم يحاولوا حسب علمنا . فرض لغتهم على رعاياهم . ولم يكن بالأمكان نقل مدارس الكتاب البابلية الى شمال بلاد الرافدين التي لايقطنها البابليون .

ولكن ظهر هناك تقليد كتابي آخر في مكان غير بعيد هو تقليد آشور . ومن المؤكد اننا لانستطيع مقارنة التقليد المبكر في آشور بالتقليد البابلي لأن اللغة الآشورية القديمة لم تتطور الى لغة الادب ولم تساهم اشور الا قليلا في التقليد السومري . ولكن اشور طورت النوع الخاص بها من الكتابة المسمارية بعد العهد الاكدي القديم . وتظهر الرسائل والوثائق وجود مصطلحات واضحة . لبلاد ادارة والعدل والتجارة . لم تكن المفردات غنية جداً . لكنها كانت كافية تماماً للتعبير عن مختلف الافكار .

وبعد فترة تجارة المستعمرات وسيطرة شمشي اداد وحمورابي تغيرت اللغة الاشورية القديمة وتمكننا الكتابات القليلة لامراء اشور بعد حوالي عام ١٥٠٠ ان نلاحظ ظواهر الانتقال في اللغة والكتابة . كانت التغييرات في الكتابة اكثر منها في بابل المعاصرة . ولا نعرف اسباب ذلك . وعندما ظهرت الامبراطورية الميتانية كان المتمصرون قد عرفوا الكتابة الاشورية المتوسطة . وربما كانت الاشورية المتوسطة انذاك لغة ضعيفة لأن المدن الاشورية كانت قد تراجعت الى مراكز اقليمية . ولكن اشور ساهمت بشكل ما في تطوير بلاد بابل . كما يلاحظ من تشابه بعض التغييرات في كلا البلدين . وربما نستطيع التخمين بان امراء آشور حاولوا عندما امكنهم ذلك تحريض بابل ضد الامبراطورية الميتانية للحصول على بعض الاستقلال الذاتي . وانهم حققوا بعض النجاح .

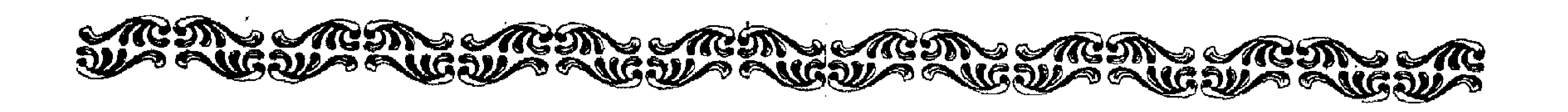
لنعد الآن الى بداية ملاحظاتنا بانه توجد صيغ اشورية كثيرة في رسائل ووثائق شمال سوريا خلال العهد الميتاني وبعده . وكما ذكرنا سابقا اود ان اقترح مع شيء من التحفظ . الرأي بان الملوك الميتانيين قبل توشراتا اختاروا اللغة الاشورية كلغة ادارة للامبراطورية من اجل استعمال لغة واسعة الانتشار مثل اللغة البابلية ولكن ليس اللغة البابلية للمملكة الكاشية نفسها . لقد كان اجراء يستهدف تأسيس مركز حضاري جديد في واشوكاني . ينافس المراكز القديمة في بلاد بابل والاناضول وسوريا وربما حتى مصر . وكانوا يدركون اهمية اقامة مركز حقيقي لامبراطوريتهم اكثر من مجرد عاصمة .

ولكن يبدو انه لم يكن هناك في بلاد الرافدين من يهتم برفض الحضارة واللغة البابلية كما لم تكن اية من الممالك المعينة دولة قومية . واستمرت اللغة البابلية لغة المراسلات الدولية كما تبرهن على ذلك محفوظات العمرنة وهاتوشا وأوغاريت . وربما احتفظت اللغة البابلية نتيجة هذه الحقيقة المتأثرة باللغات الحورية والكنعانية والحثية وغيرها بسيطرتها في مدارس الكتبة الشمالية والغربية . ولكن الكثيرين من الكتبة خلطوا صيغ الكلمات والرموز البابلية والاشورية في الكتابة ولانعرف وثيقة اورسالة خاصة من واشوكاني واقليمها . ولابد ان ننتظر حتى يجري التنقيب في هذه المدينة .

ان من الشروط الاولية الاخرى لنجاح المزيد من الابحاث في رأيي استئناف التنقيب في العاصمة الاشورية القديمة اشور . واعتقد انه سيكون من الصعب جداً ايجاد مواقع نتوقع الحصول فيها على بقايا العهد الاشوري المتوسط . وخاصة الفترة المبكرة منه اذ ان قيام الكثيرين من الملوك الاشوريين بهدم الموقع تماماً من اجل تشييد البناء يعرقل التنقيبات بشكل كبير . وربما ستساعدنا اللقى الجديدة في اشور الى التوصل الى رأي مدعم بصدد المركز السياسي لاشور اثناء سيطرة ميتاني قبل اشور أباليت الأول .

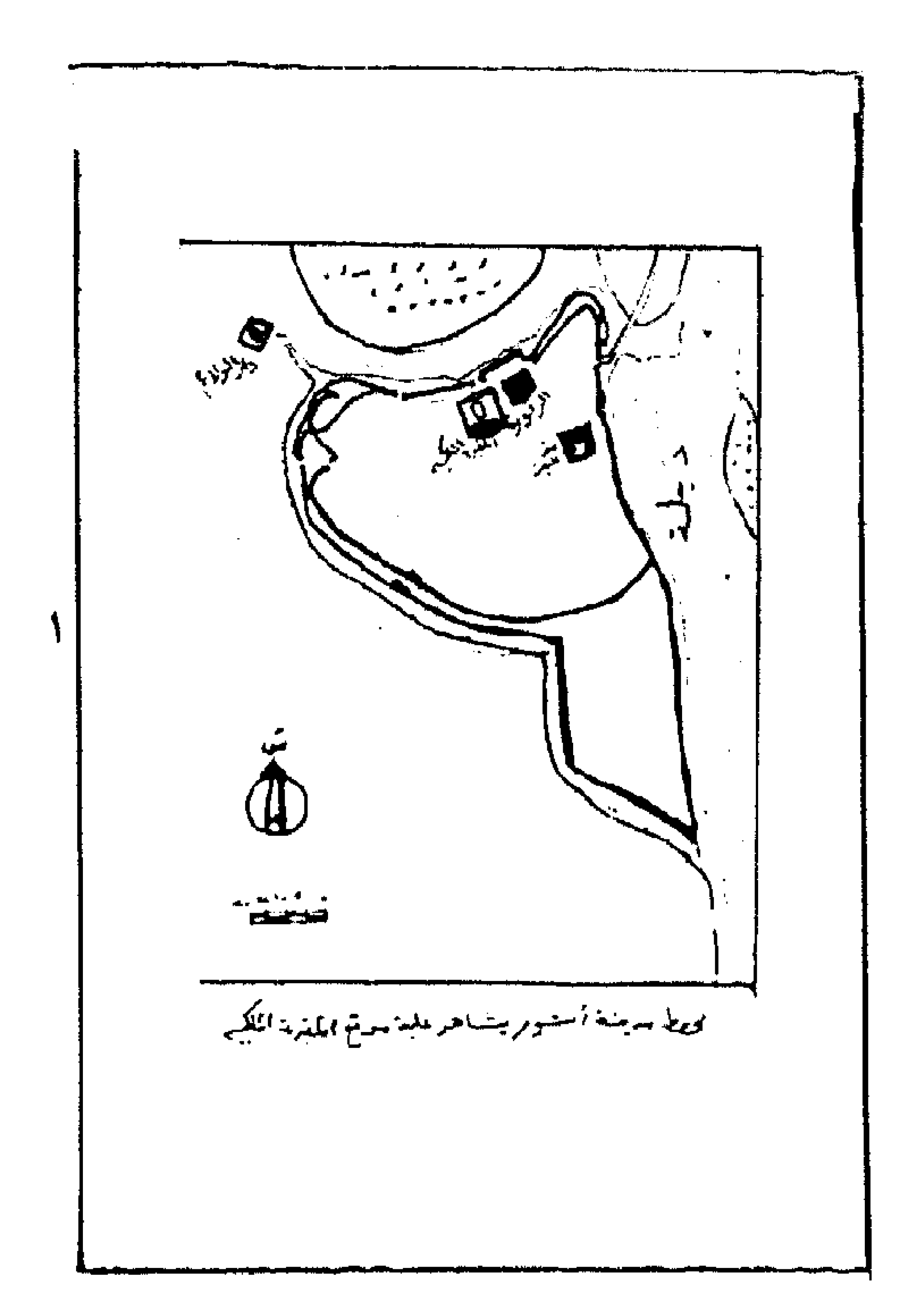
ان هذا البحث لا يمكن ان يكون أكثر من مجرد اقتراح لاجراء المزيد من الابحاث حول المشاكل الصعبة اللغوية والتاريخية والاثارية . ان معالجة المسائل ذات العلاقة كافة يتطلب من الابحاث الخاصة اكثر مما استطيع القيام به ولا بد من دراسة شاملة .

اشكر المؤسسة العامة للاثار والتراث والدكتور مؤيد سعيد دميرجي لمنحي فرصة مناقشة المشاكل هنا .



القبور المكتشفة في آشور الموسم الثاني ١٩٧٩

عبد محمد جرو
منقب آثار



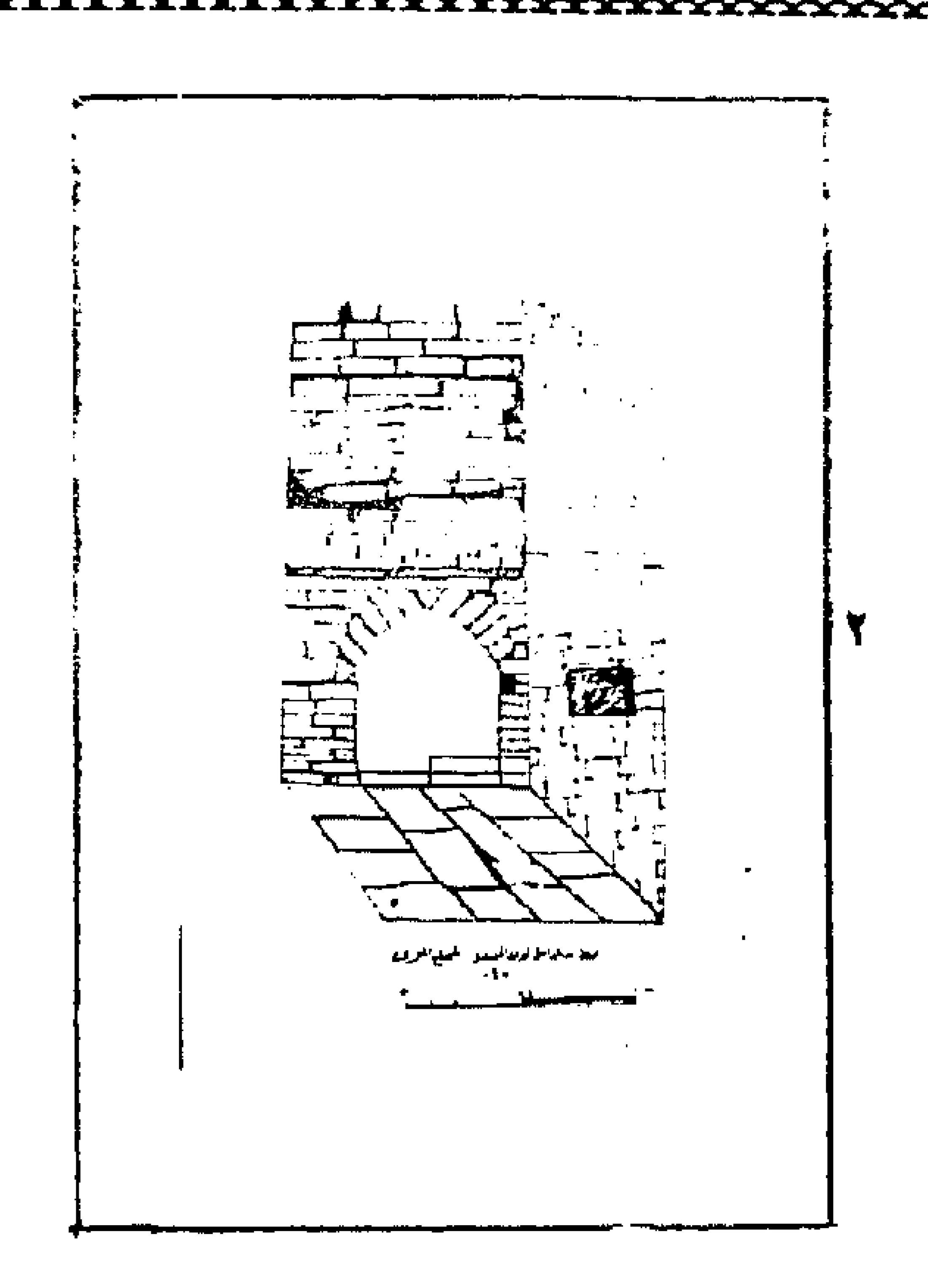
١

أ ـ قبر القاعة : ـ

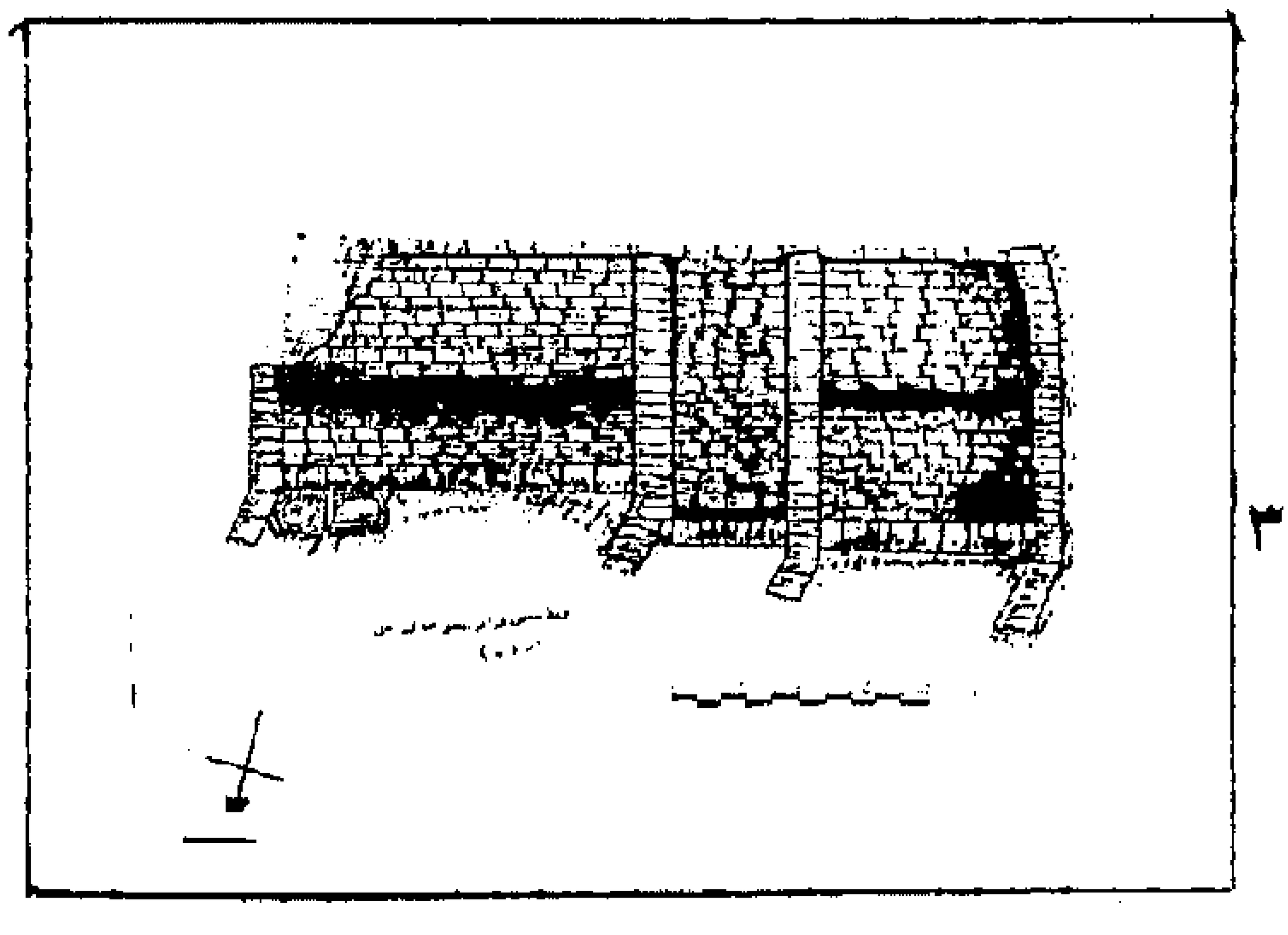
يقع هذا القبر تحت القاعة الكبيرة لمقر البعثة العراقية الآثارية . العاملة في آشور حالياً . وهذه القاعة كانت من ملحقات مقر البعثة الألمانية التي نقبت في آشـــور مابين ١٩٠٣ – ١٩١٤ ويتالف هذا القبر من الأقسام التالية : –

١ – المدخل :

ينزل الى الأسفل بشكل عمودي الى داخل الأرض وبعمق (٢ م) حيث يصل الى ارضية مربعة . طول ضلعها ١٥٠ سم ومبلطة بالمطابوق وفيها بابان كل باب ينفذ الى غرفة للدفن وان ارضية المدخل تكون أكثر آرتفاعا من ارضيـة غرفتي

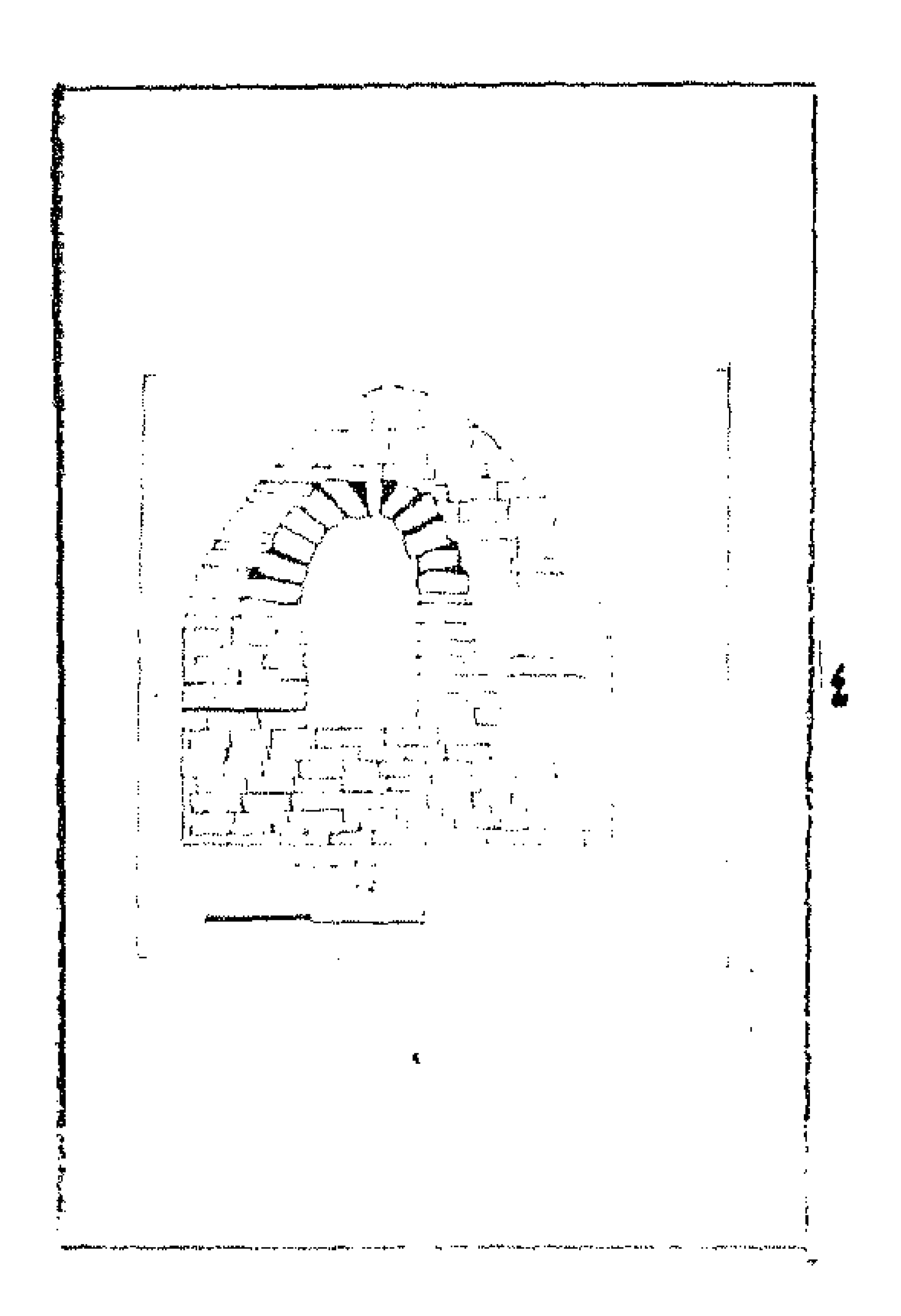


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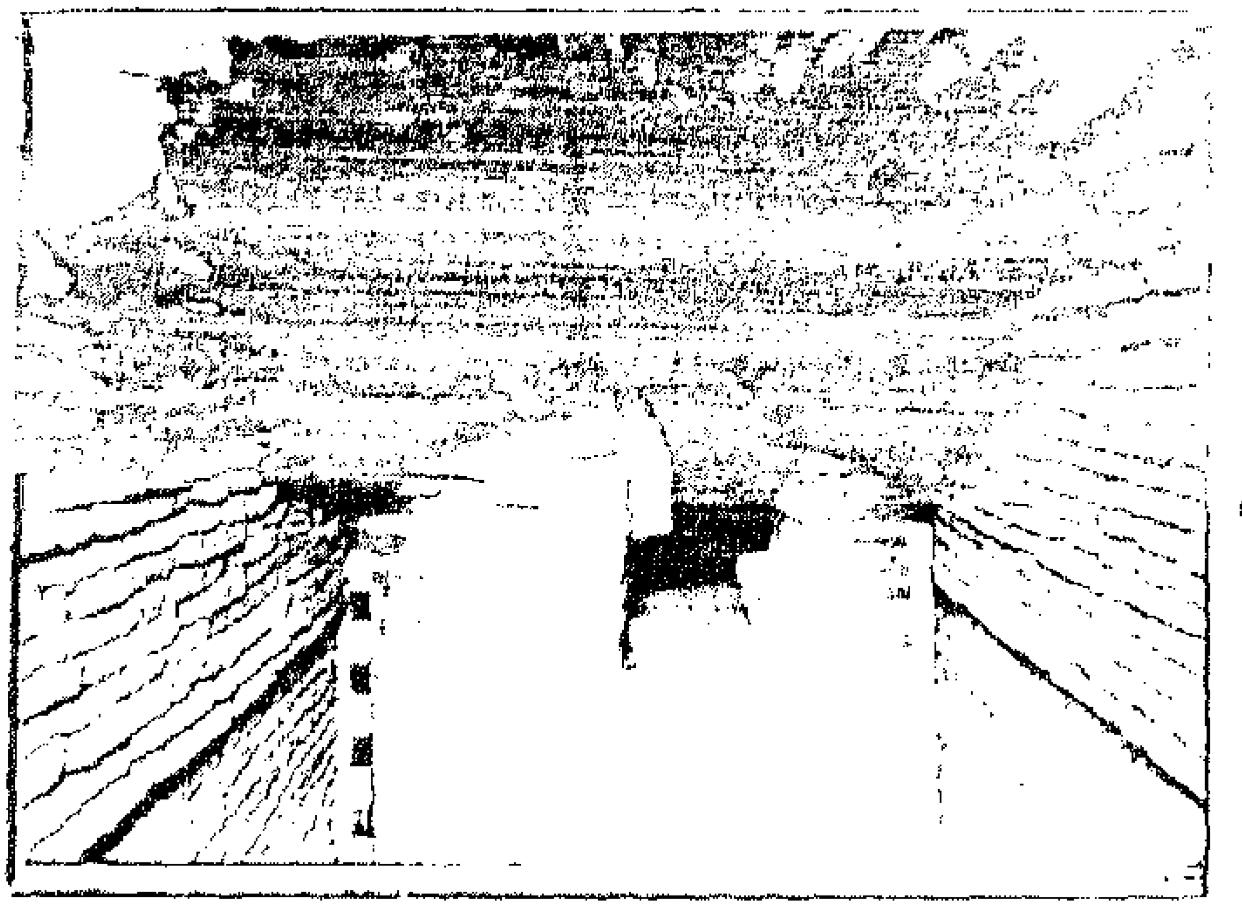


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الدفن . والبابان الذان يؤديان ألى داخل الغرفتين يكونان على شكل عقد نصف دائري . ويتألف كل عقد من حوالي من (١٣) طابوقة وثلاثة منها تؤلف قمة العقد حيث عوملت هـذه الطابوقات بشكل خـاص ونحتت جوانبها من الأسفـل . وأصبحت شبه مدببة لكي تؤلف قوساً نصف دائري وتكون الطابوقة الوسطيـة مفتاح العقد . وفوق عقد الباب رف من الطابوق . يبرز بمقدار (٦) سم كما يوجد



٤



٥

في الضلع الشمالية للمدخل مشكاة مربعة الشكل قياسها ٣٠ × ٣٠ × ٦ سم وربما عملت من أجل وضع فيها مسرجة لانارة المدخل بالنسبة للنازل الى الداخل وليست هذه المشكاة الوحيدة في المدفن بل توجد ثانية في الغرفة الغربية وفي الضلع الغربية مقابل الباب الموجود في الضلع الشرقية وهي بالقياس الأول نفسه وتستخدم لأنارة الغرفة خلال عملية الدفن . لأن الغرفة تكون مظلمة ولا يدخل اليها الضوء بسبب التقبب ومدخلها الرئيسي الذي يكون بشكل بئر ينزل عمودياً الى باحة المدخل .

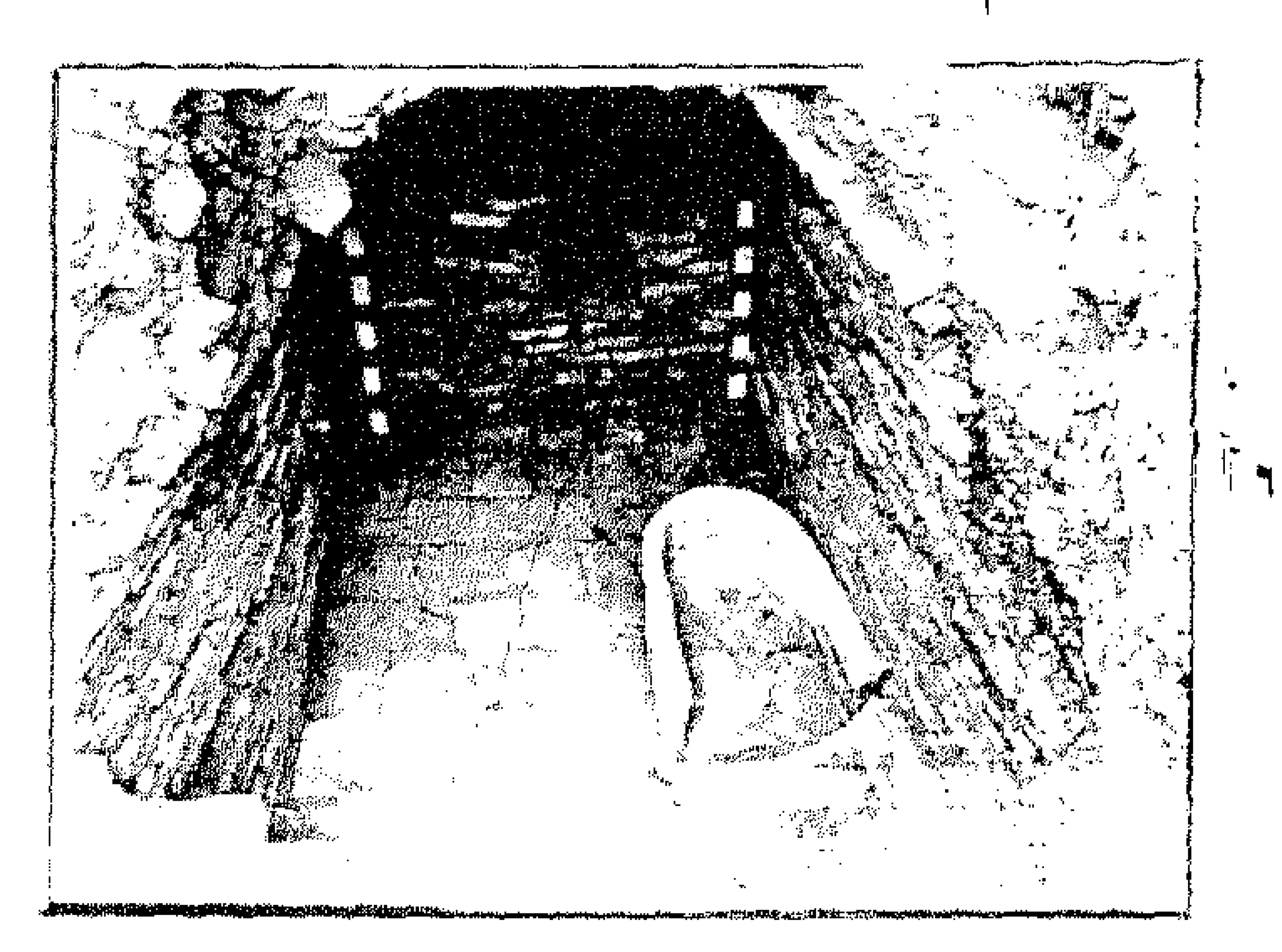
وهناك باب ثان ينفذ الى الغرفة الشرقية . وأعتقد أنه كانت هناك مشكاة في الضلع الشرقية التي تهدمت وزالت معالمها وذلك لأستخدامها للأنارة عنـــد الدفن .

أنظر الصورة من ١–٥

٢– الغرفة الشرقية :

تقع هذه الغرفة الى الشرق من المدخل للقبر . ويتم الدخول اليها عن طريق الباب الموجود في الضلع الغربية . ويتألف بابها من عقد مبني من الطابوق أنظـر انظر الصورة (٤) وارتفاع هذ الباب ٦٠ سم من بداية العتبة الى قمة العقد وعرضه ٥٢٫٥ سم من الأسفل . وعند ارضية المدخل وارتفاعه عن أرضية الغرفة ٨٤ سم بهذا تكون ارضية الغرفة منخفضة عن أرضية المدخل الرئيسي بمقدار ٨٤ سم . وهذا العمق الحاصل في الغرفة يساعد على أدخال الجثة بسهولة . كما يزيد من ارتفاع الغرفة من الداخل وتكون قياساتها كالاتي .

طولهـا ٢٦٨ سم
عـرضهـا ١٨٨ سم
ارتفاعهـــا ١٩٦ سم



٦ آ

وفي ضلعها الشمالية والجنوبية افريز بارز بمقدار (٣سم) وهو من الطابوق وعلى ارتفاع ٨٣سم من ارضية الغرفة . وهذا الأفريز ناتج من زحف طابوق [illegible]
الذي تحته بتناسق [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
الموجود في الضلع الغربية لهذه الغرفة . انظر الصورة ٦ آ

ان البناء استخدم الطين كمونة للربط بين مداميك البناء . وكذلك استعمله في تسوية ظهر الجدار . في حالة حدوث ارتفاع او انخفاض بين مستوى المداميك فيعمد البناء الى زيادة كمية الطين في الاماكن التي تكون منخفضة . ويقللها فـي المواضع المرتفعة لتساوي المدماك وجعلها بارتفاع واحد انظر الصورة ٣

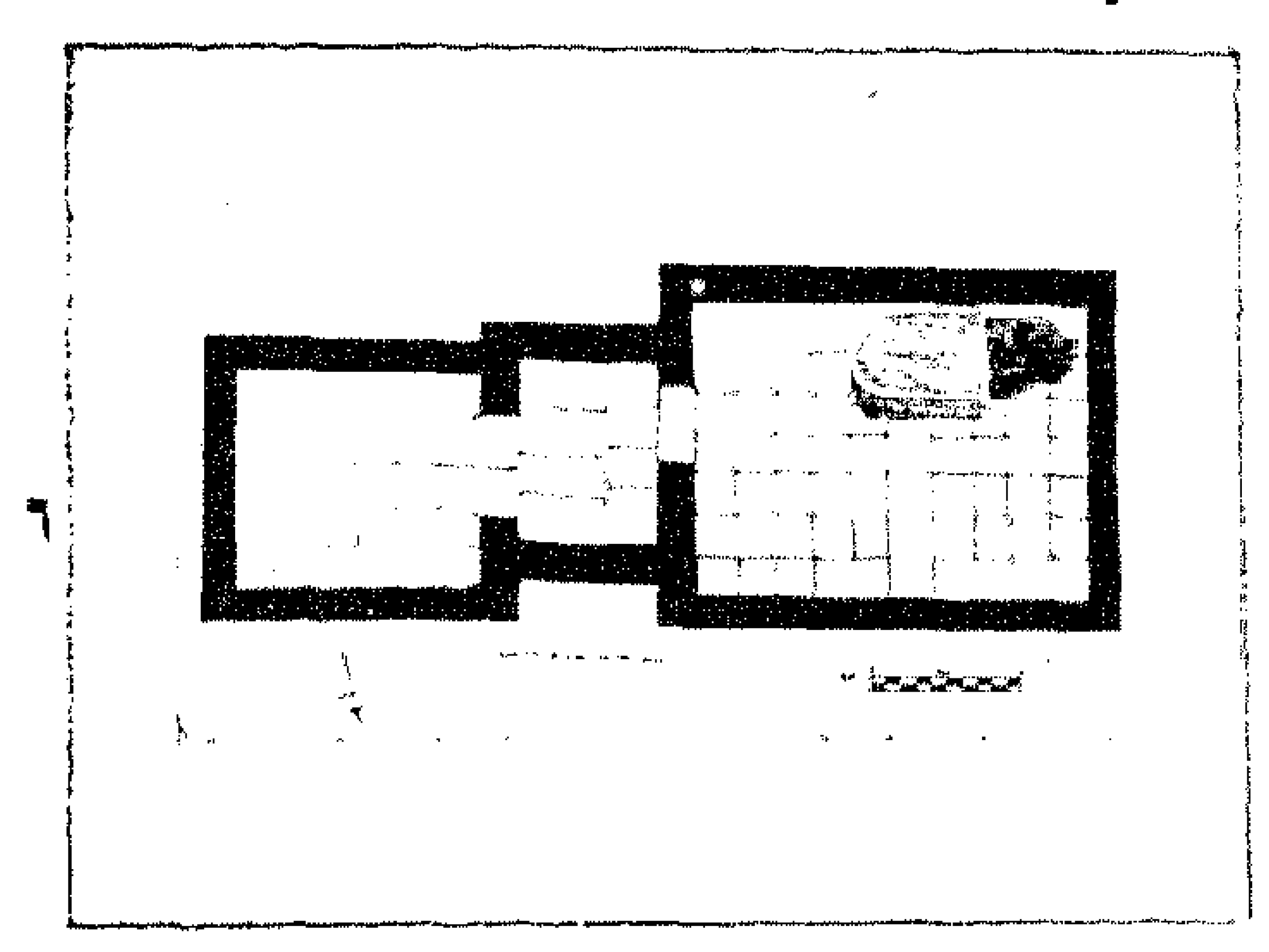
ان ارضية هذه الغرفة مبلطة بالطابوق . كما وجدنا فيها كمية غير قليلة مـن اثاث الجنائزية التي ترافق الميت في دفنه ومنها الجرار، الصحون ، الأكواب ، الكؤوس . حوامل الجرار وقوارير صغيرة اضافة الى وجود بقايا الهياكل العظميـة مبعثرة وموزعة داخل غرفة الدفن . وعلى غيرهدى . كما عثرنا على مجموعة من الخرز وقرطين صغيرين من الذهب . اضافة لوجود عظام الحيوانات داخل هذا المدفن . وقد أفردنا للأثاث الجنائزية باب خاص لكي نتحدث عنها بشــــيء من التفصيل .

٣– تابوت داخل الغرفة الشرقية :

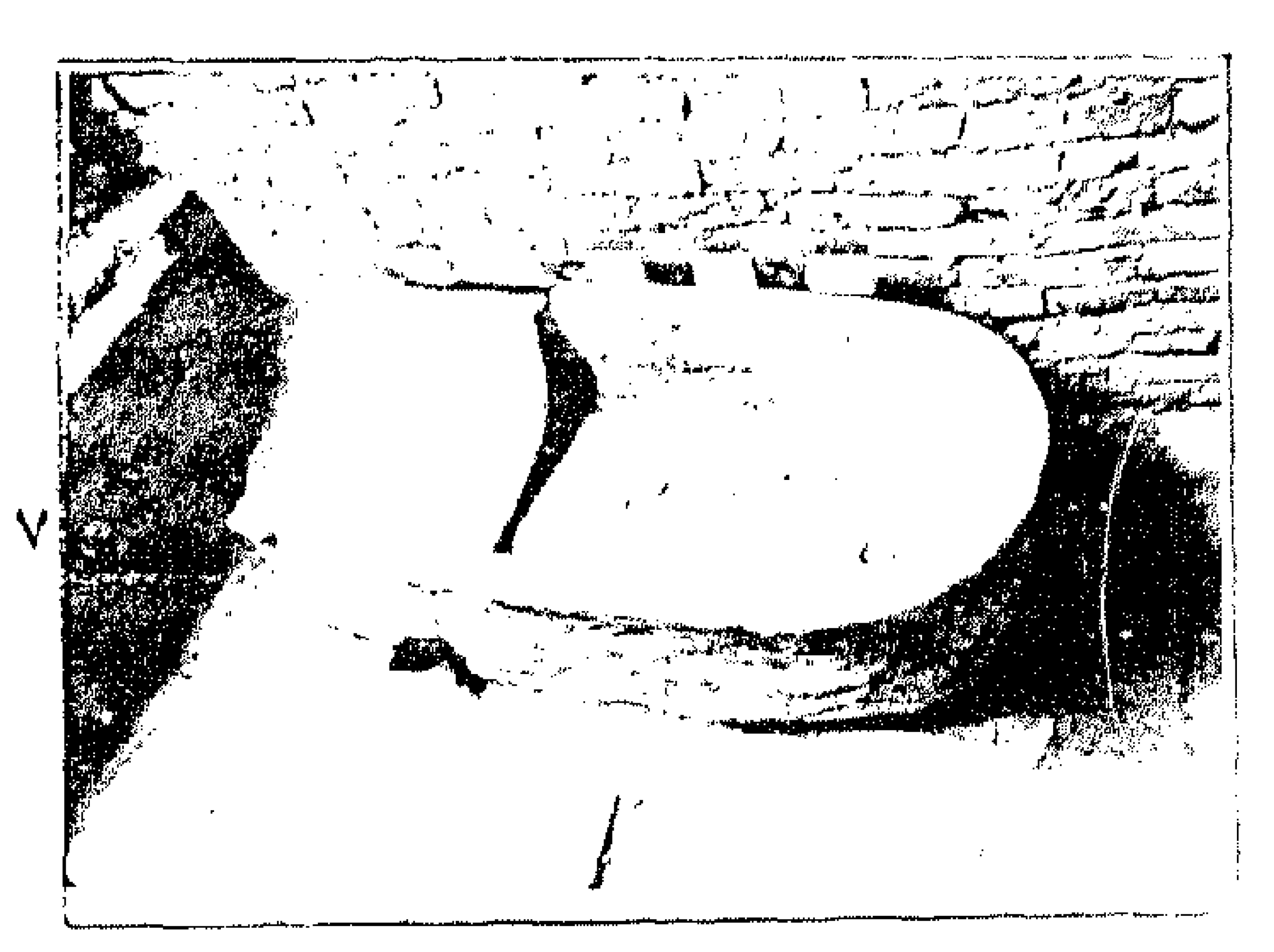
يقع هذا التابوت على امتداد الضلع الجنوبية للغرفة الشرقية ابتداءً مـــن الزاوية الجنوبية الشرقية . انظر الصور من ٦–٨

ويتألف هذا التابوت من نصفين في الاصل . ودخل كاملاً الى القبر . ولكنه كسر احد نصفيه فيما بعد وازيل عن مكانه وعوض عنه بنصف اخر يختلف عن الاصل والجديد اسطواني الشكل ويختلف عن تصميم الاول . اما الجزء المكسور فقـد نقل عن مكانه ووضع بالقرب منه داخل الغرفة . وعثرنا على بقايا عظام وكسـر الجماجم وبعض الجرار الصغيرة والكؤوس داخل هذا التابوت وفي طرفه الغربي الـذي بقي كاملا ولم ينكسر . وشاهدنا حجرة صغيرة مستعملة وعليها اثر ضرب وهي من الاحجار التي كانت تستخدم لوضعها عند رأس الميت . ويكون شكلها

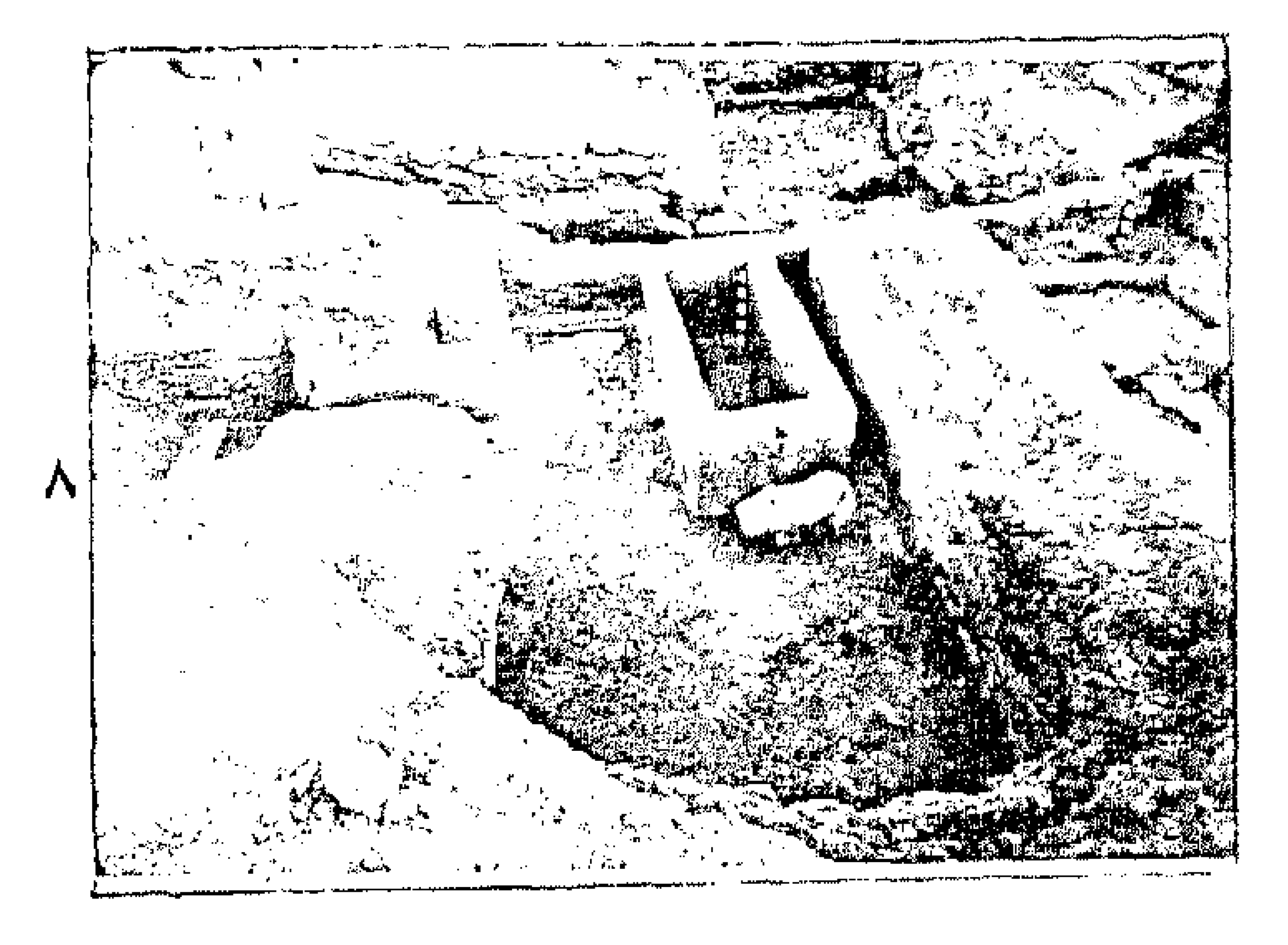
كروياً او دائرياً وبأحجام وأشكال مختلفة . ويمكن أن نسميها (حجرة الفتوة) لتكرار وجودها في قبور تعود لشباب تتراوح اعمارهم بين ١٨ — ٢٥ سنة .



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وهذا التابوت ذو طراز فرثي . ويختلف عن شكل القبر الذي يعود الى العصر الآشوري المتأخر . وذلك لوجود الجرار والصحون وجميع الاثاث الجنائزية هي ذات طراز آشوري متأخر اما التابوت فأنه دخل متأخراً حيث يرقى زمنه الى الفترة الفرثية وقد ادخل الى هذا المدفن عن طريقة الكسرة الموجودة في الضلع الشرقية للغرفة الشرقية حيث نزل الى ارضية الغرفة ودفن فيها انظر الصورة (٦)

قياسات هذا التابوت

طوله ١٦٠ سم

عرضه ٦٤ سم

ارتفاعه ٤٥ سم

سمك الحافة ٦ سم

لون طينته تبني

ويجلس تقريباً على ارضية الغرفة المبلطة .

٤ — الغرفة الغربية : —

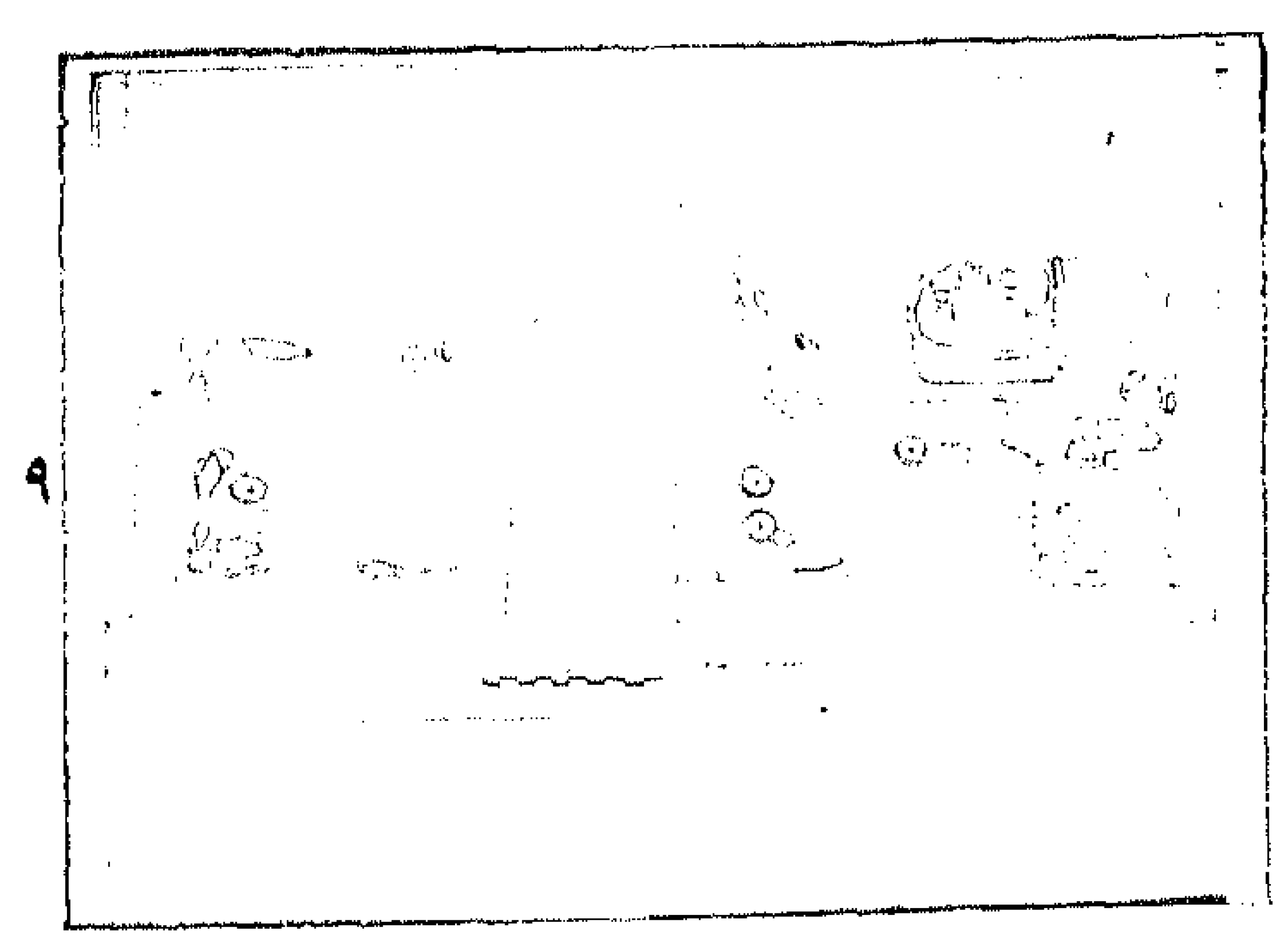
ينفذ اليها من الباب الموجود في الضلع الشرقية وهي أقل مساحة من الغرفة الشرقية وبالارتفاع نفسه وجد في داخلها عدد من الجرار الصغيرة والمتوسطة الحجم في الزاوية الشمالية الغربية مع حامل جرار مهشم . وفي الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية . وجدنا قارورة من المرمر الأبيض الشمعي وقد اثرت عليها الرطوبة وشوهت بعض معالمها . خصوصاً فوهتها حيث تآكلت جوانبها . كما وجدنا في وسط الغرفة مجموعة من العظام المبعثرة . والخرز مما يشير الى مدى التخريب والعبث الذي اصاب هذا المدفن في فترات مختلفة .

وان أرضية الغرفة والمدخل المؤدي اليها . مبلط بالطابوق كما ان الطابوق الذي بني منه هذا القبر والطابوق الذي يبلط ارضية الغرف مختلف القياسات من حيث الأرتفاع والطول وقياساته كالأتي

٣٦×٣٦×٦ . ٣٦×٣٦×٥ و ٣٥×٣٥×٥ سم وهناك أختلافات اخرى بين قياسات هذا الطابوق .

٥ — الأثاث الجنائزية المكتشفة داخل القبر : —

الاثاث الجنائزية : هي تلك المواد التي تدفن مع الميت وترافقه في مماته . وتبقى معه الى الأبد . حيث نجد ان قسماً منها ذو مغزى ديني بالنسبة لروح الميت فهي تجلب له السعادة في حياة ما بعد الموت . وتبعث الطمأنينة الى روحه وتطرد عنه الأثم والأرواح الشريرة التي تؤذي وتعذب ارواح الأموات فلا بد من وضع بعض التمائم والتماثيل الصغيرة والمحار والودع وأنواع الخرز وبعض الأحجار ولتدفن مع الميت . لأجل راحته في مماته والقسم الثاني من الأثاث الجنائزية ذا استعمال يومي تتطلبه الحياة اليومية حيث تدفن معه الجرار لحفظ السوائل والماء والصحون للأكل والجرار الصغيرة تستخدم لأغراض أخرى . لحفض المواد الثمينة وهناك الكؤوس والأكواب والقوارير كل له استعماله حسب اعتقادهم بحياة ما بعد الموت فهو يحتاجها وتدفن معه .انظر الصور من ٩—١١



٩

وتقسم هذه الأثاث الجنائزية التي كشف عنها داخل القبر هي :

١ · الجرار :

تشترك جميع هذه الجرار بصفة واحدة وهي : —

١— مجموعة منها ذات قواعد حلمية

٢- المجموعة الثانية قواعدها شبه مدببة
٣- اغلب أبدانها منفوخة وكروية الشكل
٤- فوهاتها واسعة ومفلطحة الى الخارج
٥- جميع هذه الجرار معتنى بصناعتها
٦- اغلب لون طينتها تبني وابدانها مسامية
٧ - هناك جرتان صغيرتان للاستعمال الخاص . كأن يحفظ بهما العطور والأشياء الثمينة

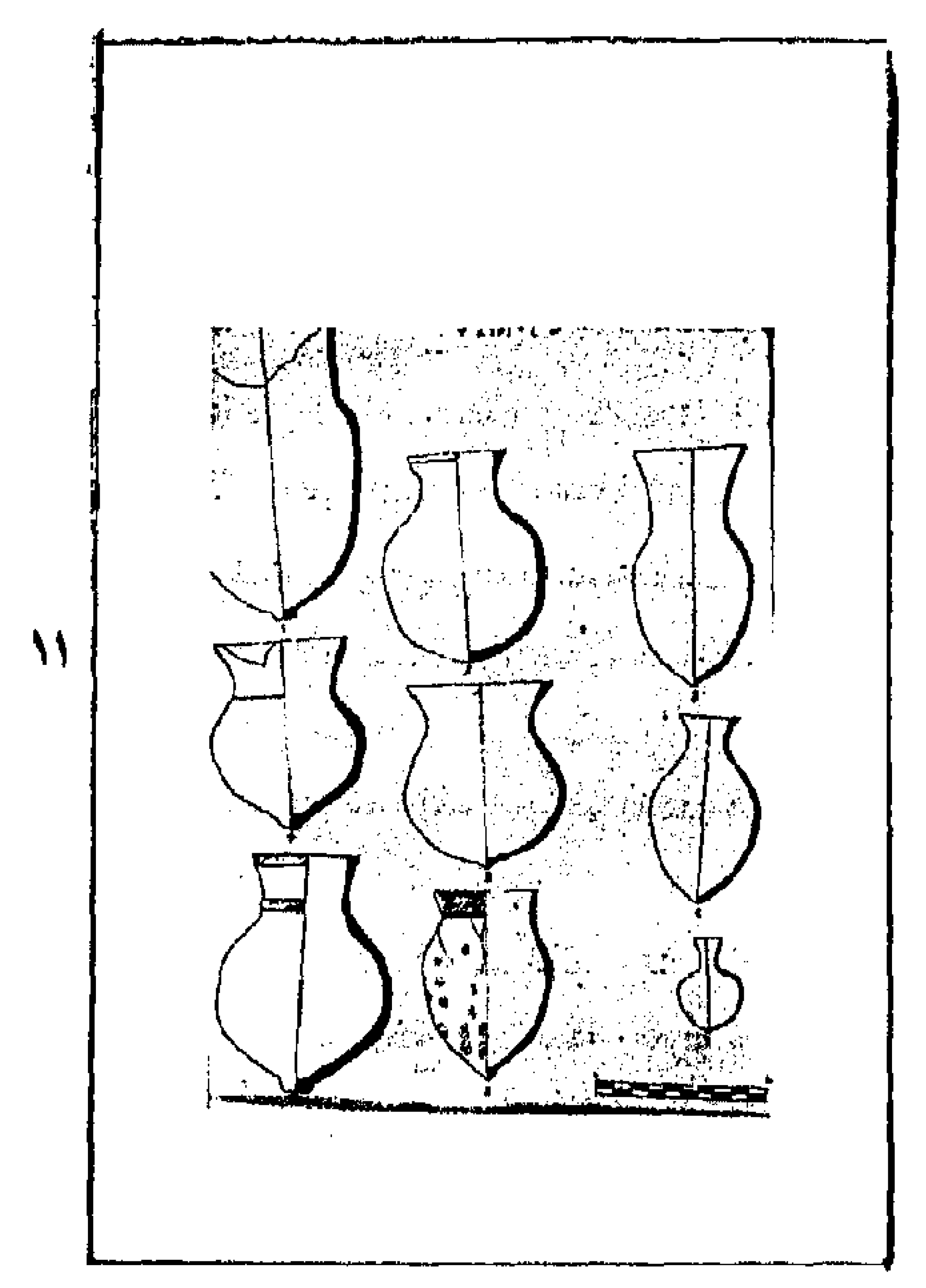
من دراسة الميزات المشتركة لهذه الجرار وطريقة صناعتها تبين لنا انها ترجع في اصول صناعتها الى العصر الاشوري المتأخر . وربما استخدمها الفرثيون وصنعوا مثلها وقلدوها عندما جاءوا وسكنوا في مواطنهم في حدود (٣٢٦ ق . م)

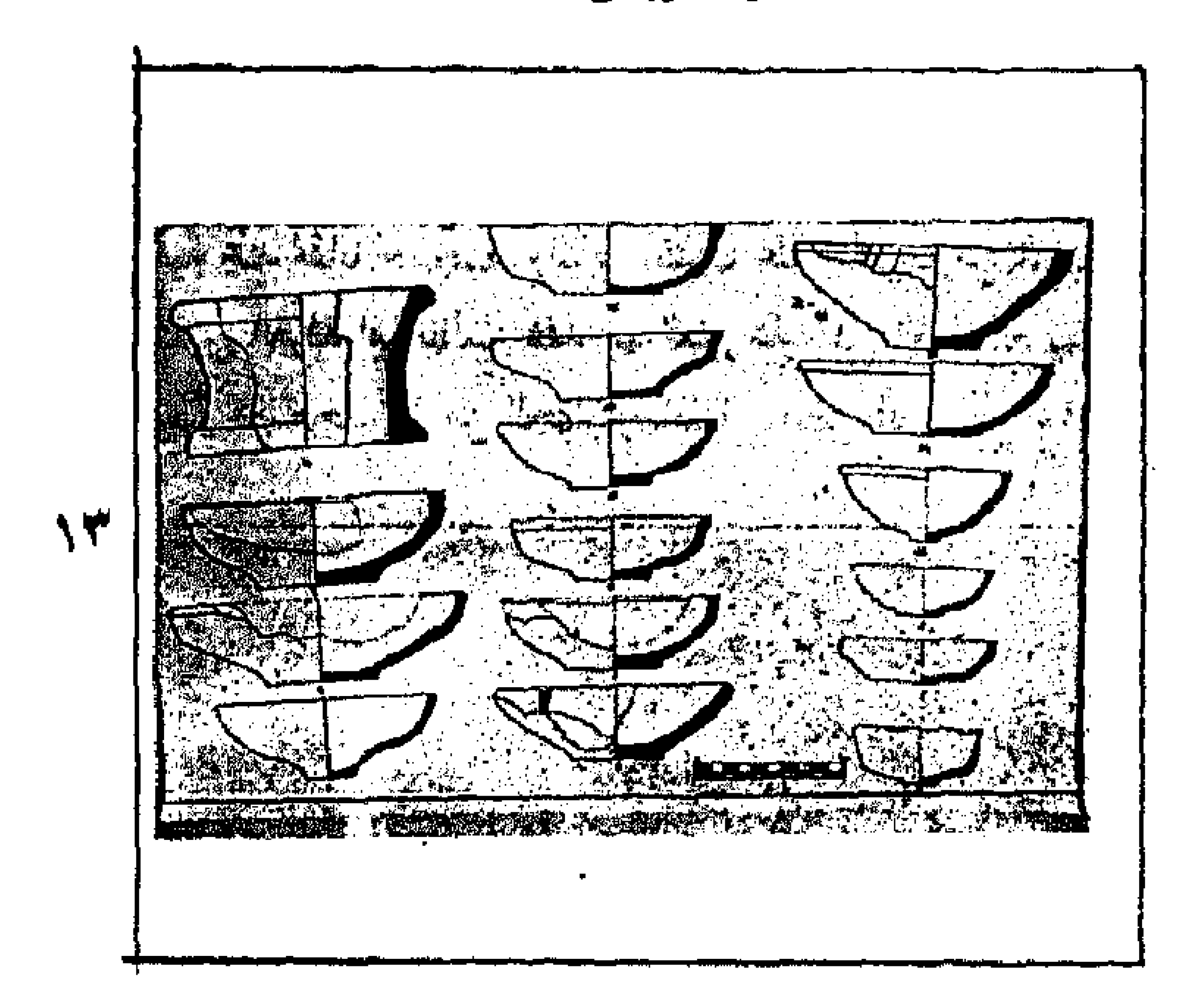
٢- الصحون : -

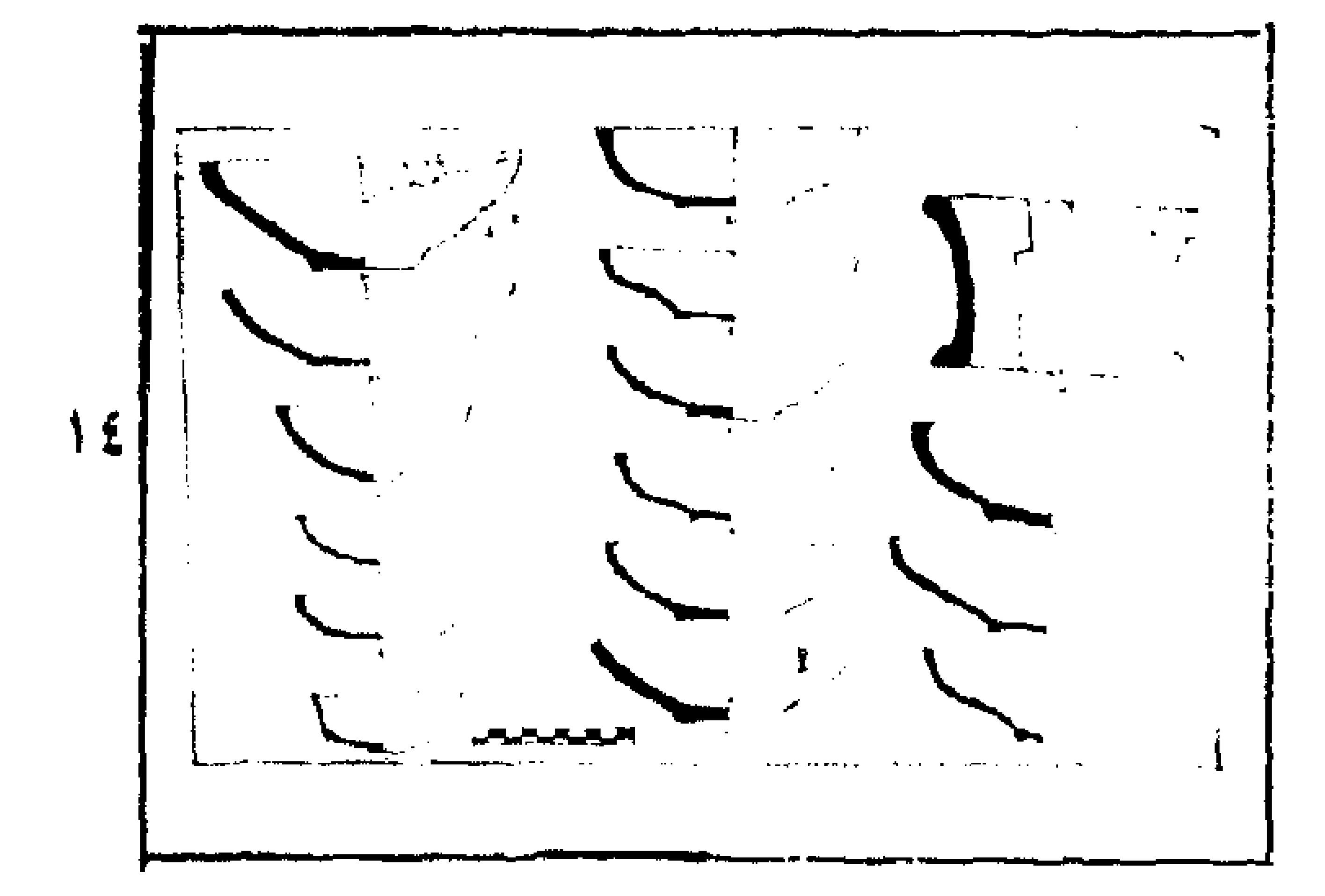
وجدنا في هذا القبر عدداً من الصحون الكاملة وعددها (١٣) صحناً كاملاً وغير مهشمة وهناك عدداً اخر فاقد بعض أجزاءه ، وأهم ميزاتها هـــــي :

١- لها قاعدة دائرية الشكل يجلس عليها الصحن وهي عبارة عن كعب بارز يلامس الارض
٢- لها حافات مطوية الى الخارج . وتحت اغلبها حز او حزان لتحديد شفه حافة الصحن
٣- جميع الصحون غير عميقة ومفلطحة
٤- لون طينتها تبني وقسم منها ذو لون احمر فاتح
٥- ابدانها مسامية كما يوجد على ابدان بعضها اثر طلاء رقيق . بقشرة ناعمة من الطين الجيد يطلى بها بطن وظهر الصحن قبل شيه في النار او الفرن وهذا الطلاء يقلل من مسامية الصحن ويظهره بشكل ناعم ويخفي عيوب الصناعة وخشونة الطينة والمظهر انظر الصور من ١٢-١٤


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ومن بين هذه المجموعة من الصحون يوجد صحنان صغيران . اذا ماقيسا بالنسبة الى احجام الاخرى وجد ان حجميهما اصغر من البقية . وهي بحجم قدح الشاي الاعتيادي وليس لها كعب بارز كبقية الصحون ولا توجد لهما قاعدة ولكن يظهران بصورة دائرية من الاسفل

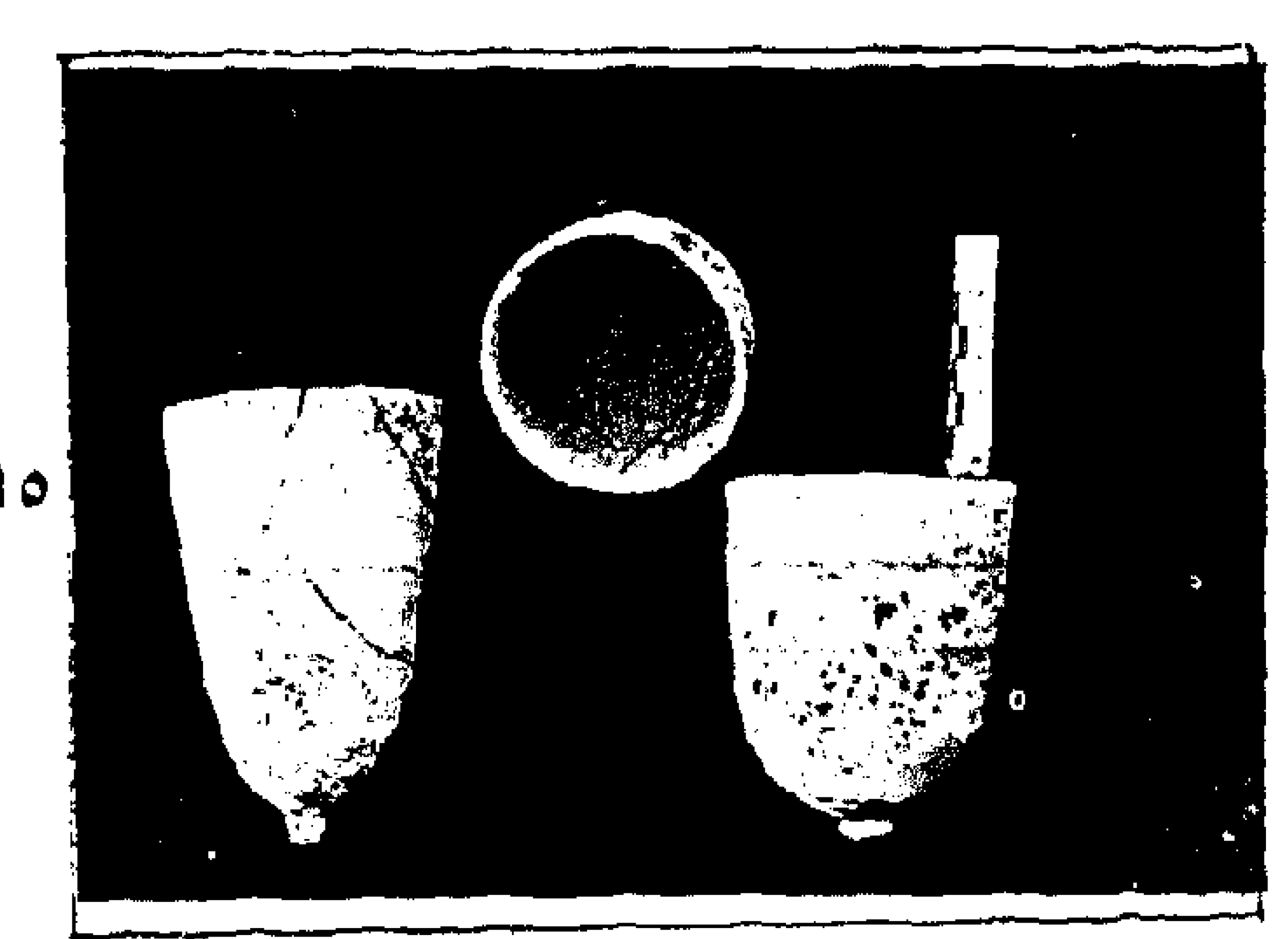
٣- الكؤوس :-

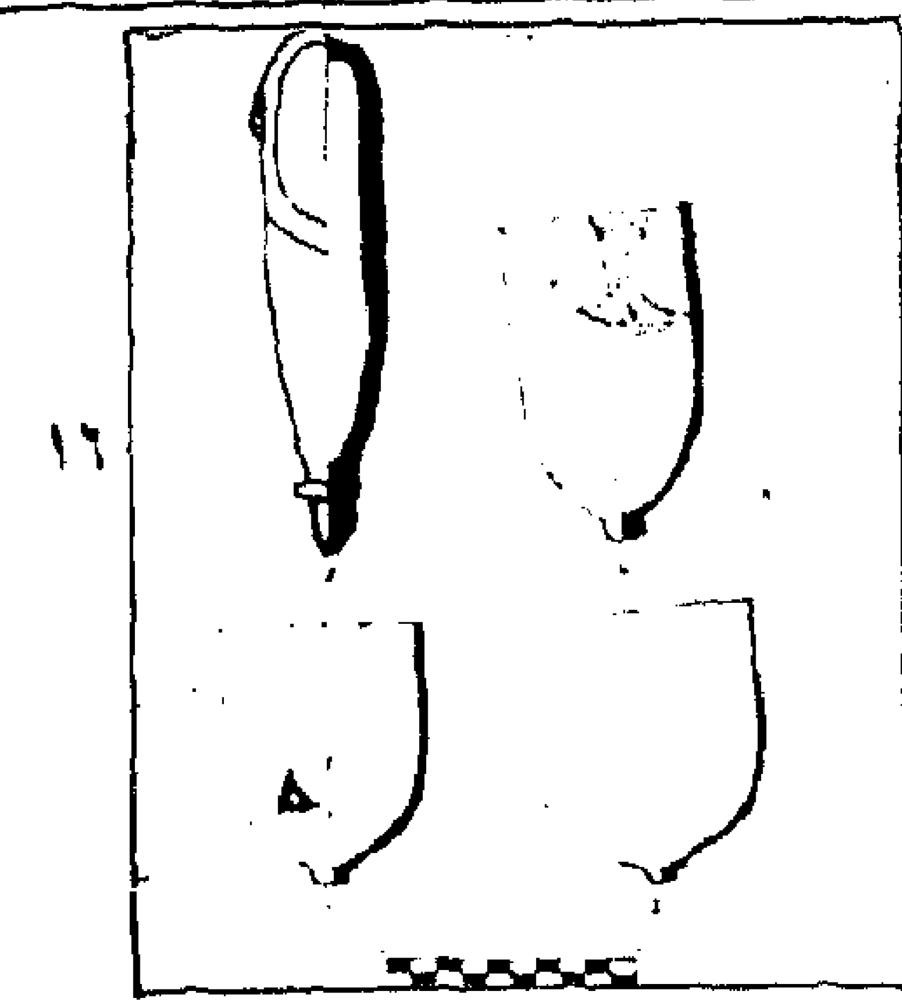
تم الكشف عن (١١) كأساً كاملة عدا المحطمة منها موزعة على غرفتي الدفن واغلبها وجدت داخل الغرفة الشرقية . التي تكون اوسع من الغرفة الغربية وهذا العدد الكبير من الكؤوس يدل على ان هذه الغرفة دفن فيها عدد كثير من الجثث . ووجدنا مثلها من الصحون . واهم ميزات الاختلاف بين الصحون والكؤوس هي ما يلي :

١- الكؤوس قاعدتها دائرية واكثر ارتفاعا من الصحون واقل سعة منها
٢- يضيق بدن الكأس عند الاسفل . ويكون مقوسا الى الأعلى والداخل بعكس الصحون تماماً
٣- حافاتها الخارجية مطوية الى الداخل عكس حافات الصحون المفلطحة الى الخارج .
٤- في قسم منها حزوز بسيطة تكون تحت الحافة لتحديدها وهذه الصفة مشتركة بين الصحون والكؤوس .
٥- اغلب طينتها ذو لون احمر من اثر الحرق وعددها (٩) كؤوس واثنان منها لون طينتها تبني .
٦- على أبدانها اثر مسامات واضحة والتي خلفها قش التبن المحروق الذي كان ممزوجاً في الأصل مع الطينة عند جلبها وصناعة الكؤوس منها .

٤- الأكواب :-

عددها ثلاثة وجد واحد منها داخل التابوت المشار اليه سابقاً . والموجود في الغرفة الشرقية عند بقايا جمجمة . والثاني كشف عنه بالقرب من الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية في نفس الغرفة اما الثالث فقد تم العثور عليه في الغرفة الغربية عند الزاوية الشمالية الغربية مع مجموعة من الجرار وحاملها انظر الصور من ١٥-١٦


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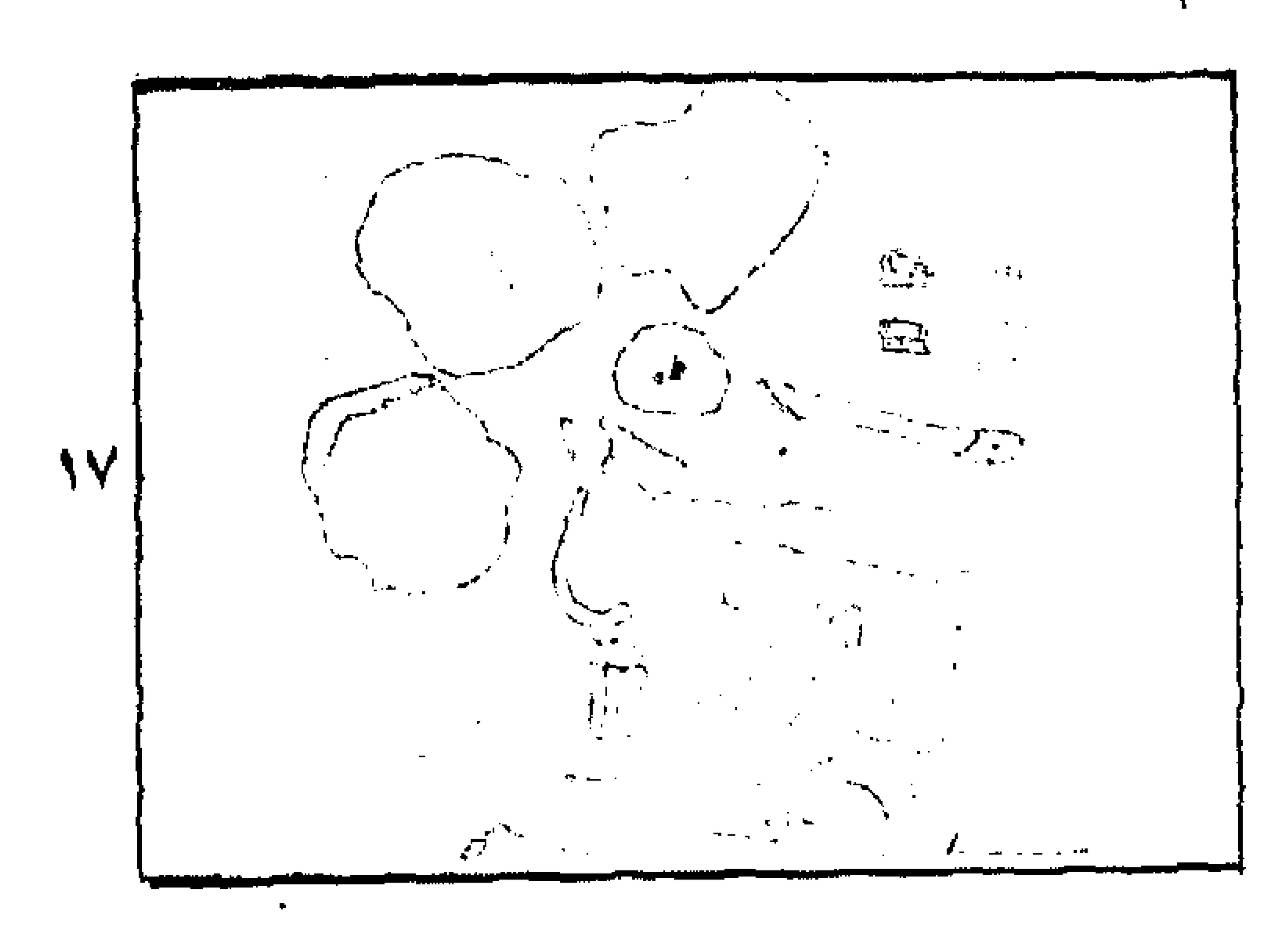
وأهم ميزات هذه الأكواب هي كونها :

١- ذات قاعدة حلمية الشكل
٢- مطلية بطلاء رقيق وناعم
٣- رقيقة البدن والحافات ناعمة ملساء ودقيقة الصنع
٤- غير مسامية الأبدان . لأن الطلاء اخفى هذه المسامات وجعلها صقيلة .
٥- لون طينة الأول تبني والثاني احمر أما الثالث فهو احمر فاتح قليل ومع هذه الأكواب الثلاثة وجدنا قارورة من المرمر الأبيض الشمعي لكنها مهشمة الجوانب والفوهة عثر عليها مع أمتداد الجدار الجنوبي في الغرفة الغربية .

٥- العظام :-

وجد في هذا القبر نوعان من العظام :

أ- العظام البشرية .
ب- العظام الحيوانية .


١٧

تم الكشف عن مجموعة من العظام البشرية التي كانت في الأصل جزءاً من هياكل عظمية دفنت في هذا القبر. وقد ظهر من خلال عملية تنقيب وتنظيف المدفن انه دفن فيه عدة مرات كما ان عملية سطو وتخريب قد مسته وحطمت كثير من العظام وبعثرت القسم الباقي . ورغم العبث والتخريب الذي أصاب هذا القبر . فان العظام المكسرة لو درست من قبل المختصين بعلم الأجناس (الانثربولوجيا) لأمكن تحديد عدد الهياكل العظمية التي دفنت في هذا القبر . وأهم العظام هي :

١- بقايا الجماجم
٢- بقايا عظام الفكوك والأسنان وفقرات الظهر وعظام الاضلاع ومشط القدم وغيرها من العظام التي لم نستطع تحديدها ومعرفة نوعيتها والى اي موضع تعود بالنسبة الى جسم الأنسان وهيكله العظمي .
٣- عظام السيقان والأفخاذ وعظم الحوض

ب- عظام الحيوانات

وجدت في هذا القبر عظام تعود لحيوانات . وخصوصاً الماعز والغنم وتتمثل بوجود الكعاب والأسنان وفكوك الحيوانات . وهذه العظام الحيوانية تكون واضحة الاختلاف مع عظام . الانسان ومن المعتقد أنها دخلت الى القبر مع الميت اوقدمت اليه كهدايا على شكل لحم مع العظام ثم تركت ودفنت مع الاثاث الجنائزية الأخرى التي ترافق الميت ساعة الدفن وتوريه التراب أو اغلاق باب المدفن الرئيسي.

وعظم الكعب[1] وجد في كثير من القبور . وخصوصاً التي تعود الى أطفال اوشباب وهي ربما كانت تستخدم للعب والتسلي وما تزال تستعمل عند صبيان أهل القرى والأرياف في العراق للتسلية واللعب انظر الصورة ١٧

٦ - الودع والمحار : —

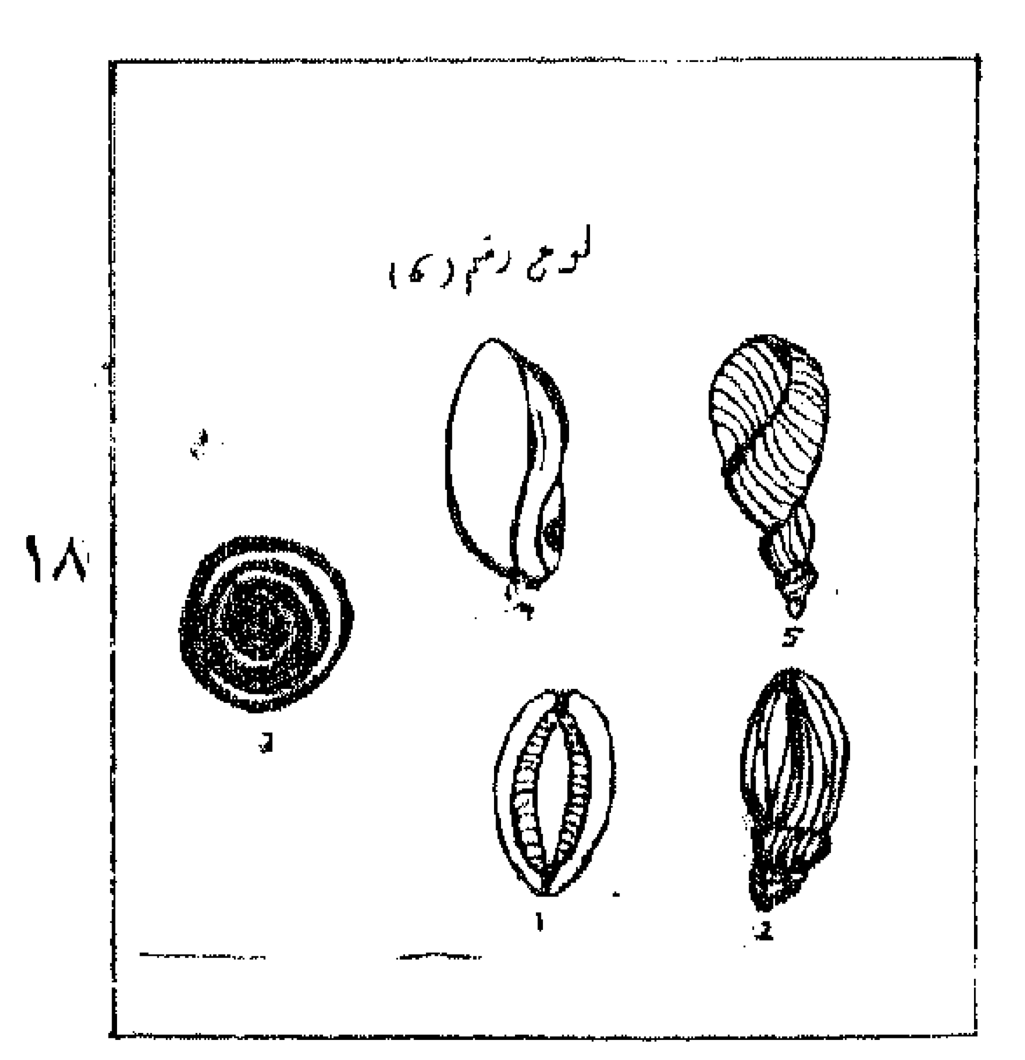
منذ الآف السنين والأنسان يحاول ان يدخل الى نفسه الطمأنينة والخلود . ويبعد عنها شبح الخوف . ويطرد الأرواح الشريرة المؤذية لروح الميت و قد أعتقد الأنسان ببعض الأحجار والخرز والمحار وأنواع الودع والخضرم لأنها تجلب السعادة لروح الميت كما أعتبر الودع رمزاً للاخصاب والأنجاب. وقد وجدنا منه أنواعاً في هذا المدفن وهي : —

١- الودع البوقي المحزز
٢- الودع الحلزوني البوقي
٣- الودع العادي الأبيض الذي يكون شبه دائري المشقوق من وسطه طولياً وعلى جانبي هذا الشق توجد حزوز صغيرة بسيطة .

ومايزال الودع ذا تأثيرسحري بالنسبه الى النساء القرويات حيث نشاهد في غطاء راس الطفل ودعة وخضرمة مخاطة بخيط ويقال في هذا الباب :
« ودعة وخضرمة من العين المظلمة » وهذا الأعتقاد قديم ومايزال سائداً بين الأوساط الشعبية لحد الآن .

٤- المحار وهو نوعان :—
أ- المحار العادي الذي يشبه الصحن ويكون دائري تقريباً .
ب- المحار الدائري الحلزوني

ويعتقد بالمحار بأن له تأثيراً سحري على الأرواح الشريرة حيث يطردها عن روح الميت لذا يدفن معه . انظر الصورة ١٨

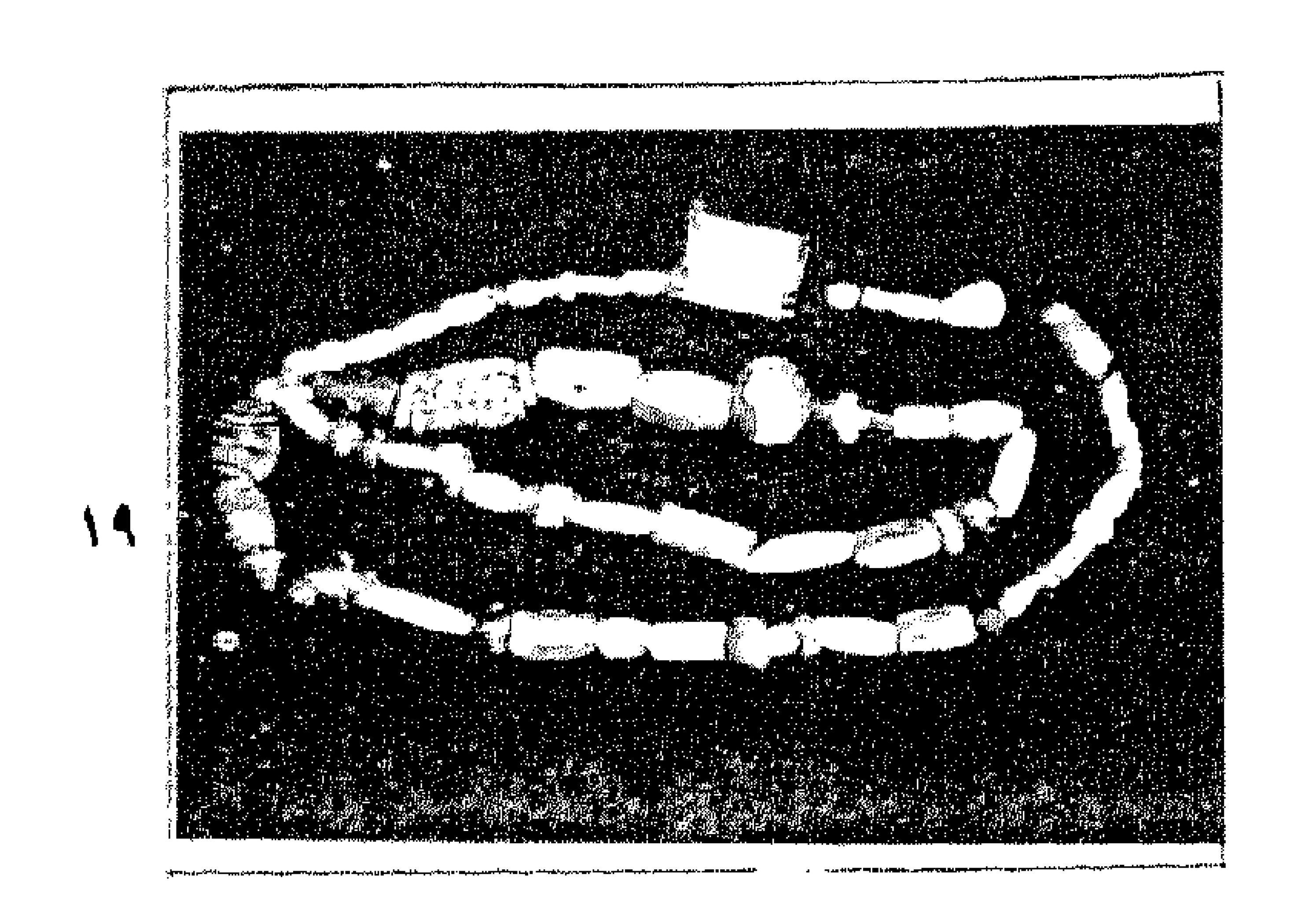


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٧- الحلي : =

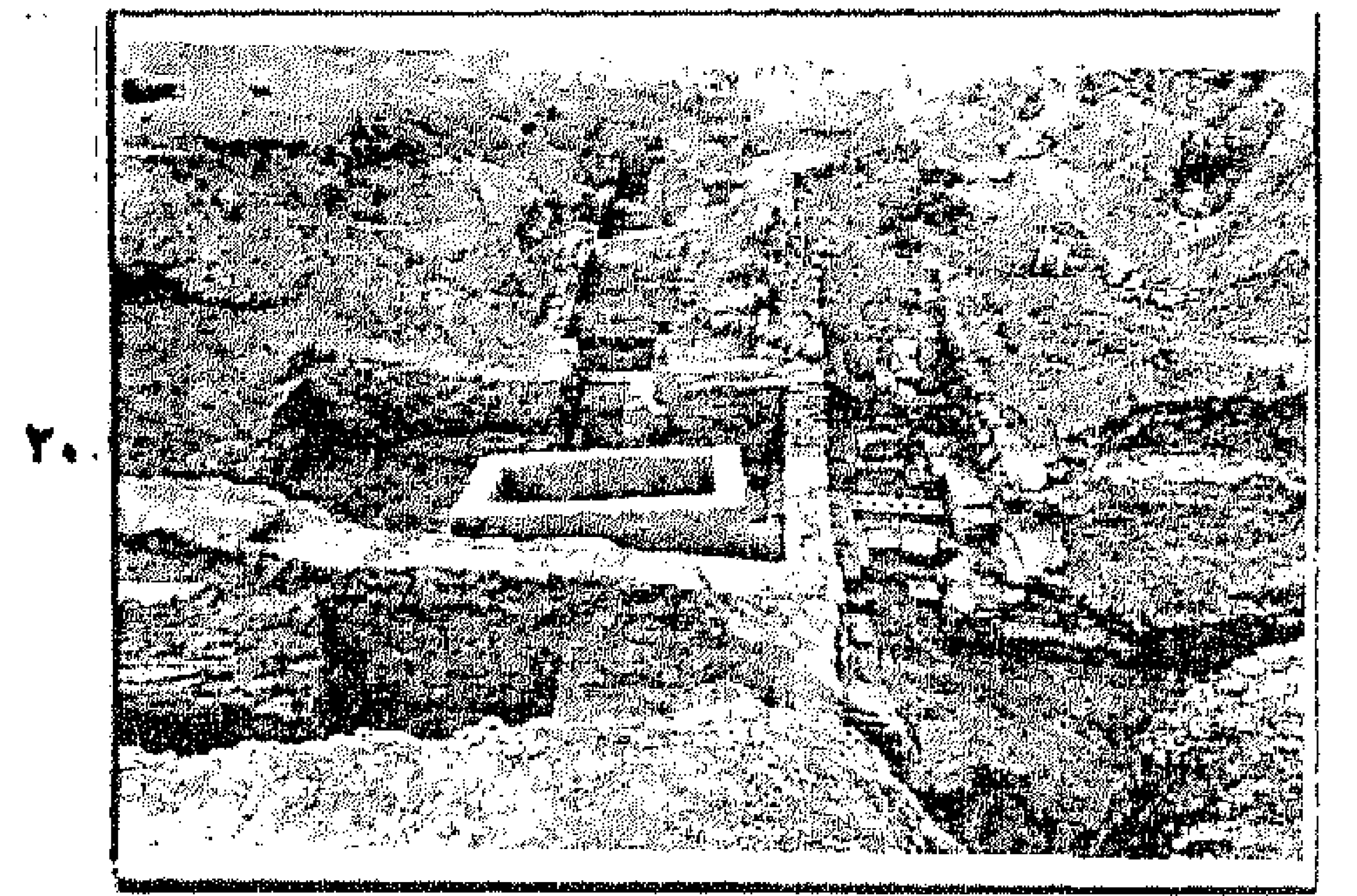
يظهر من خلال التنقيب في هذا القبران جميع الحلي الثمينة . قد سرقت منه . حيث أننا لم نعثر الا على قرطين صغيرين من الذهب . ومجموعة من الخرز الناعم الذي كان مبعثراً في زوايا الغرف والأتربة . انظر الصورة ١٩

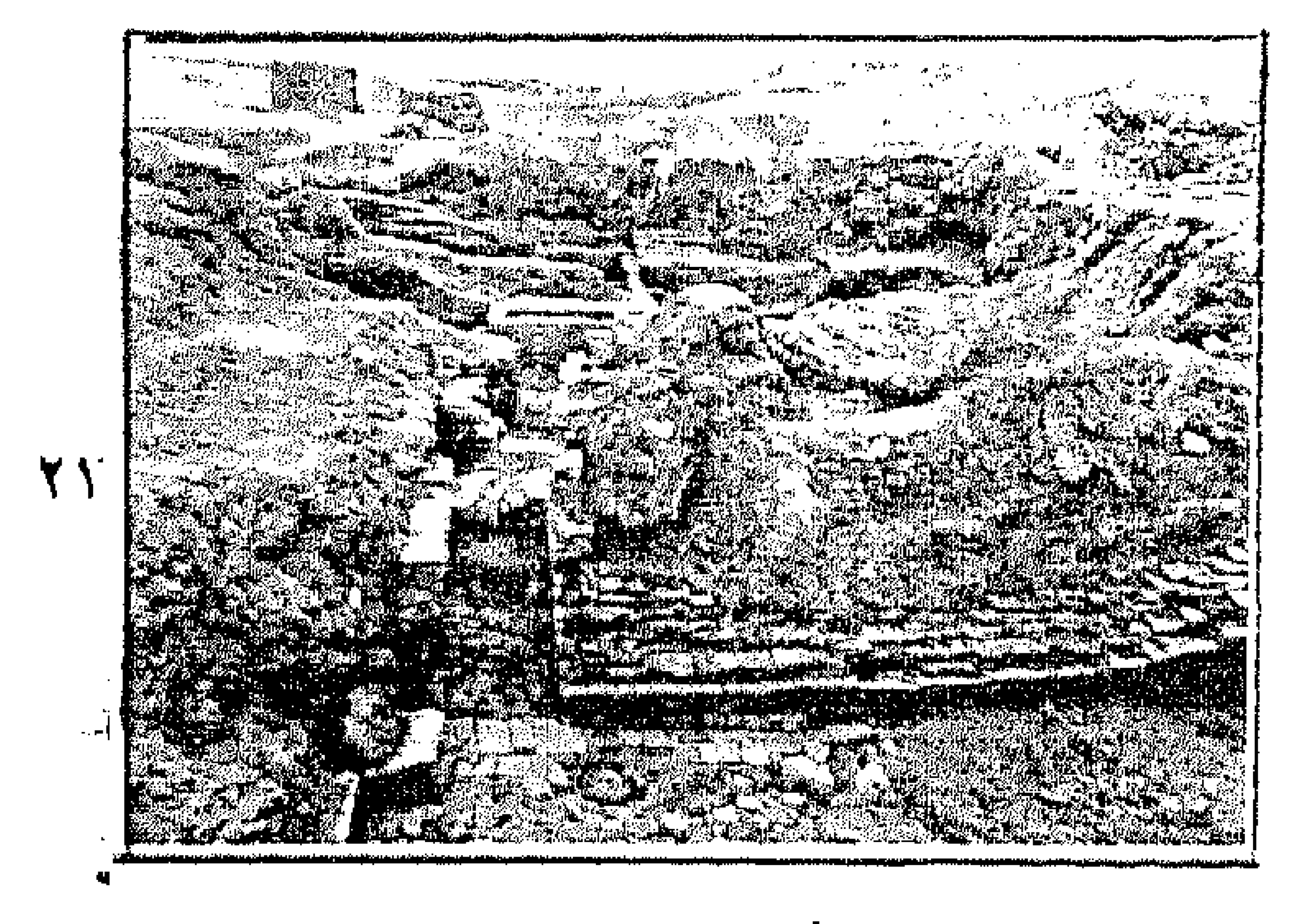
(١) الكعب له وجهان هما (الفرس والحمار) كما له جنبان يسميان (الخرك والبك) وهذه الأسماء للكعب معروفة لدى الناس الذين يمارسون اللعب بها ولكل وجهة ميزته ولعبته الخاصة به .


١٩

ب - المقبرة الملكية في آشور

تقع الى الجنوب الغربي من برج آشور (الزقورة) وقد تم كشفها من قبل البعثة الألمانية التي عملت في آشور مابين (١٩٠٣م — ١٩١٤م) وقد نقلت جميع محتوياتها والان تمكنا من الكشف عنها وتنظيفها . وقد دب الخراب الى معظم أجزائها وغرفها وهي تتألف من خمسة غرف للدفن . ثلاثة منها تشترك بمدخل واحد ينزل عمودياً بعمق (٢ — ٣ م) حيث الباحة المربعة الشكل والتي تكون اضلاعها (١١٩×١٦٥سم) ويتفرع منها درج الى غرفة رقم (١) ودرج ثان على شكل ممر الى غرفة رقم (٢) . ويخرج من الباحة نفسها ايضا ممر ينزل بدرج الى غرفة رقم (٣) اما الغرفتان (٤) و(٥) فمن المعتقد أن لكل منهما باباً خاصاً بها . انظر الصور ٢٠-٢٢

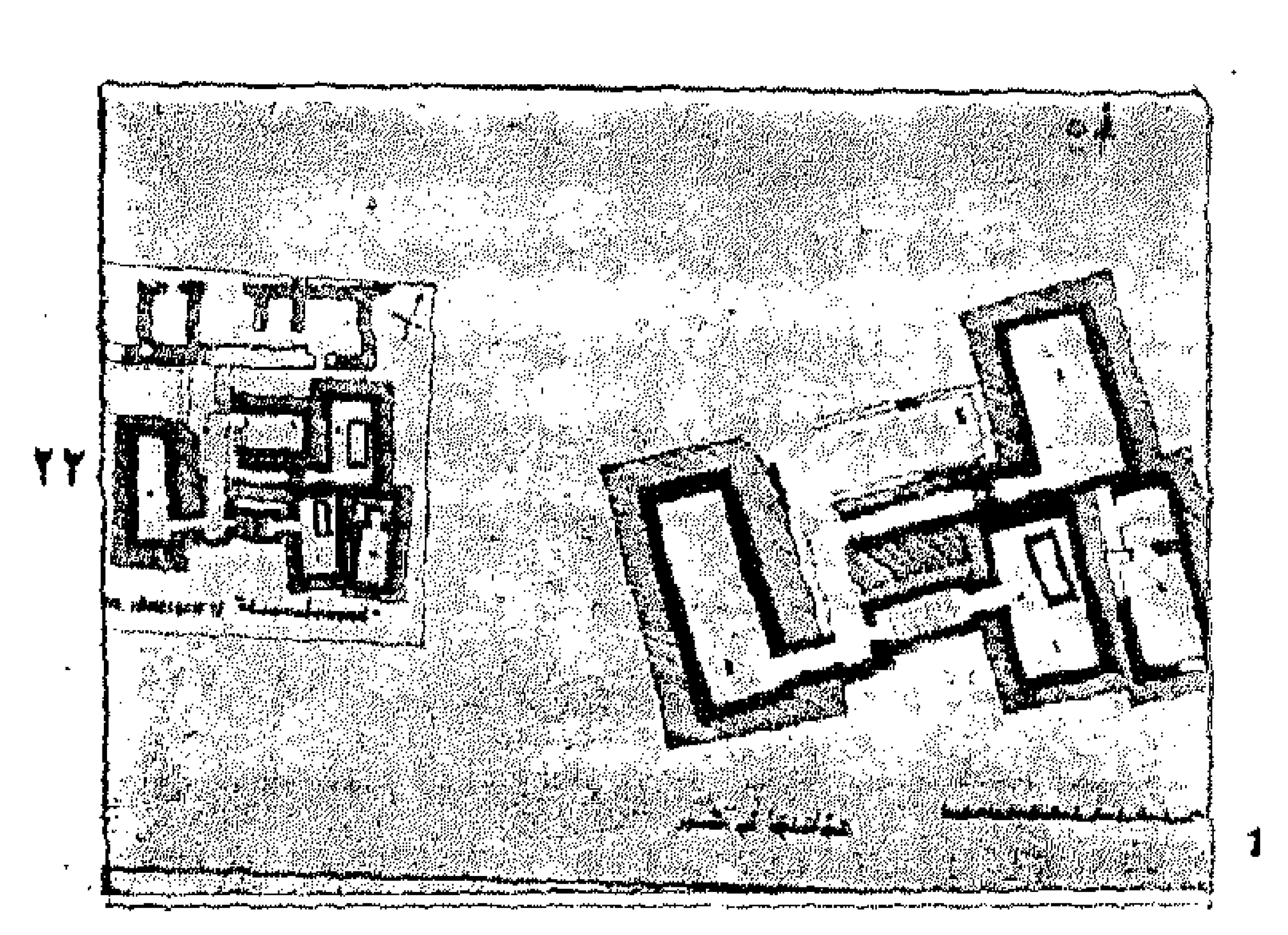

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وتشير الكتابة التي وجدها الألمان خلال عمليات التنقيب في هذه المقبرة أنها تعود الى ثلاثة ملوك آشوريين هم : —

١ – آشور بيل كالا الذي حكم ما بين (١٠٧٤ – ١٠٥٧) ق.م وقبره غرفة رقم (١)
٢ – آشور ناصر بال الثاني وحكم (٨٨٣ – ٨٥٩) ق.م قبره غرفة رقم (٣)
٣ – شمشي أدد الخامس حكم (٨٢٣ – ٨١١) ق.م قبره غرفة رقم (٢)

والملاحظ ان هذه المقبرة قد أعدت منذ (١٠٧٤ – ١٠٥٧) ق.م من عهد الملك آشور بيل كالا . وبعد مائتي سنة تقريباً جاء آشور ناصر بال الثاني وبنى لنفسه قبراً مجاوراً للقبر الذي سبقه . ومن ثم بنى شمشي أدد الخامس قبراً له في هـذه المقبرة الملكية التي كانت تقع تحت بناية أحد القصور الآشورية المتأخرة . والذي بني فوقها وهي تحت جناحه الجنوبي .


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اما الغرفتان (٤) و(٥) فلا نعرف لأي ملك تعود : ومن المعتقد انهما تعودان لزوجتي ملكين دفنا بالقرب منهما .

وان جميع غرف هذه المقبرة ومرافقها . مبنية بالطابوق الذي يغلف جدران اللبن الموجودة خلفه أما المونة التي أستخدمت للربط بين الطابوق فهي نوعـان
١ – استخدم الجص في الغرفة رقم (١) واما بقية الغرف فتشير بقايا الطابوق المبني ان مونته كانت من القير (الزفت) وارضية جميع هذه الغرف مبلطة بالطابوق .
٢ – استخدام الزفت كمونة للربط بين مداميك البناء . ويظهر هذا في غرفة رقم (٢) و(٣) و(٤) حيث ان مداميكها بنيت بالزفت كما أن ارضيـة الغرف بلطت بالطابوق والزفت .

وفي الغرفة المعلمة رقم (١) وجد تابوت حجري ضخم يمتد مع أمتداد ضلعها الشرقية طولا . وهو منحوت من حجر الكلس القوي وقياساته طولـه ٣٠٢ سم عـرضــه ١٣٩ سم ارتفاعة ١١٧ سم
عمقه من الداخل ١١٥ سم
سمك حافته ١٨ سم
وعلى هذا التابوت يوجد اثر كسر في ضلعيه الجنوبي والشمالي . أما بقية الغرف وجدت فارغة من أي شيء ، سوى كسر الطابـوق وكسر أخرى من حجر الكلس .

وقد مورست عملية دفن الملوك الاشوريين في مدينة أشور المقدسة . رغم انتقالهم الى عواصم اخرى كنمرود ونينوى وخرسباد الا ان مدينة اشور فـي معتقداتهم الدينية تحضى باهتمام وتقدير واحترام جميع الملوك فهي المدينة الام للاشوريين . وفيها مقر الاههم القومي . فاذا نصب ملك او ولي عهد فعليه ان يزور او يحج الى المدينة اشور لينال رضى الاله ويطلب منها ان تمنحه التاييد والنصر كما يقوم بتقديم الهدايا وبناء المعابد . وتعمير الهياكل الدينية وتجديدها لكسب ود الآله ولتمنحه البركة والنصر . وعلى اي ملك ان يقدم الطاعة والولاء للآلـه اشور العظيم. فاذا اراد ان يقوم بحمله عسكرية فعليه ان يزور مقر الاله اشور فـي مدينة آشور وأن يتذرع اليه ويطلب منه ان يساعده على الأعداء . وينصره نصراً مؤزراً ويدخل الرعب في قلوبهم ويخيفهـم .

وبعد ان ينتهي الملك من حملته العسكرية . ويتم فتوحاته عليه ان يحج الى مدينة اشور ويقدم الشكر للأله اشور حامي البلاد وناصر الجيوش وخاذل الاعداء . ويقدم الملك في هذه الزيارة جميع الغنائم والأسلاب التي غنموها خلال فتوحاته . ويضعها بين ايدي الآله اشور لكي يباركـها .

كل هذه الممارسات الدينية لدى الملوك الاشوريين تدل على مدى قدسية هذه المدينة واهميتها عندهم . لذا اعتبرت اشور ارض الميعاد للاشوريـيـن . وهي ارض طاهرة ومقدسة عندهم باعتبارهم مسكن الهتهم القومي . فاذا ما مات ملك اوأمير اشوري خارج مدينة اشور فلا بد من نقل جثمانه او رفاته الى ارض مدينة اشور . ودفنه فيها او في المقبرة الملكية التي عدت لهذا الغرض . وربما كان كل ملك يبني قبراً يختاره لنفسه أو يوصي ببناء قبر له في اشور .

الدمى المعدنية القديمة من آشور وتقنية صب المعادن

الدكتورة ايفا شترومنكر

عثر في الركام تحت غرفة المقدس . في المعبد الذي يعود الى العهد الاشوري القديم في اشور . على أناء طيني ذي محتويات مهمة عبارة عن شكلين آدميين واسلحة وركوبات مختلفة من النحاس . ولا يعرف : ما اذا كان الأناء قد دفن دفن بشكل رمزي كقربان من المعبد الاقدم . او ما اذا يمثل فقط مواد من قالب نحاسي كان مقرراً اذابتها واعادة أستعمالها .

يمثل الشكلان الادميان متعبدين بالتأكيد وهما يرفعان الذراع الأيمن للأعلى بهيئة تعبد . ويحملان بالذراع اليسرى حيواناً لتقديمه كأضحية . وهما ينتميان من الناحية الاسلوبية الى عهد فجر السلالات الثالث .

لقد عثر على المزيد من هدايا النذور النحاسية ذات الأشكال الادمية التي يعود تأريخها الى عصر فجر السلالات وذلك في منطقة ديالى كما في سهل انطاكية وماري . ولذا فاننا ازاء ممارسة شائعة واسعة الأنتشار ان الأشياء المكتشفة نادرة نسبياً لأنها كانت تذاب ويعاد استعمالها . وكل هذه الأشياء تؤكد وجود مهنة كانت مشاغل بلاد الرافدين ذات الصلة بها متقدمة جداً . لم تلق هذه الحقيقة حتى الان سوى القليل من الأهتمام . وقد تم تحليل الدمى من سهل انطاكية فقط . اما الدمى النحاسية من آشور . فاننا لانعرف سوى ما نشرعنها من ان الثياب القصيرة قد وضعت بعد الصب . وأنها تتألف من رقائق نحاسية .

لقد أنتجت الدمى الصغيرة على الأرجح بأعداد كبيرة وبأستعمال الشمع وبدون تجويف ومن المهم أن نعلم بهذا الخصوص ماذا كان التمثال بثلاثة أرباع الحجم الطبيعي الذي عثر على جزء صغير من قدمه في تل أسمر . قد انتج بأستعمال هذه الطريقة التي تتطلب كمية كبيرة من المعدن أم أنه انتج بطريقة الصب المجوف . التي تتطلب استعمال كمية أقل من المعدن .

لقد برز هذا السؤال أمامي عندما سمح لنا مؤخراً بفحص الرأس النحاسي من نينوى الذي يعود تاريخه الى العهود الاكدية . ورغم اننا لم نستطع حل المشاكل المتعلقة بعملية الصب كافة فأنني أود أن أعرض بعض نتائج البحث .

من الواضح أن الرأس قد صب من النحاس بأستعمال الطريقة الثانية وقد تم ذلك على مرحلتين . اولاً جرى صب كلتا الأذنين ثم صنع بقية الرأس بأستعمال قالب صب . الأذنان مفصولتان قليلاً عن الرأس عند نقطة الاتصال وتكادان ان تكونا لوحتين مربعتين . ولايمكن تفسير ذلك الا بأنه يمثل عمليات متسلسلة في الصب .

ضمن الاعداد للصب الثاني تربط الاذنان الواحدة بالاخرى من خلال مربع عبارة عن لوح نحاسي عمودي عليه لب من الطين الذي يعمل حسب الشكل التقريبي للرأس النهائي . وكان الفنان يشكل عليه طبقة شمعية من السمك نفسه قدر الامكان ثم يثبت التفاصيل النهائية . باستعمال الاشعة السينية تميز حدود اللوح العمودي الذي يربط الاذنين الواحدة بالاخرى . ولكن ليس بالامكان التأكد من طريقة ربطهما . كما نلاحظ عدداً من الدبابيس الطويلة التي تمتد خلال اللوح المعدني وتصل بشكل عمودي تقريباً حيث تنتهي اطرافها المدببة السائبة على بعد حوالي ٥ ر ٢ سم . وقد غرزت هذه الدبابيس خلال طبقة الشمع للنموذج داخل لب الطين . وعندما غطي الرأس الشمعي بطبقة من طين الصب الناعم ربطت النهايات الخارجية للدبابيس به . وكان الغرض من « دبابيس اللب » هذه ضمان بقاء المسافة بين اللب وطبقة طين القالب اثناء ذوبان الشمع رغم وجود طبقة مجوفة . وهكذا فان سمك طبقة الصب كانت متساوية كما وفره النموذج الشمعي .

ثم كان النموذج الشمعي يزود قبل وضع طبقة طين الصب بشبكة من قنوات الشمع المرنة التي تتصل بانبوب من الشمع . والارجح ان شبكة ثانية من القنوات الشمعية كانت تشكل شبكة منفصلة . بعد ذلك كانت تغطى تماماً بطبقة من طين القالب بحيث ان احدى الشبكتين تؤدي الى الانبوب وتؤدي شبكة الشمع الثانية الى السطح . وكان تسخين الكتلة يجري ببطء حتى يذوب الشمع وفي الوقت نفسه يشوى اللب الطيني والطبقة الخارجية . ثم كان المعدن السائل يصب في الأنبوب ويتوزع اولاً من خلال شبكة القنوات المذكورة انفاً بينما تخرج الابخرة والغازات من المعدن من الطبقة المجوفة عن طريق الشبكة الثانية . ثم صب القالب كله كاملاً الى حافة الانبوب . كما ان المعدن المذاب احاط بـ « دبابيس اللب » وقد نشأت بعض التشويهات في عملية التصلب يمكن رؤيتها في الاشعة السينية كما اننا نميزها عندما نظرنا الى داخل الرأس باستعمال جهاز اندوسكوب وعملنا بعض الصور الملونة . ولم نلاحظ اية تشويهات اخرى .

ثم يبدأ العلاج النهائي بعد ازالة الخبث المتخلف عن صهر المعدن وآخر بقايا القنوات والدبابيس وبعده يصقل السطح . بعناية وتحفر خطوط النقوش حيث تلاحظ اثار الحفر بوضوح في الصورة المجهرية .

على جانبين متقابلين من الاشعة السينية يظهر بوضوح قرص ذو ثلاثة نقاط داكنة حيث ربطت ثلاثة اسلاك قصيرة في ثلمة اسطوانية وربما كانت تلك الاسلاك تعود الى تركيب كان يقصد به اسناد اللب الطيني .

لقد اخذت نماذج تحليل المعدن من اجزاء مختلفة وجرى فحصها في مختبر المتحف الوطني التابع للمؤسسة الثقافية البروسية . ويتضمن تقرير الدكتور جوزيف ريدرر مايلي :

« جرى تحليل خمسة نماذج معدنية باستعمال طريقة الامتصاص الذري وقد اخذت العينات من الاماكن التالية :

١ . الجانب الداخلي من اللحية
٢ . قطعة الرقبة .
٣ . الاذن اليمنى
٤ . اللوح داخل الرأس
٥ . حامل اللب فوق العين اليسرى .

وكانت نتائج التحليل كما يلي :

	Cu	Sn	Pb	Zn	Fe	Ni	Ag	Sb	As
1.	99·51		0·05	0·03	0·11	0·05	0·02	0·02	0·21
2.	99·10		0·02	0·03	0·33	0·11	0·02	0·01	0·29
3.	98·89		0·02	0·03	0·16	0·18	0·02	0·02	0·53
4.	99·02		0·20	0·03	0·11	0·13	0·05	0·01	0·59
5.	97·26	1·22	0·12	0·03	0·03	0·26	0·04	0·04	0·77

تظهر نتائج التحليل ان الرأس صنع من النحاس النقي الخالي من القصدير . وانه احتوى فقط على آثار قليلة من عناصر اخرى النتائج نفسها التي تم التوصل اليها من العينات المأخوذة من الرأس نفسه . ولذا فانها لاتدعم الافتراض بان الرأس واللوح قد انتجا بشكل مستقل . يتألف حامل اللب من سبيكة مختلفة قليلا اذ ان النحاس يحتوي كمية قليلة من القصدير » .

ان اتقان الصب يجعل الرأس موضوع البحث ليس قطعة فريدة وحسب من الناحية الفنية بل وكذلك من حيث دقة الصناعة . اننا لانعرف اي اثر آخر مصبوب بطريقة الشمع المجوف اقدم من الرأس المعدني المكتشف في نينوى واذا كان عمال المعادن في بلاد الرافدين قد اجادوا طريقة الصب المغطى بالاضافة الى طريقة الصب المجوف خلال عهد حكام اكد . فيصبح بالامكان ان نسأل ماإذا كانت المحاولات الاولى لانتاج اعمال بطريقة الصب المجوف تعود في الواقع الى عهد فجر السلالات . وهذا السؤال المهم بالنسبة لتاريخ استخراج المعادن تسهل الاجابة عليه نسبيا اذا امكن فحص الاشياء كافة بصورة ادق في المستقبل . ورغم ان الامر لايتعلق بشكل محدد باستخراج المعادن في اشور وبابل بل ببلاد الرافدين عموماً فانني اود ان اختتم حديثي بالطلب من كافة المشاركين في هــذه الندوة لابداء المزيد من الاهتمام بهذه المشكلة .

الطبقات العليا في منطقة قصر الامير

(ولـي العهد)

محمد عجاج جرجيس
منقب آثار

الموقع :

يقع قصر ولي العهد في مدينة آشور على حافة نهر دجلة . مقابلاً للقصر الفرثي من جهة الشرق . وعلى نهاية سور المدينة عندما يطل على النهر . وقد نقبت البعثة الالمانية في هذا المكان . ولكن بشكل غير منظم . فحفرت عدة خنادق ونفق ومجسات من خلالها اكتشف موقع القصر . وذكر المنقب عنه ما يلي « يوجد هنا حيث يصل السور الداخلي لشلمنصر الثالث شاطيء دجلة وهذا القصر بجدرانه القوية . مثل حصن في ركن المدينة . وأن هذا القصر راح نهباً للنهر[1] . وقد تأيد لنا من خلال التنقيبات صحة هذا الرأي حيث وجدنا البئر الآشورية في مجرى النهر الحالي .

التسمية :

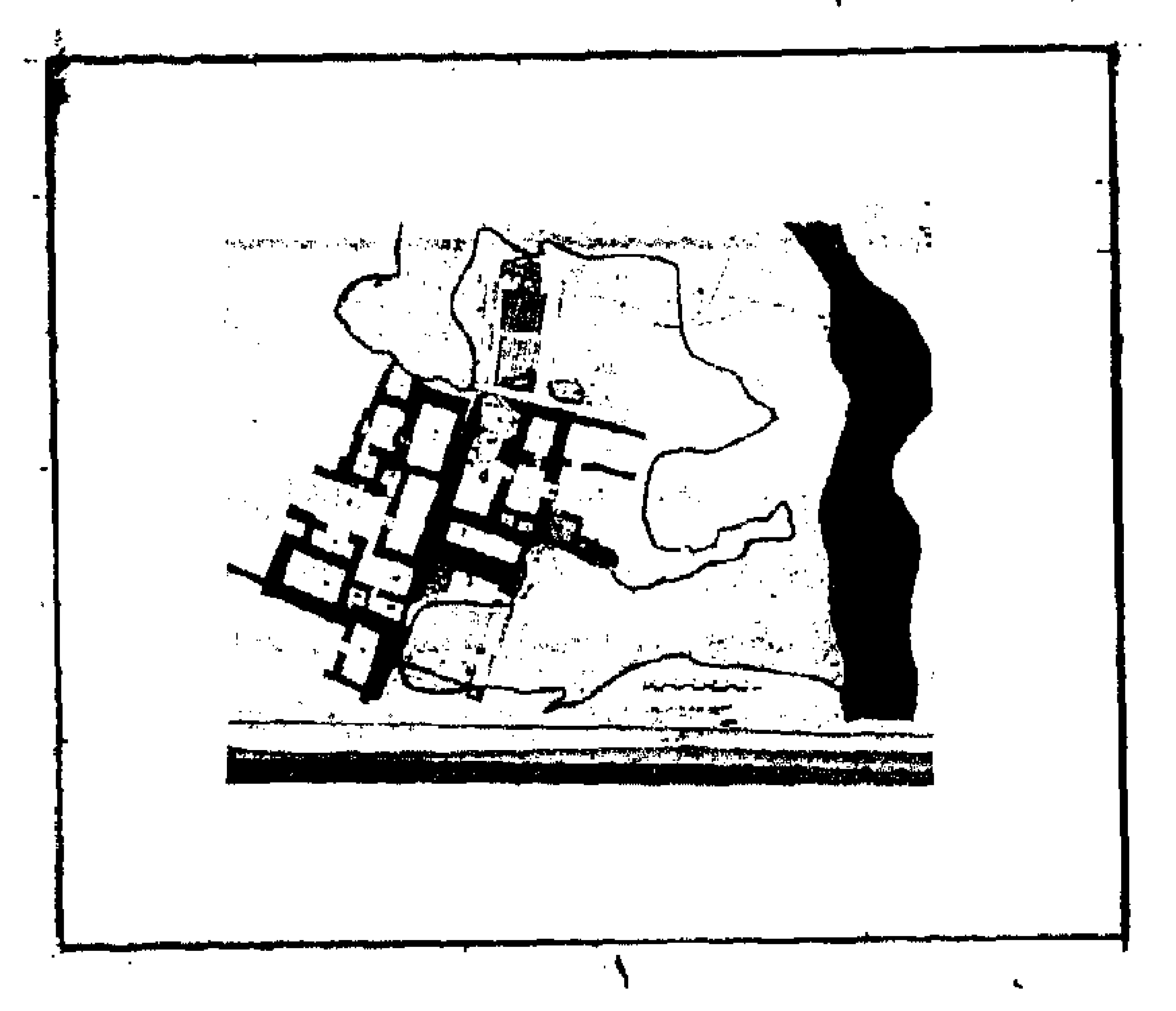
سمي هذا الموقع بعدة اسماء . منها قصر ولي العهد . قصر الامير . قصر سنحاريب . واشهر هذه الاسماء هي (قصر ولي العهد) وهذه التسميات أفادنا بها المنقب الالماني وقد وجدت كتلاً من حجر الكلس كثيرة مشيدة عميقاً في ركام السكن . والبعض منها يحمل النص التالي (أن هذا البناء قد شيد للابن الاصغر آشور – ايلر – سويالتسو .) ويجوز الافتراض أن هذا الامير كان نائباً للملك فـي اشور[2] .

الحفريات الالمانية : –

تتمثل الحفريات الالمانية بثلاثة خنادق رئيسية من ثلاث جهات . باستثناء جهة الغرب وأهم هذه الخنادق الخندق الجنوبي الذي اكتشفوا به السور. وقد عملت فيه هيأتنا مقطعاً لمعرفة الطبقات السكنية في هذه المدينة . فعثرت على اربع طبقات فرثية وطبقتان اشورية وقصر الامير يمثل الطبقة الخامسة أي الطبقة الاشورية الثانية والسور يمثل الطبقة السادسة وما زال العمل مستمراً فيه لحد الآن .

أما الانفاق فهي عبارة عن نفقين الاول من جهة النهر في الطبقة الاشورية وهو بطول عشرين متراً ، اكتشفوا من خلاله أن القصر مبني على مسطبة كبيرة من اللبن قياس (٣٨×٣٨×١٠) سم والمجس الثاني داخل الخندق الجنوبي متابع السور من الخارج باتجاه الجنوب وهو بطول خمسة امتار .

أما المجسات فقد اكتشفنا منها قبل المباشرة بالعمل مجساً واحداً مكشوفاً . ولكن بعد مباشرتنا العمل . تبين أنها اكثر من ذلك فقد استعمل هذا المنقب نظام الحفر والردم . فكلما انتهى من مجس وبدأ بالثاني رمى تراب المجس الجديد في المجس القديم . وهكذا الى أن بقي آخر مجس مفتوحاً وهو الواقع في مدخل غرفة (١٤) انظر المخطط رقم (١) .



١

الحفريات العراقية : –

ضمن خطة هذه المؤسسة في احياء مدينة اشور الأثرية بدأنا العمل في قصر ولي العهد بتأريخ ١٩٧٩/٤/٢٥ وفي النقطة الكائنة بين الخنادق على أمل العثور على جزء شاخص منه . ليكون نموذجاً حياً من قصور الأمراء الآشوريين .

وقد أقتصر العمل في هذا الموسم على نقطتين النقطة الأولى كشف الطبقات العليا من الموقع فيما بين الخنادق والنقطة الثانية عمل مقطع في الخندق الجنوبي . وتدقيق انقاضه لمعرفة الطبقات السكنية فبالنسبة للنقطة الأولى تم كشف طبقتين منها وهما

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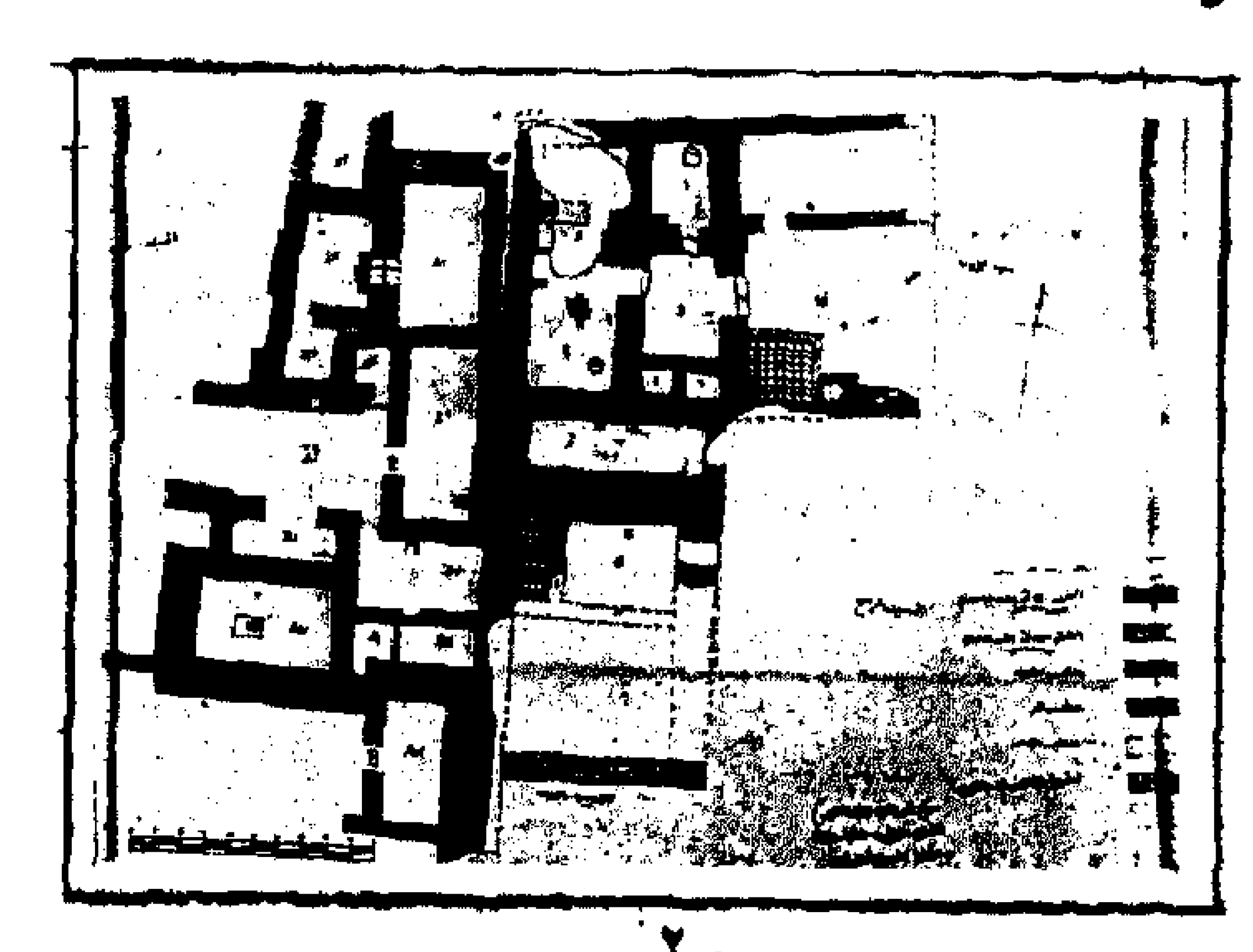
١ – ترجمة السيد حامد لكتاب اندرية ص ١١١ – ترجمة غير مطبوعة

٢– نفس المصدر ص ١١١ .

من الدور الفرثي فالطبقة الأولى [العليا] عبارة عن حارة سكنية مشكلة من اربعة بيوت متلاصقة ومتجاورة ومسكونة لدورين سكنيين ، وفي الدور الثاني المتاخر حدث تحوير واضافات وتم دمج البيتين الثاني والثالث في بيت واحد وأعطي أسم البيت الخامس حسب تسلسل البيوت

اما الطبقة الثانية فقد كشفنا منها بيتين الأول يقع شمال الحارة ، وهو غير مسكون في الطبقة الاولى ، واطلقنا عليه اسم البيت الشمالي ويختلف في تخطيطه عن بيوت الطبقة الاولى اما البيت الاخر والذي يقع تحت البيت الرابع واطلقنا عليه اسم البيت الجنوبي لكنه غير واضح في المخطط ولا يتوضح الا بعد رفع الطبقة الأولى انظر المخطط السابق نفسه

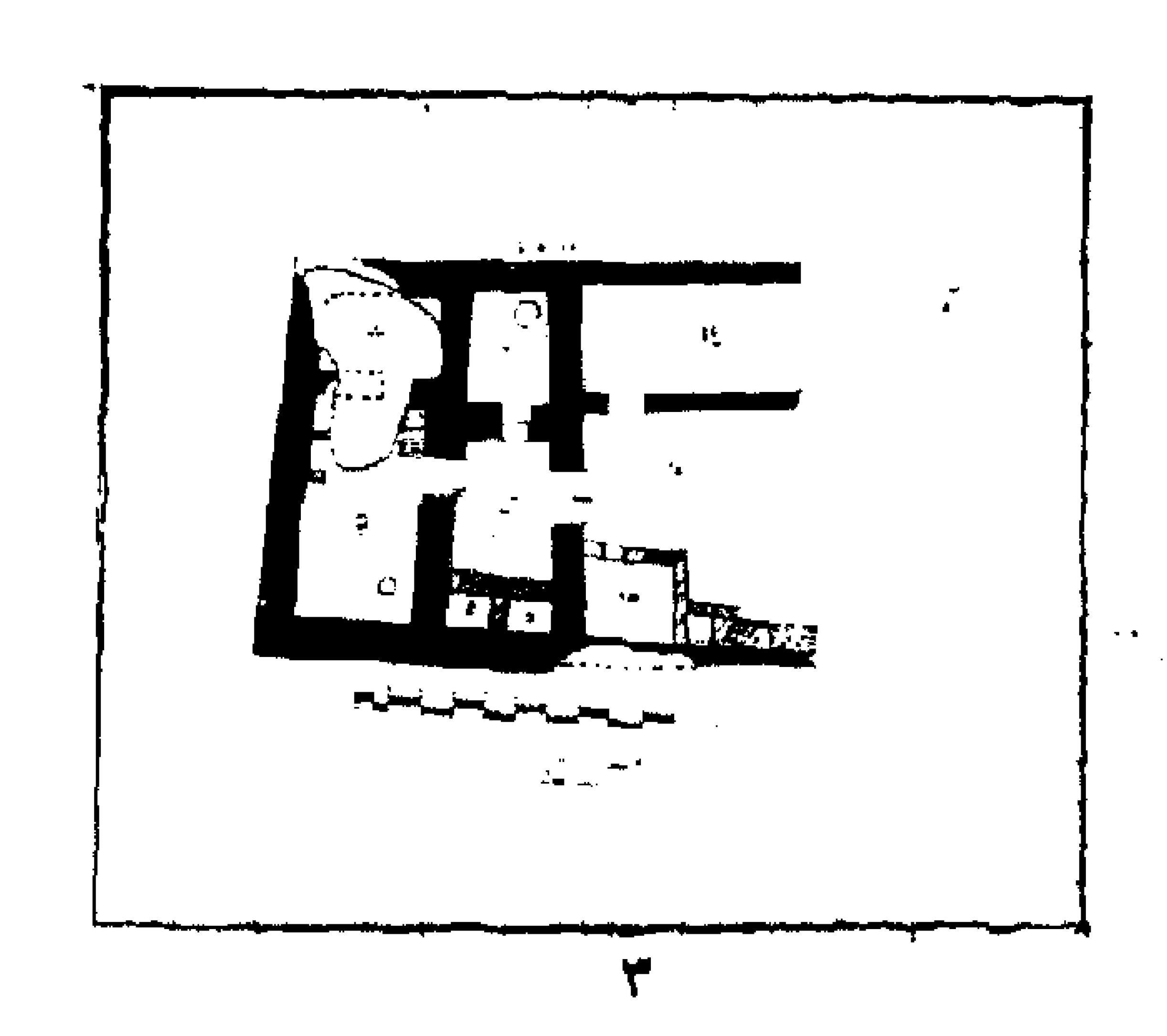
ان ترقيم هذه البيوت لم يكن مستندا على تسلسل تأريخي اوزمني ولكنه جاء حسب أكتشاف كل بيت فالذي يكتشف اولا يحصل على الرقم الأول انظر المخطط الكامل للطبقة الاولى لتشاهد البيوت الاربعة وهو المخطط رقم [٢] وإليك تخطيط وميزات كل بيت منها .



٢

البيت الاول : -

يقع في القسم الشمالي الشرقي من هذه الحارة ، ويتجه الى الشرق ، ويتألف من خمس غرف وساحة مكشوفة ، وقد اضيفت اليه غرفة أخرى في الدور الثاني واحتلت الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية من الساحة وهي الغرفة المرقمة [١٠] كما تم قطع جزء من الغرفة الثانية في هذا الدور المتأخر وجعلها احواضاً لخزن الحبوب انظر المخطط رقم [٣] . وهذا البيت والبيوت الأخرى المشابهة له تعتبر الأولى من نوعها



٣

لمكتشفاتنا الاثرية في هذه المدينة ، وذلك لانها بنيت وفقا لنظام الحارات والمجمعات السكنية الفرثية بصورة عامة ومخطط البيت الفرثي بصورة خاصة وأهم ميزات هذا البيت ما يلي : -

١- جميع الغرف تفتح على بعضها ، وتنفذ الى غرفة رئيسة تطل وتنفذ الى الساحة .
٢- تميزت الغرفة الرئيسية بسعة بابها عن بقية الغرف ، ويحتمل أنها كانت على شكل ايوان اوعقادة من اللبن اي يعلوه قوس .
٣- وجود ساحة مربعة أمام الغرفة الرئيسة .
٤- وجود غرفة خارجية كبيرة مستقلة بمدخلها عن بقية الغرف وتنفذ مباشرة الى الساحة .
٥- وجود الدرج داخل غرفة رقم [٣] ومنه نستدل على مايلي :
أ- لابد أنه يؤدي الى السطح فأما أن يكون هنالك طابق آخر ، وهذا الطراز موجود في المباني الفرثية كما هو الحال في القصر الفرثي المجاور .
ب- أو أنه خاص بالصعود الى السطح للنوم صيفاً او للنزهة ، وهذا الأمر يتطلب وجود غرفة تعلوفتحة نفاذ الدرج منعاً لنزول الأمطار والغبار الى داخل البيت .
٦- الأسس مبنية من الحجر غير المهندم بأرتفاع (٦٠) سم وتعلوها جدران اللبن قياس [٤٠×٤٠×١٢] سم وبعرض [١٫١٠] م .
٧- جميع عتبات الأبواب من الحجر المهندم وهي بعرض الجدار ، لكنها تبرزعنه الى الخارج وتقل من الداخل وموضعها فوق الأرضية السكنية .

الغـرف : -

١- الغرفة الرئيسية [المرقمة -٢-] تتميز ببابها الرئيسي الذي سعته [١٫٥م-] وسعة كل من البابين الآخرين متر واحد وهي مسكونة لدورين تميز المتأخر بأقتطاع جزئها الجنوبي وجعله أحواضاً لخزن الحبوب وقد عثرنا فيها على آثار الحبوب المتفحمة ، وهذه الاحواض محروقة من الداخل ، وأرتفاعها [١٫٣٠] م خالية من الأبواب وأعتقدنا في البداية انها غرف وتبين في الأخير أنها عنابير وهذا النظام مازال سائداً في الريف العراقي ، انظر الغرفتين [٨ ، ٩] من المخطط نفسه وقد وجدنا فيها مكاناً لتمثال يقف الى يسار الداخل ملتصقاً بالجدار الشرقي ، يقوم على قاعدة من الطابوق ويحيط به افريز بارز من الطين بارتفاع [٥] سم وارتفاعه [٤٥] سم .

٢- غرفة المطبخ [المرقمة -١-] :- مربعة الشكل تقريبا وصغيرة قياساً الى الغرف الاخرى ، تميزت بوجود موقدين للنار جنب الباب من جهة اليسار ، عليها آثار الحرق حتى تحولا الى طابوق نصف مشوي ، ووجد فيهما الرماد وجدران الغرفة عموماً عليها آثار الدخان ، وكذلك وجدنا ثلاثة حباب كبيرة مثبتة في الارضية ، اثنان مهشمان والثالث مازال واقفاً ، وأعتقد انهما للخزن الخاص بالمؤن ، وعثرنا على أوان خاصة بالطعام والشراب مصنوعة من الفخار ، والغرفة لاتصلح للسكن لأنها مشغولة بهذه الحباب ومواقد النار ومن هذه الدلائل أسميناها غرفة المطبخ .

٣- غرفة الدرج [المرقمة - ٣] : - وهي مستطيلة الشكل سكنت بدورين في الدور الثاني [المتأخر] استحدث فيها الدرج الذي يقع الى يمين الداخل ابتداً من الباب يصعد باتجاه الشمال وعرضه [٨٠] سم وارتفاع كل مرقاه [١٢] سم وبروزها (١٤) سم [اي عرضها] والموجود منها ست مراقي تنتهي الى فسحة اعتقد أنها كانت بالأصل امتداداً لهذا الدرج لكنها تهدمت . وفي هذا الدور بلطت

الارضية بالطابوق قياس [٣٠×٣٠×٦] سم بينما في الدور السابق كان تبليطها من الطين . ولها باب في ضلعها الشمالي ينفذ الى غرفة رقم (٤) التي عمل فيها الالمان .مجساً كبيراً نازلاً الى الطبقة الآشورية مما ادى الى تشويهها .

٤- الغرفة الخارجية [المرقمة ١٥] : - تقع في الضلع الشمالية من الساحة . وعلى طول أمتدادها وتنفذ اليها الغرفة الجديدة - المضافة - [المرقمة ١٠] : - تقع في الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية من الساحة وقد بنيت أسسها من الحجر المهندم فوق الأرضية السكنية للدور الأسبق . وبعرض [٥٠] سم وبلطت بالطابوق قياس [٣٠×٣٠×٦] سم ويعلو هذا التبليط كساء من الطين بسمك ٥سم . يغطي عموم الطابوق . وهو يمثل دور سكني متأخر عن هذا الدور وهذه الغرفة الصغيرة التي قياسها [٧٠ر٢ × ٥٠ر٢] م استعمال خاص حيث يخرج منها درج من حجر الحلان المهندم باتجاه الشرق . مع موازاة جدران الساحة الجنوبي وهو بعرض [٨٠] سم والباقي منها مرقاتان ارتفاع الواحدة [٣٠ سم] وبروزها كذلك ويحدها من الشمال جدار ضعيف من الحجر واعتقد انه بني . ليمنع حصول حوادث اثناء النزول والصعود . وبما أنه يؤدي الى جهة الشرق فلربما كان يربط هذا البيت مع بيت اخر او جناح تابع له في هذه الجهة أزاله الخندق أو أكله النهر .

البيت الثاني : -

يقع هذا البيت الى الغرب من البيت السابق . ويفصل بينهما حل بنائي وكذلك جدار مستقل وقد بني متأخراً عن البيت الأول . ولو أنهما من نفس الدور والدليل من ملاحظة البنايتين ان الجدار التابع للبيت الأول مطلي بالطين بينما ترك الثاني لعدم أمكانية طلائه . وقياس جدران هذا البيت بعرض [٩٠] سم بينما السابق [١٠ر١] م ومبنية من اللبن قياس [٣٦ × ٣٦ × ١٢] سم بينما الأول بقياس [٤٠ × ٤٠ × ١٢] سم وتميز بأسسه المبنية بالحجر غير المهندم . وكسر الطابوق بقياس [٣٠]سم . سكن في دورين الاول كما نلاحظ في المخطط رقم [٤] اما في الدور الثاني فقد جرت فيه تحويرات نلاحظها عند الكلام عن البيت الخامس . ويتكون هذا البيت كما نلاحظ في المخطط من ثلاث غرف . غرفة رئيسة واثنتان نافذتان عليه . اضافة الى الغرفة الرابعة وهي الخارجية المخربة بسبب الخندق . التي أعتقد أنها تنفذ الى الساحة :

الغرف : -

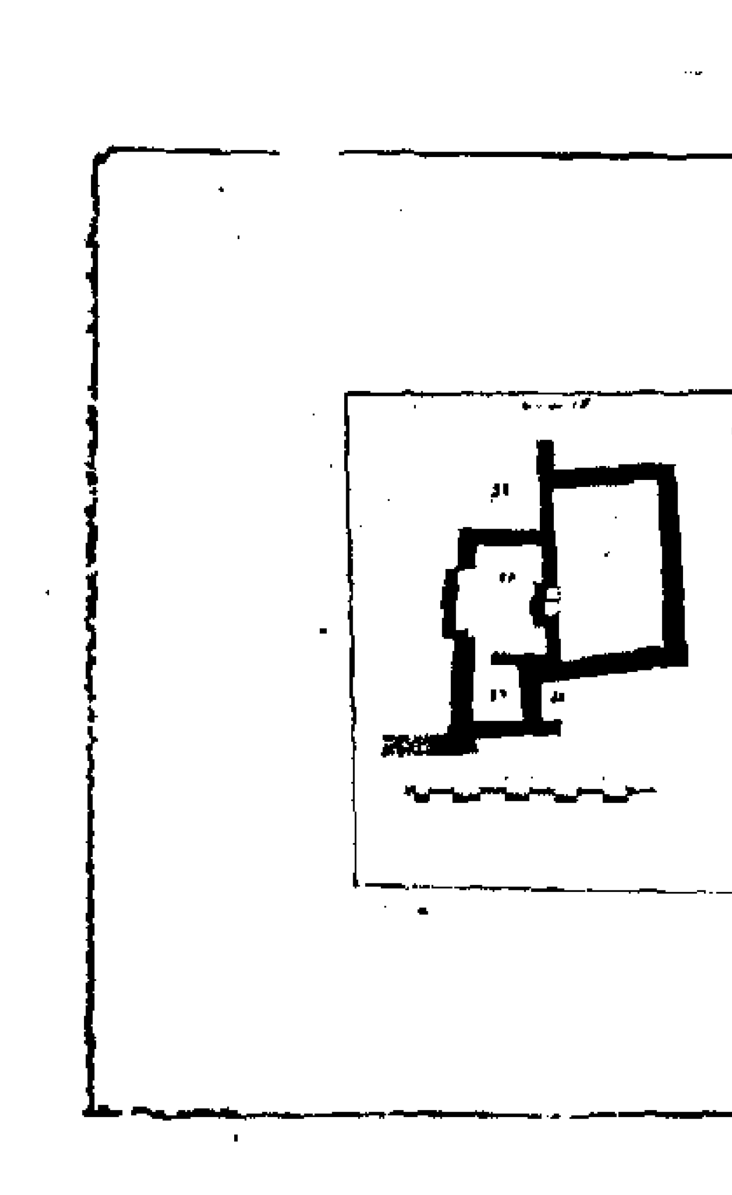
الغرفة الرئيسة المرقمة [٢٧] : - شكلها مستطيل قياسها [٤×٣] م لها ثلاثة مداخل اثنان الى الغرف . والثالث - وهو الكبير - ينفذ الى الساحة قياسه [٤٠ر٢] م وامامه عتبة كبيرة من لطاق بطول [٧ر٢] م وارتفاعها (٣) مداميك من الطابوق . واعتقد انها عتبة لطاق كبير يعلو هذا الباب ليشكل ايواناً واحداً يشابه ماموجود في المباني والقصور الفرثية ذات الايوان الواحد .

اما الغرفتان الأخرتيان المرقمتان [٢٠ . ٢٣] : - فالغرفة الاولى كبيرة وهي . اكبر غرف البيت قياسها [٥ر٦] م × [٤] م] بابها نافذ الى الغرفة الرئيسة وعرضه (١) متر وامامه عتبة من الطابوق بطول [٦٠ر١ م] تبرز مع موازاة الجدار. وتنزل الى مرقاة صغيرة من الطابوق بارتفاع مدماك واحد . وعثرنا على [٥٣ مسكوكة] صغيرة [3] كما عثرنا على اوان وجرار وحواملها من الفخار . وينفذ منها باب ضيق سعته [٧٠]سم الى الغرفة المرقمة [٢٣] والتي قياسها [٣٠ر٢ × ٢] م وهي كما اعتقد خاصة بالخزن لضيق مساحتها .

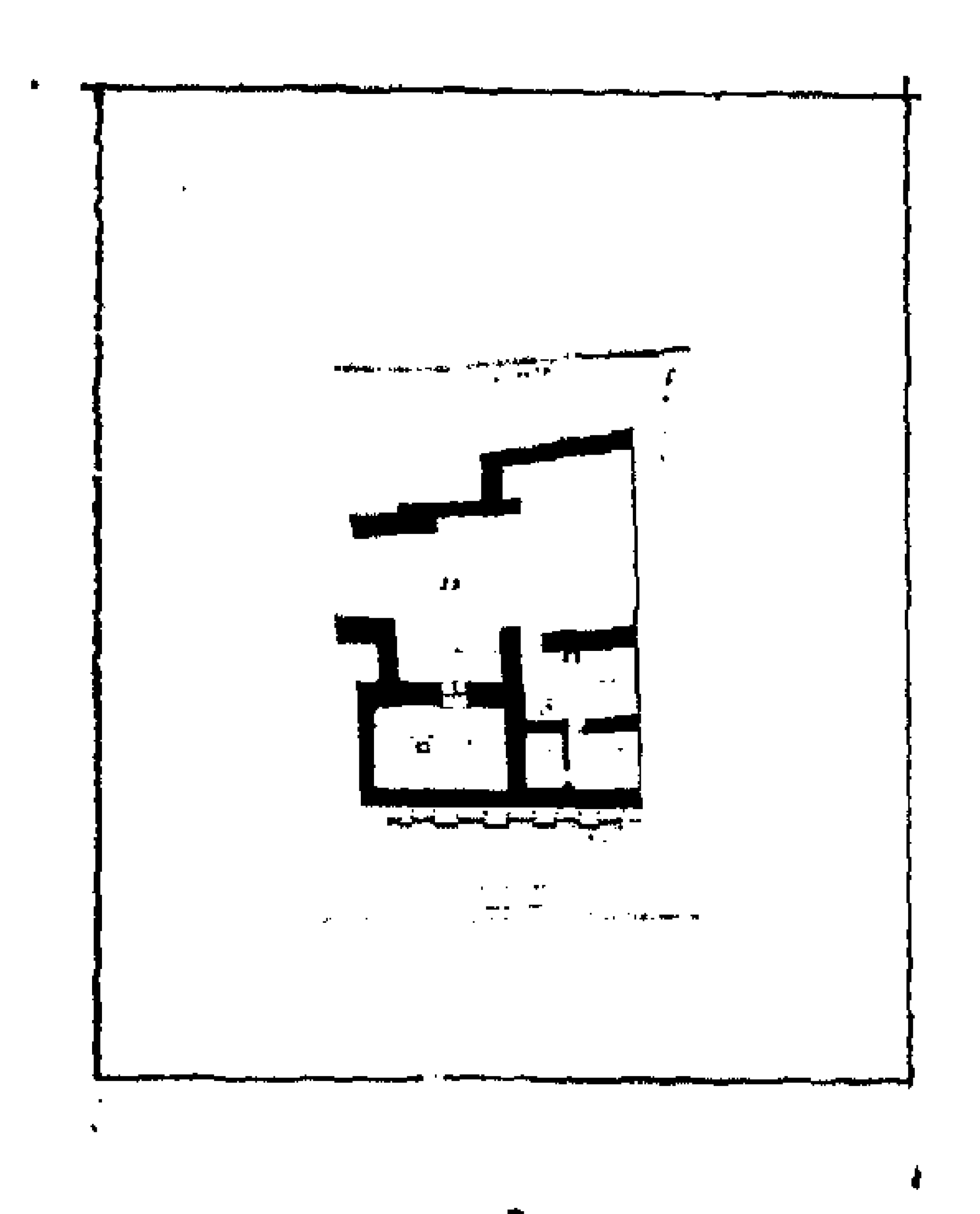
وتميز هذا البيت بوجود احجار مسطحة مستطيلة الشكل من الحجر الاسود الناري . فوق العتبات وفي كل منها شق طولي نافذ قصير وهو يستعمل لغلق الباب من الداخل . وعدم امكانية فتحه الا بعد سحب الخشبة او القضيب الداخل في الشق .

البيت الثالث : -

يقع جنوب البيت الثاني ويحاذيه . تفصل بينهما ساحة كبيرة وهو متاخر من من الناحية البنائية عن البيت الثاني وقد شيدت جدرانه لصقاً على جدار البيت الاول وشكلت حلاً بنائياً من جهة الشرق وسكن لدورين الاول كما في المخطط رقم [٥] والثاني سوف يأتي عند الكلام عن البيت الخامس . ففي هذا المخطط نلاحظ انه يتالف من خمس غرف وساحة وهذه الغرف مقسومة الى جناحين الشرقي ويتألف من الغرف الثلاث [٢٤ . ٢٥ . ٢٦ .] والغربي من غرفتين [٣٠ : ٣١] .



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٣- ارسلت الى المختبر المركزي في بغداد لتنظيفها وصيانتها وماتزال في المختبر .

١- الجناح الشرقي : -

الغرفة الرئيسية المرقمة [٢٤] شكلها مستطيل قياسها [٥ × ٨ ر٢] م تميزت بوجود مدخلين : الشمالي نافذ الى الساحة وهو بعرض [١] م والثاني ينفذ الى غرف [٢٥] وهو بعرض [٨٠] سم وهذه الغرفة الرئيسية بمثابة ايوان صغير لهذا الجناح . وتميزت بوجود حرق على الجدار الشمالي تم وجود موقد للنار جنب ذلك الجدار . وفي وسطها انقاض حب مهشم على الارضية السكنية ويوجد في وسط عتبة الباب الجنوبي حجرة سوداء مسطحة تستعمل لسد الباب . كما هو موجود في عتبات البيت الثاني .

الغرفتان المرقمتان [٢٥ . ٢٦] : -

فالاولى تنفذ اليها الغرفة الرئيسية . وهي مستطيلة الشكل قياس [٣٠ ر٢ × ٣] م وعثرنا فيها على مجموعة اواني فخارية مزججة وعادية وفي ضلعها الغربية باب صغير ينفذ الى الغرفة الداخلية الصغيرة والتي قياسها [٣٠ ر٢ × ٦٠ ر١] م ويفصلها عن سابقتها جدار ضعيف بعرض [٣٠] سم واعتقد انه جدار فاصل لايتصل بالسقف .

الجناح الغربي :

يتألف من غرفتين احداهما الغرفة الرئيسية اوكما تسمى غرفة الايوان وتنفذ الى غرفة اخرى تقع خلفها .

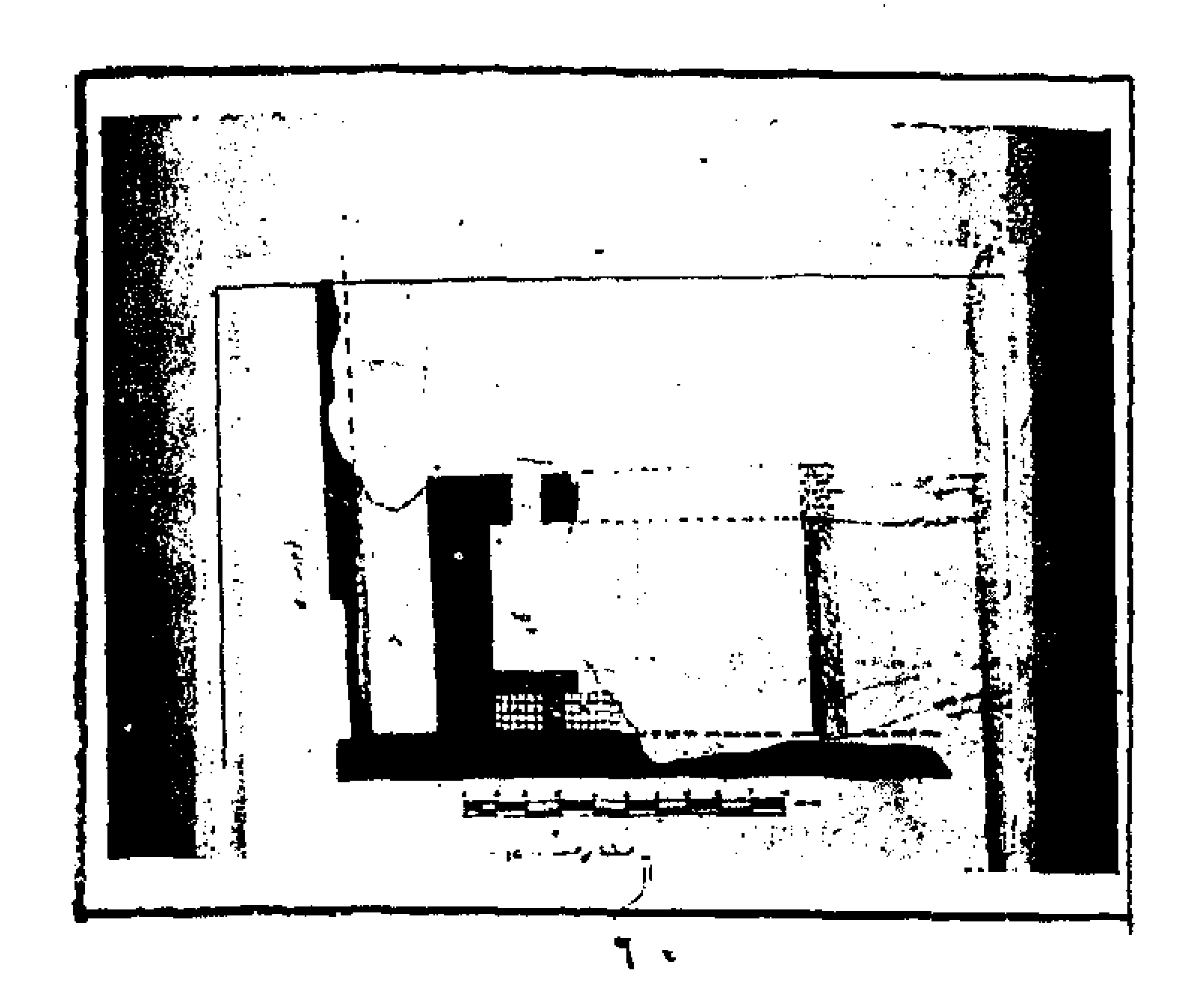
الغرفة الرئيسية المرقمة [٣١] : -

هذه الغرفة تميزت بعدم وجود ضلعها الشمالية . اي انها بقيت مفتوحة الى الساحة . فهي تشبه الايوان الكبير او [الطارمة] وفي ضلعها الجنوبية باب ينفذ الى الغرفة الثانية والغرفة الثانية مرقمة [٣٠] شكلها مستطيل قياسها [٥ر٥ × ٥ر٣] م وعرض مدخلها [١٠ر١] م ولها عتبة مستوية من الحجر المرمر الصقيل الازرق متشكلة من ثلاث قطع ومدفونة مع مستوى الارضية السكنية وفي وسط هذه الغرفة دكة صغيرة من اللبن بارتفاع مدماكين شكلها مربع قياسها [٢٠ ر١ × ١] م يعلوها موقد من ثلاث طابوقات مكمل بالطين ليعطي شكل [الجوجز] اما المساحة فهي مستطيلة الشكل قياسها [١٢ × ٧]م وارضيتها من الطين الاحمر بسمك [٥] سم .

البيت الرابع : -

يقع الى الجنوب من البيت الاول . ويشتركان في جدار واحد . والجدار يعود للبيت الرابع وجدران البيت الاول تشكل حلولا معه . فبهذا يكون اقدم من البيت الاول . الذي هو اقدم من البيتين السابقين [فيكون التسلسل البنائي البيت الرابع . الاول . الثاني . الثالث ثم يأتي البيت الخامس في الدور المتأخر وهو مبني من اللبن قياس [٤٠ × ٤٠ × ١٢] سم وعرض جدرانه [٥ ر١]م والارضيات مبلطة بالطين عدا الغرفتين الصغيرتين وهما مبلطتان بالطابوق وهو قائم على البيت الجنوبي في الطبقة الثانية الذي استفاد منه سكان هذا الدور ورمموا جدرانه ترميماً وغلفوا بعضها باللبن . والبعض الاخر بالطابوق المبني عمودياً [كباز] .

يتكون هذا البيت من غرفتين رئيستين طويلتين تنفذان نحو الشرق . والغرفة الرئيسية التي ينفذان اليها اكلها الخندق الجنوبي . وتبين من خلال التنظيف فيه ان امام الغرف ممراً . ظهرت بقاياه في المقطع انظر المخطط رقم (٦) فالغرفة الشمالية المرقمة [٧] مقاساتها [٥ ر٦ × ٢] م وضلعها الشرقية مخرب اما الغرفة الثانية المحاذية لها من جهة الجنوب والمرقمة (٦) مقاساتها [٠ر٦ × ٠ر٣] م وضلعها الشرقية مخرب كذلك لكن بابها المبني من الطابوق بعرض متر واحد باقٍ



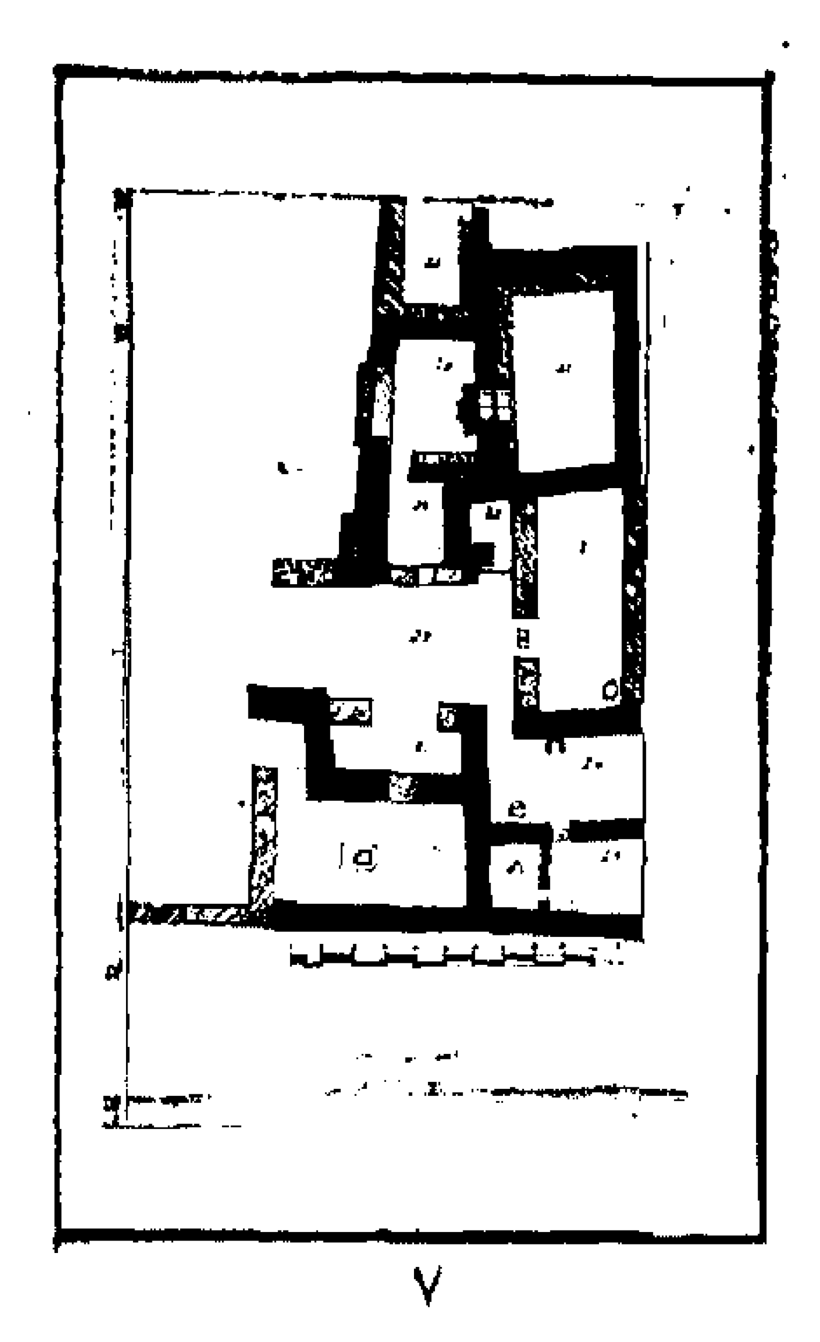
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وتبين فيها أن هذا البيت مسكون لدورين حيث وجدنا فيها اثنان من ارضيات السكن يفصل بينهما دفن بسمك [٥٠] سم وعثرنا فوق كل منهما على آثار خشب تحول الى فحم مما يدل على أن تسقيف هذا البيت أو الحارة بكاملها كان من الخشب .

وفي الدور المتأخر اقتطع القسم الغربي من هذه الغرفة . وقسم الى غرفتين صغيرتين مبلطتين بالطابوق ولم يبق من اسسهما الا مدماك واحد مع مستوى التبليط وبهذا لا يمكن الاخبار عنهما بشيء اكثر تفصيلاً .

البيت الخامس : -

يمثل هذا البيت فترة السكن الثانية المتأخرة . وهو ناتج من عملية جمع البيتين الثاني والثالث بعد احداث تحويرات بسيطة بغلق ابواب قديمة وفتح اخرى جديدة . كما تمت اضافة بعض الجدران واستحدثت غرفة في ساحة البيت الثالث التي اصبحت ساحة رئيسية لهذا البيت انظر المخطط رقم (٧) .



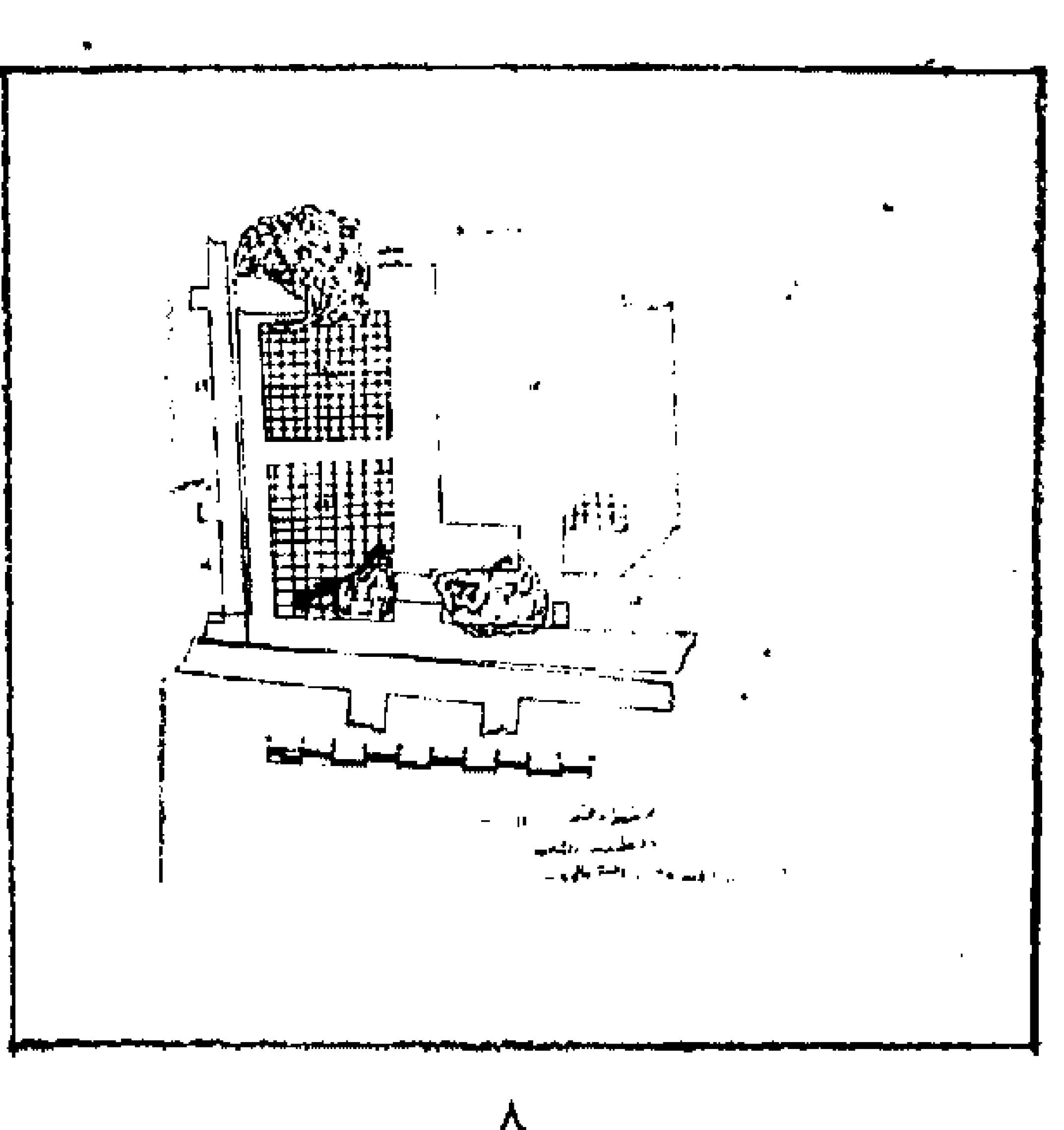
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فبالنسبة للبيت الثاني فقد تم غلق باب الغرفة الرئيسية النافذ الى الخارج وتم التوسع في الغرفة [٢٣] وفتح باب في ضلعها الجنوبية الجديدة . ينفذ الى الساحة واصبحت بدورها غرفة رئيسية لهذا البيت . اما بالنسبة للبيت الثالث فان جناحه الشرقي مبني كما هو أما الغربي فالغرفة [٣٠] سد بابها الوسطي وفتح لها باب في الزاوية الشمالية الغربية واتسعت قليلا من جهة الغرب . وهذا الباب ينفذ الى

الخارج اما الغرفة [٣١] فقد اكملت وبنى جدارها الشمالي واصبح لها باب اعتيادي ينفذ الى الساحة . كما تمت اضافة الغرفة [٢١] وهي تمتد على طول المسافة بين البيتين سابقاً وتنفذ الى الساحة وأصبحت هي الغرفة الخارجية المطلة على الساحة . وذلك اكمالاً للتخطيط الفرثي السائد وتميزت عتبات الأبواب بوجود الاحجار السوداء المشقوقة الخاصة بالمغلاق .

البيت الشمالي

يقع شمال البيت الاول وهو عائد للطبقة الثانية ولم يستعمل في الاولى انظر المخطط رقم (٨) ويلاحظ المشاهد غربُ هذا البيت على حافة الخندق الشمالي عندما ينحرف الى الجنوب . اجزاء من غرفتين هما [١٣ . ١٩] فهاتان الغرفتان عائدتان للدور الاول . وهما جزء من بيت آخر من هذه الحارة زال بسبب الخندق وعثرنا في الغرفة رقم [١٣] تحت مستوى الارضية السكنية أي في دفن الطبقة الثانية علي صرة من النقود وعددها ٦٦ قطعة ثم تم تثبت القناش على أحدى عشرة منها والباقي تمت صيانتها وتنظيفها . وهي تعود للفترة الارامية وتحمل جميعها على القفا علامة [S - C] .



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يتكون البيت الشمالي من ثلاث غرف . وممر طويل . ينفذ الى الساحة وتخطيطه مشابه لتخطيط البيوت السابقة من ناحية الساحة والغرفة الخارجية لكن يزيد عليه بوجود الممر . فالساحة هنا غير موجودة . ويحتمل ان الخندق ازالها فهناك احتمالان لمكان الساحة فاذا كان البيت لاتتبعه ملاحق اخرى فان ساحته باتجاه الشرق واذا كان العكس فان الممر ينفذ الى الساحة بعد ان ينحرف نحو الشمال مع موازاة جدار الغرفة رقم [١٧] ويتميز هذا البيت بما يلي :.-

١- انعدام الغرفة الرئيسية والاستعاضة عنها بممر ينتهي باحدى الغرف وتفتح اليه الغرف الاخرى .
٢- تبليط الارضيات عموما بالطابوق قياس [٣٠× ٣٠× ٦] سم .
٣- عموم الجدران مؤزرة بالحجر المهندم بارتفاع [١٫٢٠] م ماعدا غرف (١٤) فهي مؤزرة بالطابوق بارتفاع (٦) امتار .
٤- جدران الغرف مطلية بالجص .
٥- فيه اكثر من غرفة تنفذ الى الخارج .

غرفة المطبخ المرقمة ١٤ : -

مربعة الشكل تقريباً قياساتها [٣٫٨٠ × ٤] م ارضيتها مبلطة بالطابوق وعليها حروق كثيرة ، ورماد ، جدارها الشمالي حطمه الخندق والمجس وعرض بابها غير معلوم وواجهتها الخارجية اي المسافة بين غرفة [١٧] وغرفة [١٤] مبنية بالطابوق العمودي . وامامها وملتصق بها اعمدة للزينة وجدنا قواعدها ماتزال ثابتة يعلوها عمود قطره (١٥) سم من الطابوق المدور وقد وجدنا بالقرب من هذه القواعد تاجي عمودين من الجص لواجهات مدورة ومحلاة بزخرفة البكرة مزينة باسطوانتين جانبتين أما سبب اعتقادنا انها مطبخ . فهو صغر مساحتها . وحرق الجدران وكثرة الرماد فيها والمواقد على الارضيات اضافة الى وجود اواني المطبخ كاملة من صحون وكؤوس وجرار ومصاف فخارية وحباب كبيرة للخزن وجدنا بعضها مملوء بحبوب القمح احتفظنا بقسم منها في المختبر. ويوجد في الممر المظلم [٩٢] مقابل غرفة (١٧) حجرة كبيرة مهندمة وقعت فوق الارضية السكنية نعتقد انها قاعدة لتمثال كبير . ازيل بسبب مجس الالمان الواقع خلفه .

اللقى الاثرية : -

الفخاريات : -

١- الجرار : - وهى على نوعين العادية والمزججة:

فالجرار العادية اختلفت في حجومها وأشكالها واستعمالاتها . فمنها الحباب والأزيار والزمزميات والدوارق لبعضها قواعد دائرية وسميكة وأبدانها منتفخة وهي غير مسامية

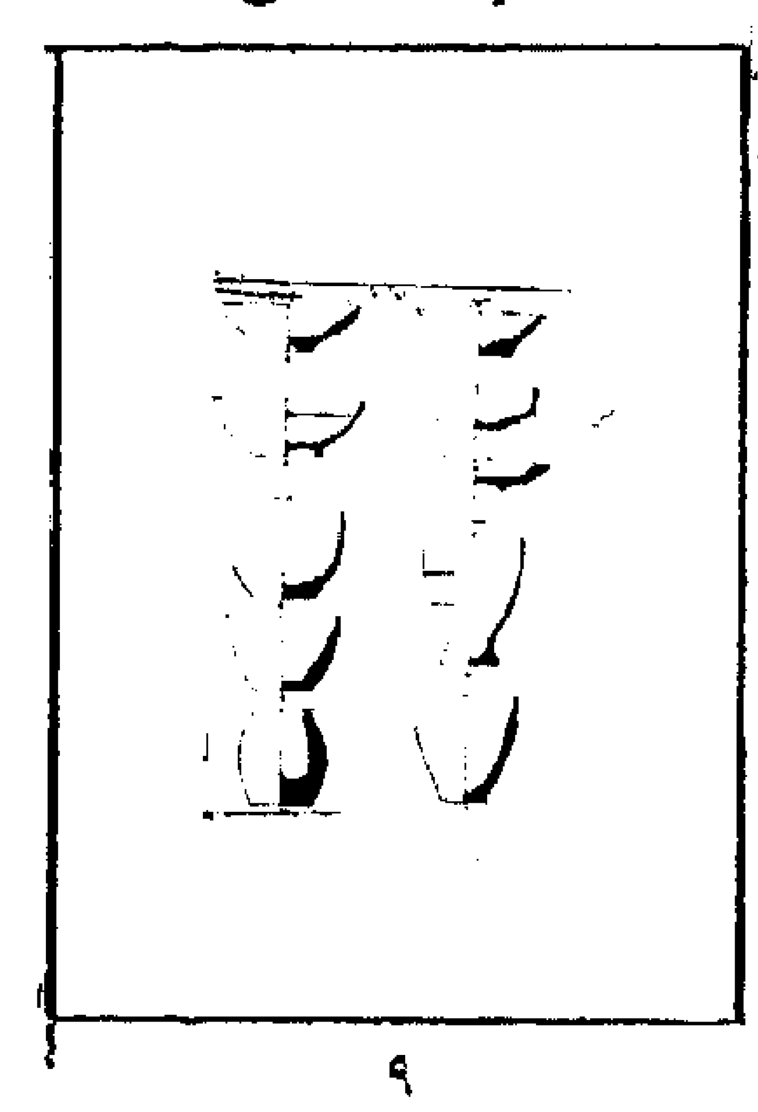
ومنها ذات فوهات قمعية ورقاب قصيرة . تضيق من الوسط أو اسطوانية طويلة وابدان كروية بعضها مزخرف بمعينات . اما الدوارق فهي مغزلية ايضاً لكنها تتميز بالمصب الذي يستطيل من الفوهة الى الجانب المعاكس للمقبض اما الأزيار فهي ذات أبدان منتفخة لبعضها مقبضين والبعض الاخر بدون مقابض

اما الجرار المزججة فهي لاتختلف عن غيرها من الجرار السابقة الا بالتزجيج فقط

٢- الحوامل - المقصود بها القواعد الفخارية التي تحمل الجرار ذات القواعد الكروية وأعتقد ان الحامل يصنع من الجرة نفسها وبعضها يصنع بحيث يستعمل لجرتين مختلفتين

٣- الصحون والكؤوس والأكواب : -

أما الصحون فقد عثرنا على مجموعة منها . اغلبها مهشم وثلاثة كاملة تميزت بصغرها وسعة قواعدها عثر عليها في غرفة المطبخ (١٤) انظر اللوح رقم [٩] .



٩

أما الكؤوس فهي على نوعين : -

أ- الكاسات قريبة الشبه من الصحون لكن قواعدها صغيرة وبارزة الى الأسفل وذات حافة وأبدانها نصف كروية أنظر اللوح نفسه .

ب- الكؤوس : فهي مصنوعة من طينة نقية وغير مسامية قواعدها مسطحة وابدانها اسطوانية وفوهاتها متسعة والبدن محلى بحزوز أنظر اللوح نفسه .

اما الأكواب فهي الأخرى على نوعين : -

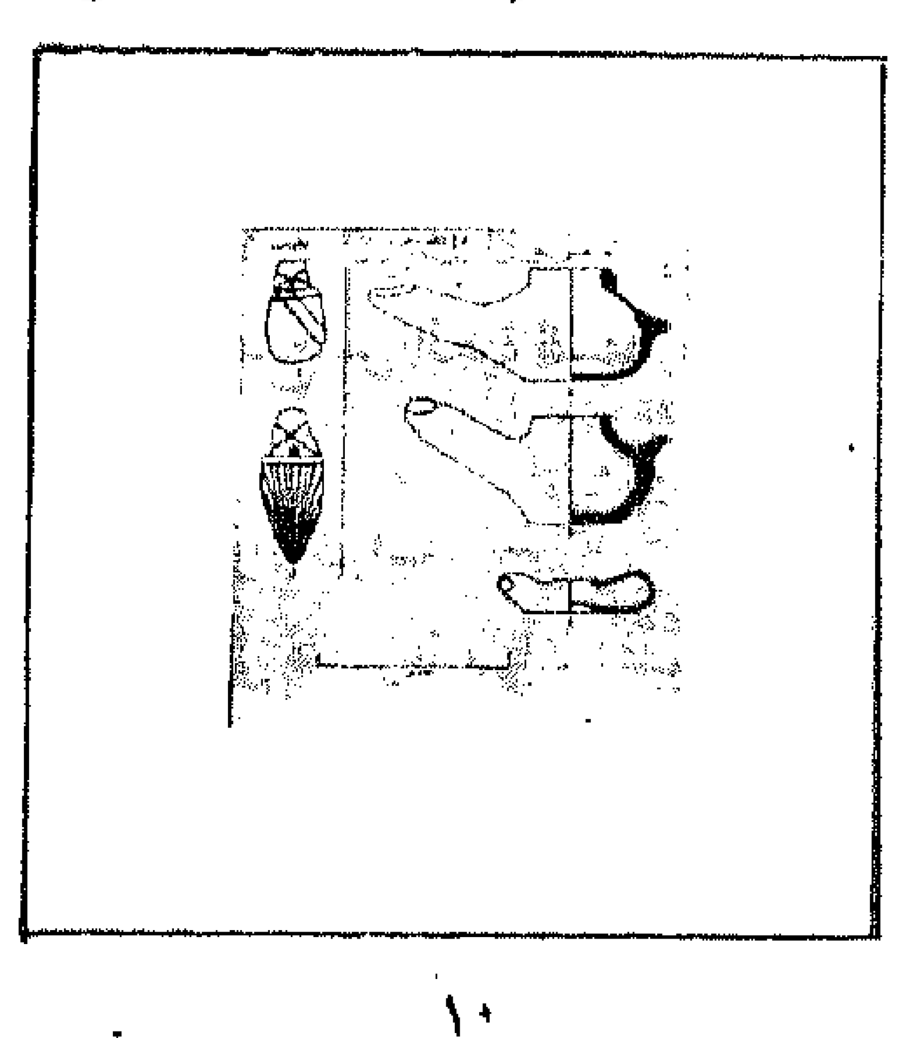
١- الأكواب الفخارية وهي مشابهة للكؤوس الا أنها أقل ارتفاعاً وعديمة المقابض .

٢- الأكواب الطينية معمولة بشكل كتلة من الطين . قام الصانع بنحتها بسكين حادة وهي ماتزال رطبة وأثر النحت واضح عليها وتميزت بشكلها البيضوي وحافتها السميكة والفوهة الضيقة . والمقبض الصغير أنظر اللوح نفسه

٤- المصافي : - عثرنا على مصفاتين في الغرفة (١٤) متوسطتي الحجم أبدانهما اسطوانية والقواعد مكورة والفوهات أضيق من البدن وعلى العموم مثقبة ثقوباً منتظمة

٥- المسارج :- تم العثور على نوعين من المسارج في الغرفة (١٤) النوع الاول المسارج الكبيرة ذات المقابض الناتئة والمصب الطويل وفتحته موازية لفتحة الفوهة . والنوع الثاني المسارج الصغيرة الداخل . وفوهة المصب [عنق الفتيل] بارز قليلاً عن البدن والثقب أعلى من مستوى الفوهة أنظر اللوح رقم (١٠ أ).

٦- شواقيل البناء :- وهي مصنوعة من حجر المرمر الأبيض وهي نوعان. منبسط ومدبب وكلاهما يعلوه مقبض منبسط مسنن من الجوانب . مزين بحزوز متعاكسة أما الأبدان فالمنبسط محلى بخطين مائلين يقطعهما خط معاكس أما المدبب فهو مزين بخطوط طويلة تنتهي عند الرأس أنظر اللوح رقم (١٠ ب).



١٠

٧- الدمى :- عثرنا على نوعين من الدمى الأولى بشرية والثانية حيوانية فالدمى البشرية ثلاث كسر أو أجزاء الأولى تمثل رجل أو امرأة يرتدي في رأسه عصابة والثانية والثالثة أجزاء من ابدان بشرية . أما الدمى الحيوانية فهي :-

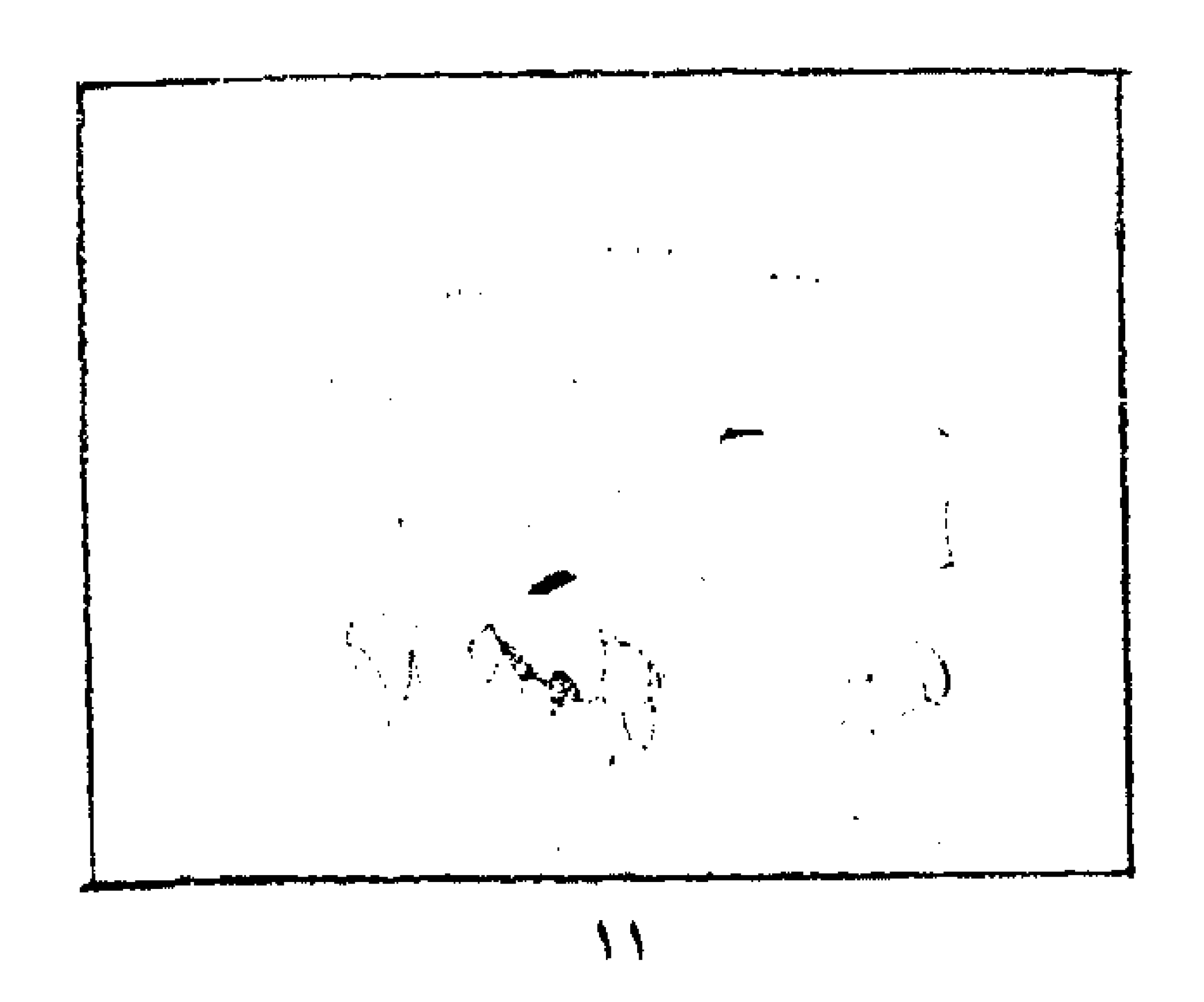
أ- رأس حيوان طائر يشبه رأس البط .

ب- مؤخرة حيوان ذيله مبتور يمثل حماراً على الأكثر .

جـ- شخص يمتطي حماراً صغيراً .

د- رأس حيوان مع جزء من الرقبة يظن أنه حماراً صغيراً .

هـ و- مؤخرة حيوانين الأولى قريبة الشبه للخيول او للحمير والثانية تشبه الغزال أنظر اللوح رقم (١١) .

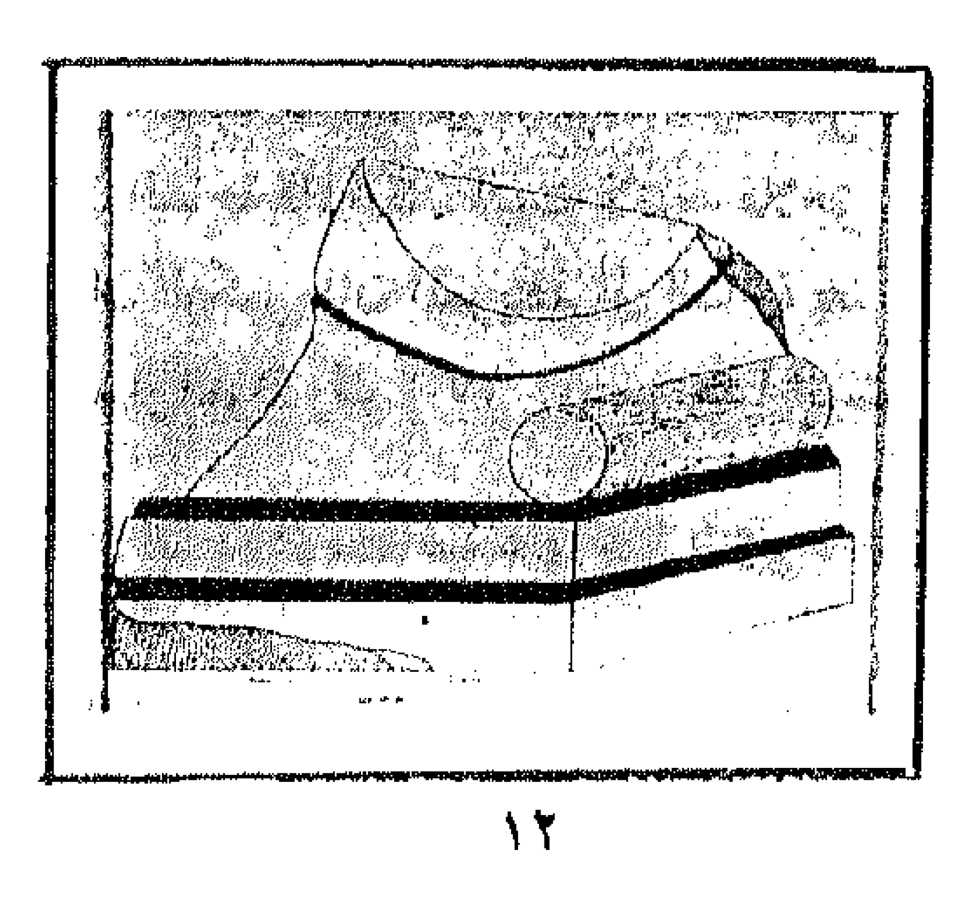


١١

الجصيات : -

زخارف وتيجان أعمدة جصية . من القصر الفرثي وقصر الأمير. أثناء عمليات التنقيب ورفع الانقاض التي خلفها الالمان في القصر الفرثي مخطط [١٩] عثرنا على مجموعة من الزخارف الجصية . وتيجان الأعمدة . التي كانت تزين واجهات الأواوين وبواطنها والمعاثر تركزت امام الأيوان الغربي في الساحة . على الأرضية السكنية وفي داخل الأيوان الشمالي على الأرضية السكنية . أيضاً اضافة الى معاثر أخرى متفرقة في القصر نفسه من الأدوار البنائية المتأخرة حيث وجدت الجصيات مستعملة كمادة بناء أما في قصر الأمير فقد عثرنا في الطبقة الثانية أمام الغرفة المرقمة [١٤] على قاعدتي عمود ماتزال مثبتة في اماكنها كما شاهدنا ذلك في وعثرنا بجوارهما على تاجي عمود من الجص أيضاً كما وجدنا في القصر نفسه على نموذج [موديل] جصي بشكل هندسي تعلوه مبخرة وقد تناولنا في هذا البحث عن الجصيات المكتشفة في كلا الموقعين : -

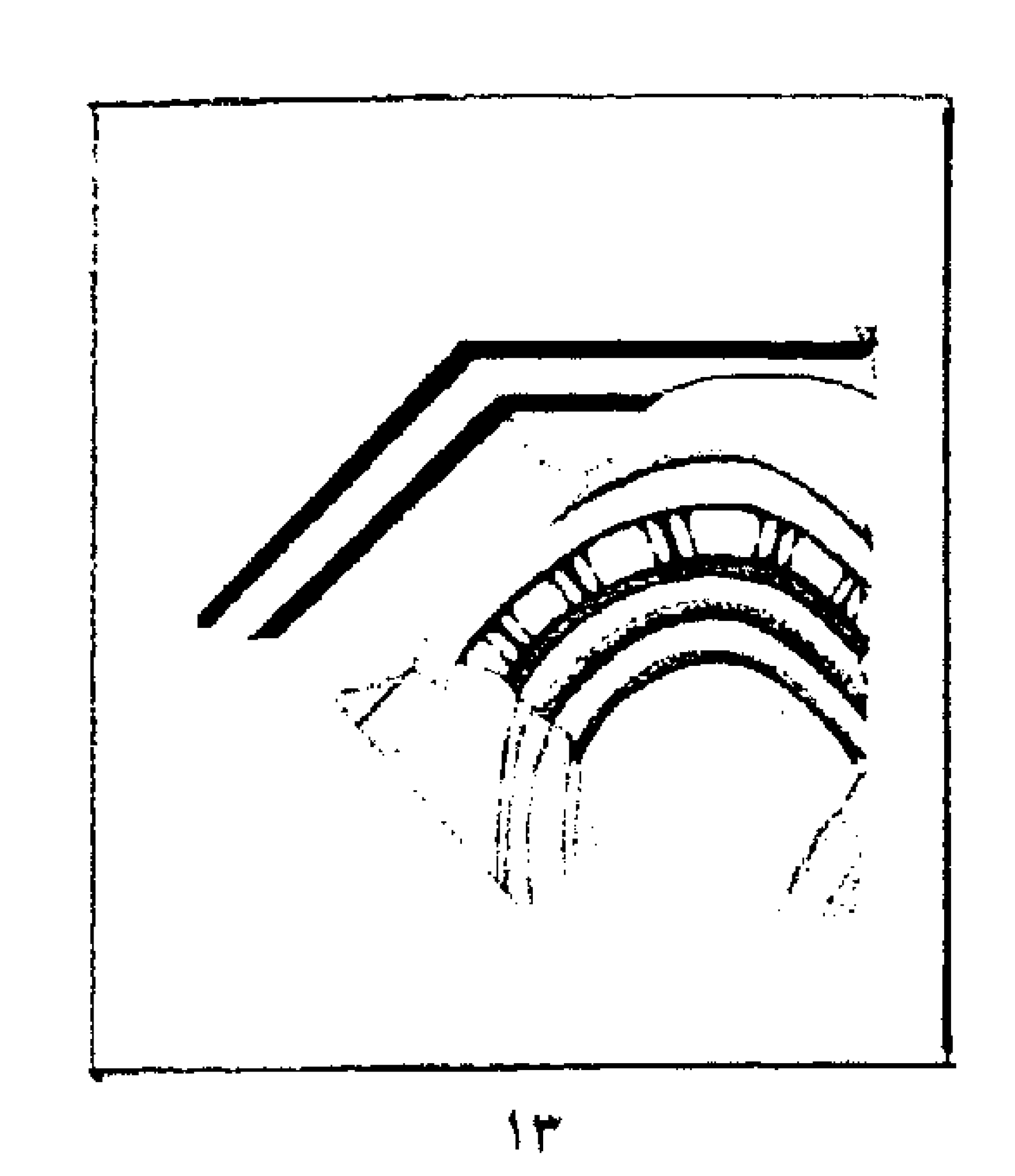
١- تيجان الأعمدة عثرنا على نوعين من التيجان الجصية النوع الأول التاج ذو القاعدة المربعة فوجدنا اثنين في القصر الفرثي وأثنان في قصر الأمير وتيجان القصر الفرثي عبارة عن قاعدة مربعة يعلوها شكل نصف دائري محزز بحزوز والجوانب تزينها اسطوانتان قريبتا الشبه بالدف ومن الاعلى مسطح ومن الخلف مقطوع ليتصل بالجدار انظر شكل رقم (١٢)



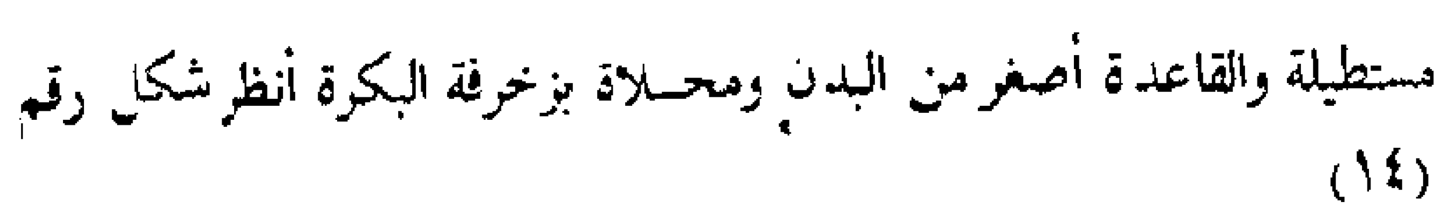
١٢

اما تيجان قصر الأمير فهي مشابهة للتاجين السابقين الا أنها تتميز عنها بأنها أكثر أرتفاعاً . ومحلاة بأفريز من زخرفة البكرة تقع فوق مستوى الاسطوانتين [الدفين] أنظر شكل رقم [١٣] والنوع الثاني التاج ذو القاعدة المدورة قاعدته نصف دائرة من الخلف مقطوعة لأن جزءاً منها يدخل في البناء وهي على نوعين

أ- التاج المستطيل ولدينا منه نموذجين القصر الفرثي قواعدها مربعة وأبدانها

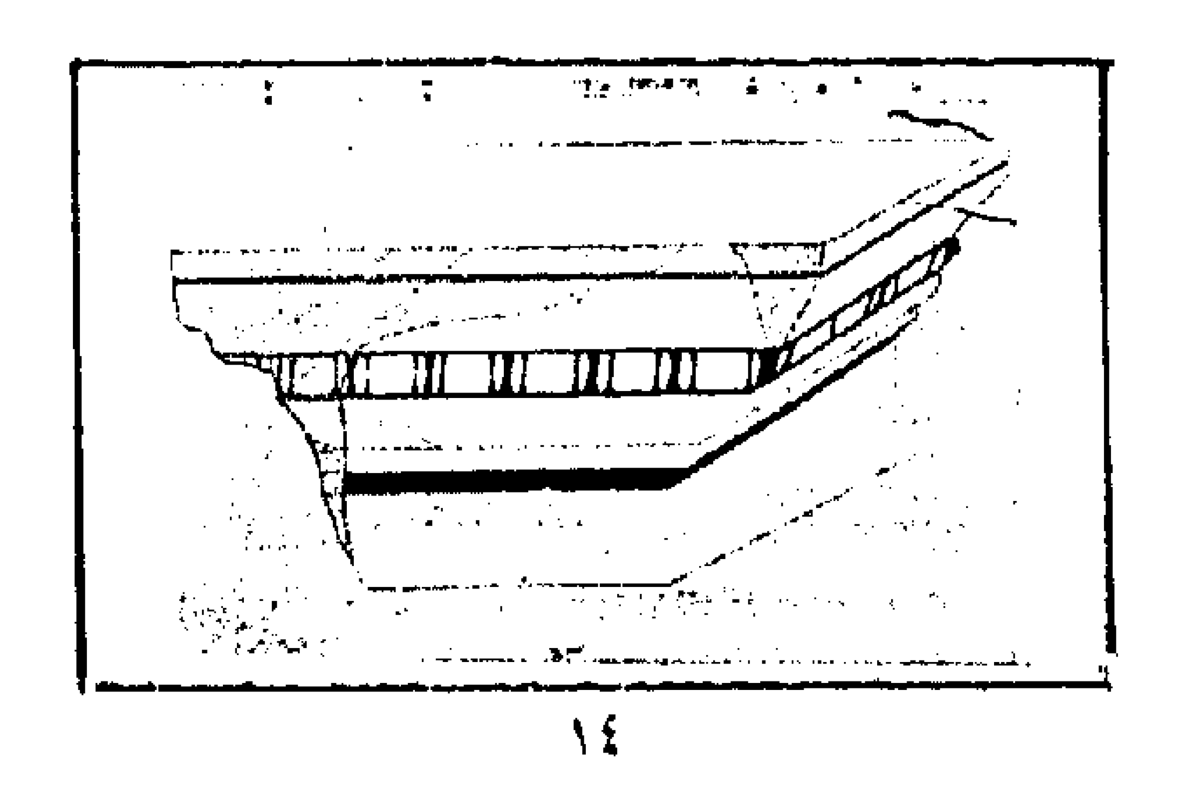


١٣

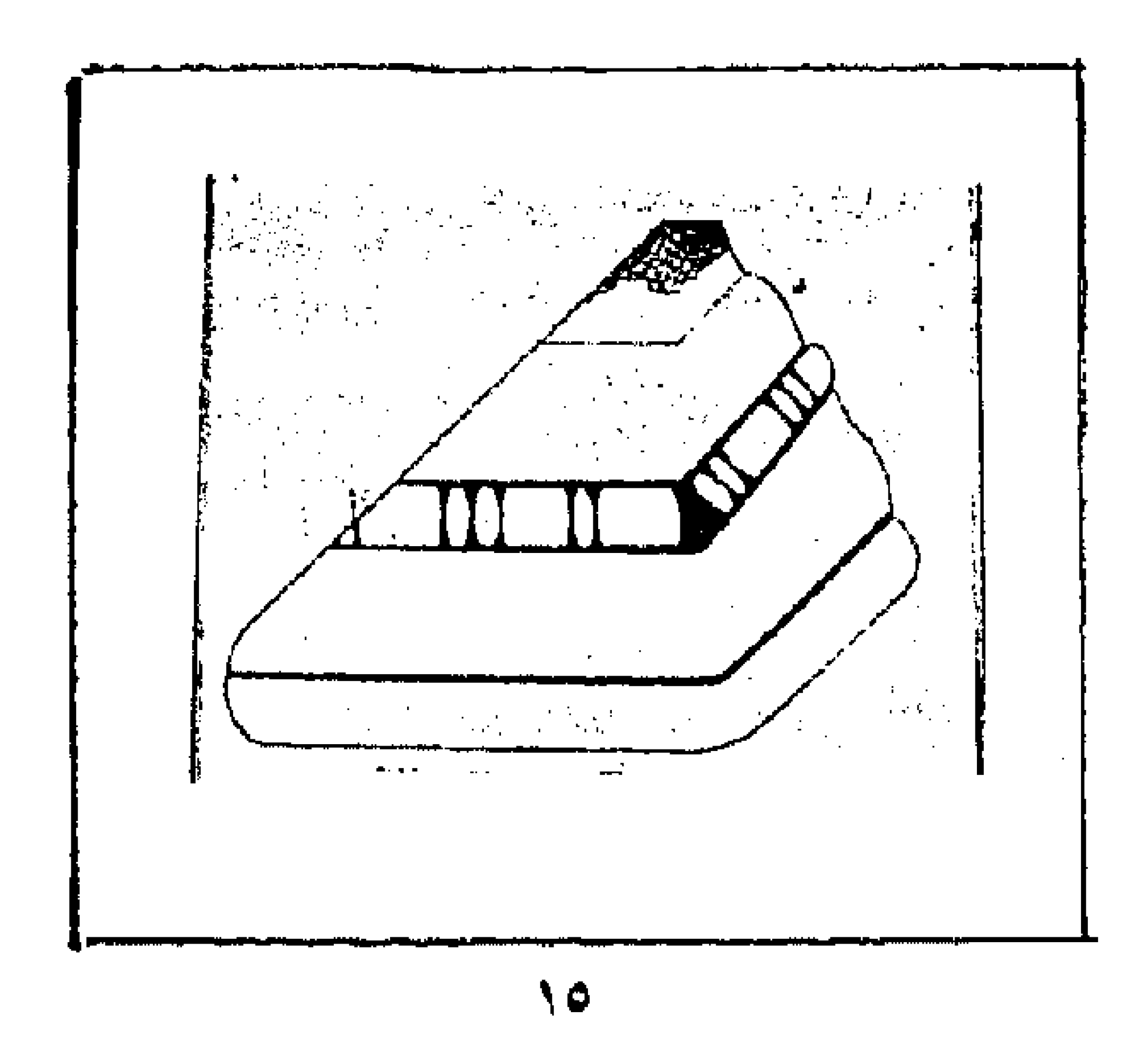


مستطيلة والقاعدة أصغر من البدن ومحـلاة بزخرفة البكرة أنظر شكل رقم (١٤)

ب- التاج نصف المدور وهو على شكل هرم مقطوع من الأعلى قاعدته مربعة، ويتدرج ارتفاعاً على شكل سايمات بارزة تفصلها عن بعضها حزوز انظر شكل رقم (١٥) .

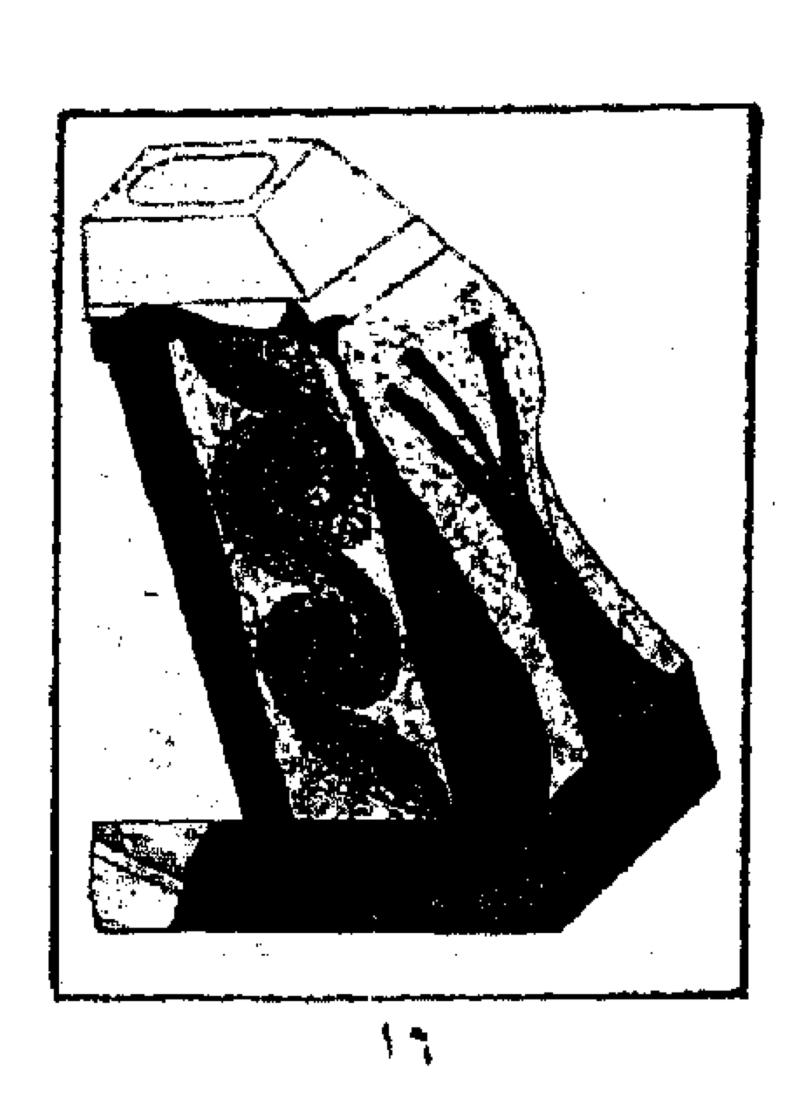


١٤



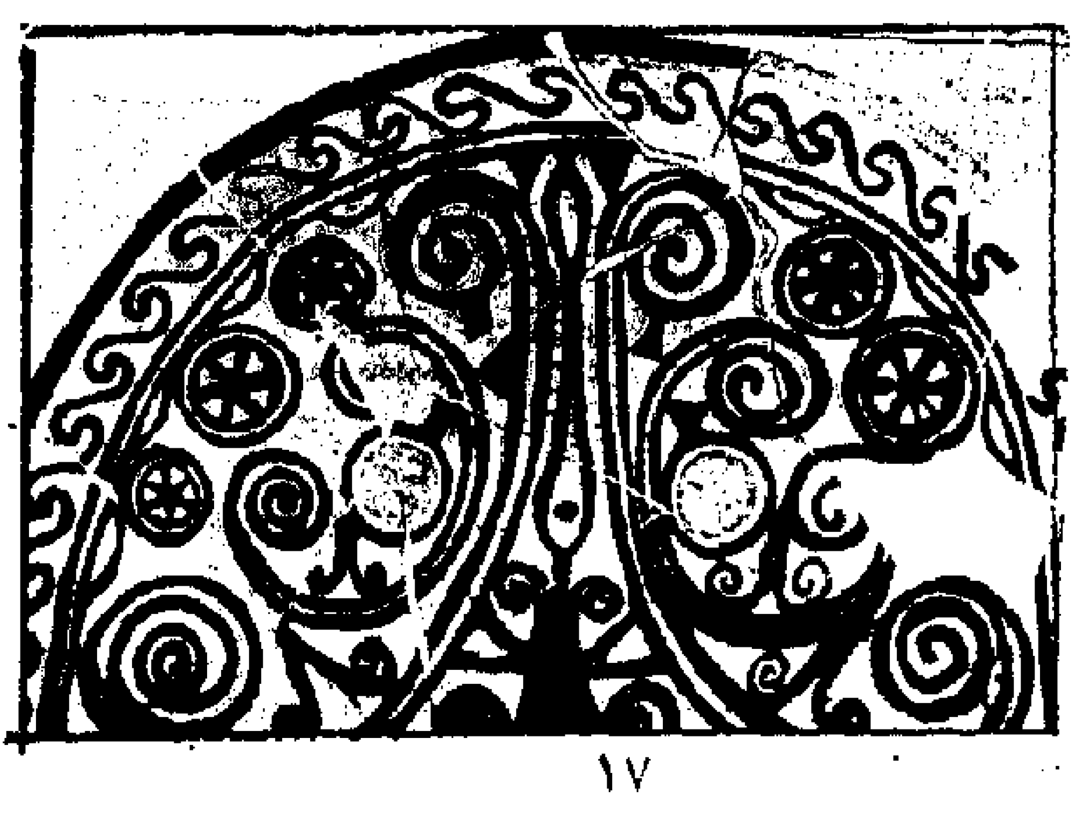
١٥

٣- النماذج : - عثرنا في قصر الأمير (موديل) من الجص رقم [٨٧] في سجل المعاثر وهو على شكل هندسي مصنوع من الجص يمثل شكل هرم قاعدته مربعة ارتفاعها (٥) سم ويكون فوقها الشكل الهرمي) مفقود نصف النموذج تمامـاً وكذلك جزء من القمة) والواجهة محـلاة بخط منحني يصل الى الأطار البارز في كل حنية مشكلا معه ست مثلثات أما الجانب فهو مزين بجذع شجرة تتفرع منها ثلاثة سيقان خالية من الأغصان والأوراق أنظر شكل رقم (١٦) .



١٦

٤- الأقواس : - اقواس من الجص شكلها نصف دائري وهي نوعين النوع الأول الأقواس الكبيرة وهي عبارة عن قوس نصف دائري يزين واجهته بطـن عقد والوحدة الزخرفية في دوائر كبيرة تتشكل كل واحدة منها من دائرتين داخل دائرة بمركز واحد تلتقي عنده الخطوط المتقاطعة مشكلة ستة مثلثات تشبه عجلة العربة والجزء الثاني منها هو الأطار الخارجي البارز الذي يضم بداخله خط متكسر بصورة منتظمة ومتتابعة ليدور حولها من جميع الجهات وبعد هذا الأطار من الاسفل خطان متوازيان يأخذان شكل القوس والجزء الثالث خطان منحنيان داخل الأطار ينتهي رأساهما بشكل دوائر حلزونية انظر الشكل رقم (١٧) وهناك كسرتان اخريان

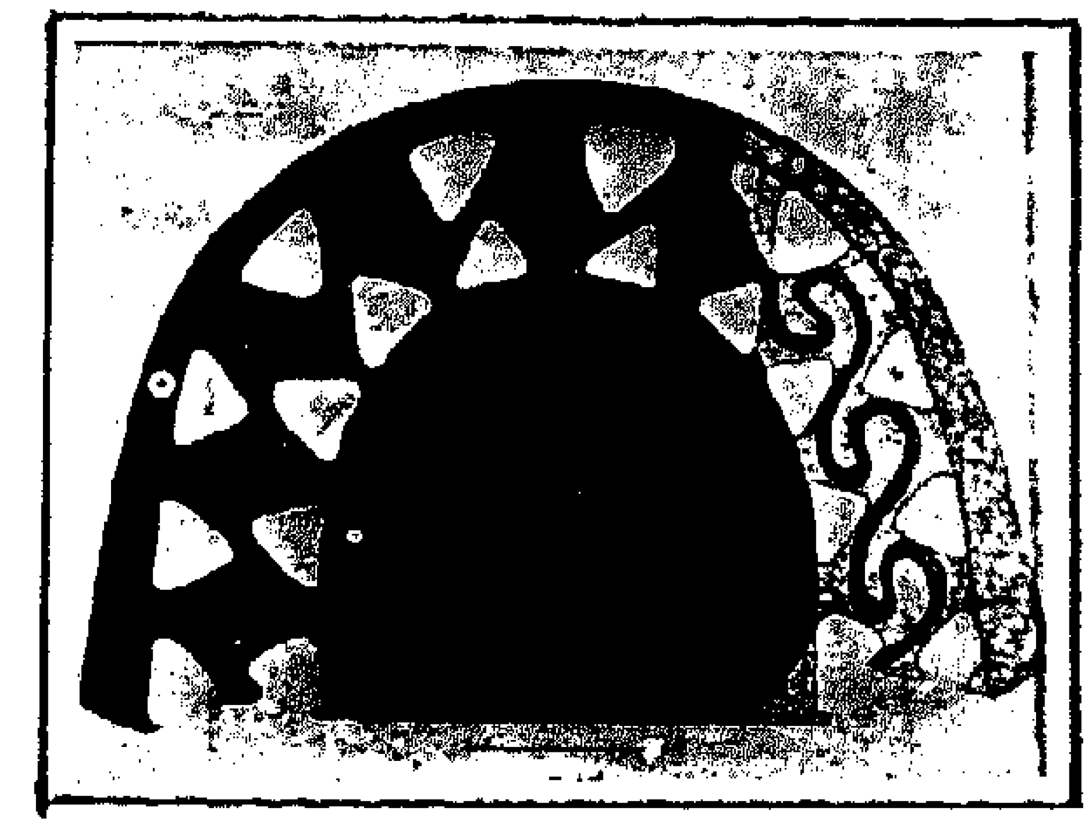


١٧

مـن قوس مشابـه للقـوس السابـق وقـد وجـد الالمـان مـايماثـلها كـمـا فـي النـوع الثـانـي الاقـواس الصغيـرة وهي عبارة عـن لـوح زخـرفي بشكل عقد نصف دائري . ولدينا منه نموذج مفقود جزء قليل منه وهو يتألف من أطار نصف الدائرة عرض الأفريز البارز منه [١,٧] سم داخله تخريمات على شكل مثلثات زواياها دائرية قاعدتها تصل الى افريز الأطار الخارجي ورأسها الى الداخل . يقابلها صف آخر من المثلثات المعاكسة لها من الجهة الثانية وبين صفي المثلثات خط بارز متموج كثير الانحناءات والأنكسارات يلف حول المثلثات يشمل الفراغ الحاصل بينهما وفي وسط هذا الاطار ياتي اطار اخر بشكل نصف دائرة يحصر في داخله دائرتان بداخلهما مايشبه النجمة ذات ستة رؤوس انظر شكل رقم (١٨)

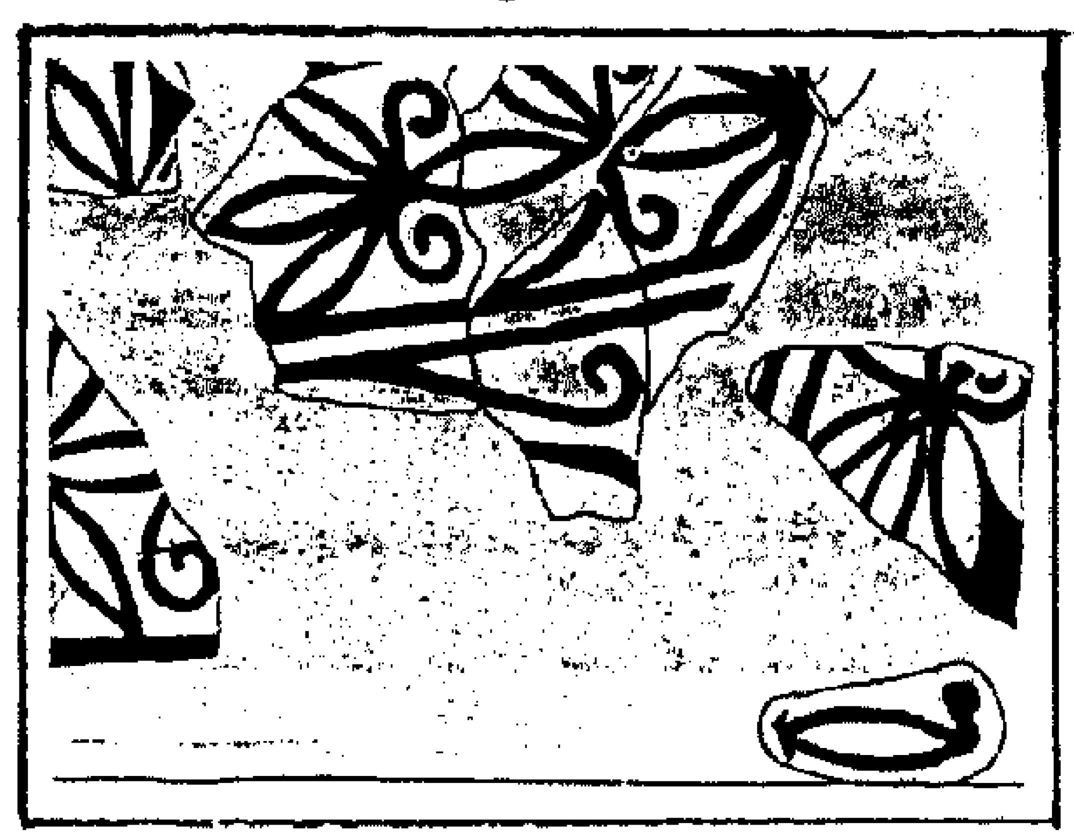
٥- افاريز الجص

هناك ثلاثة انواع من الافاريز الجصية المستطيلة البارزة متشابهة في المحتـوى ومختلفة في المحتوى فالنوع الاول هو متألف من زخرفة هندسية متشكلة من خطوط تتألف من دوائر في داخلها مايشبه النجمة ذات الرؤوس الاربعة وداخل كل نجمة اربعة اشكال معينية بين كل ورقة واخرى بقع شكل معين يتصل بين الوريقات وهذه



١٨

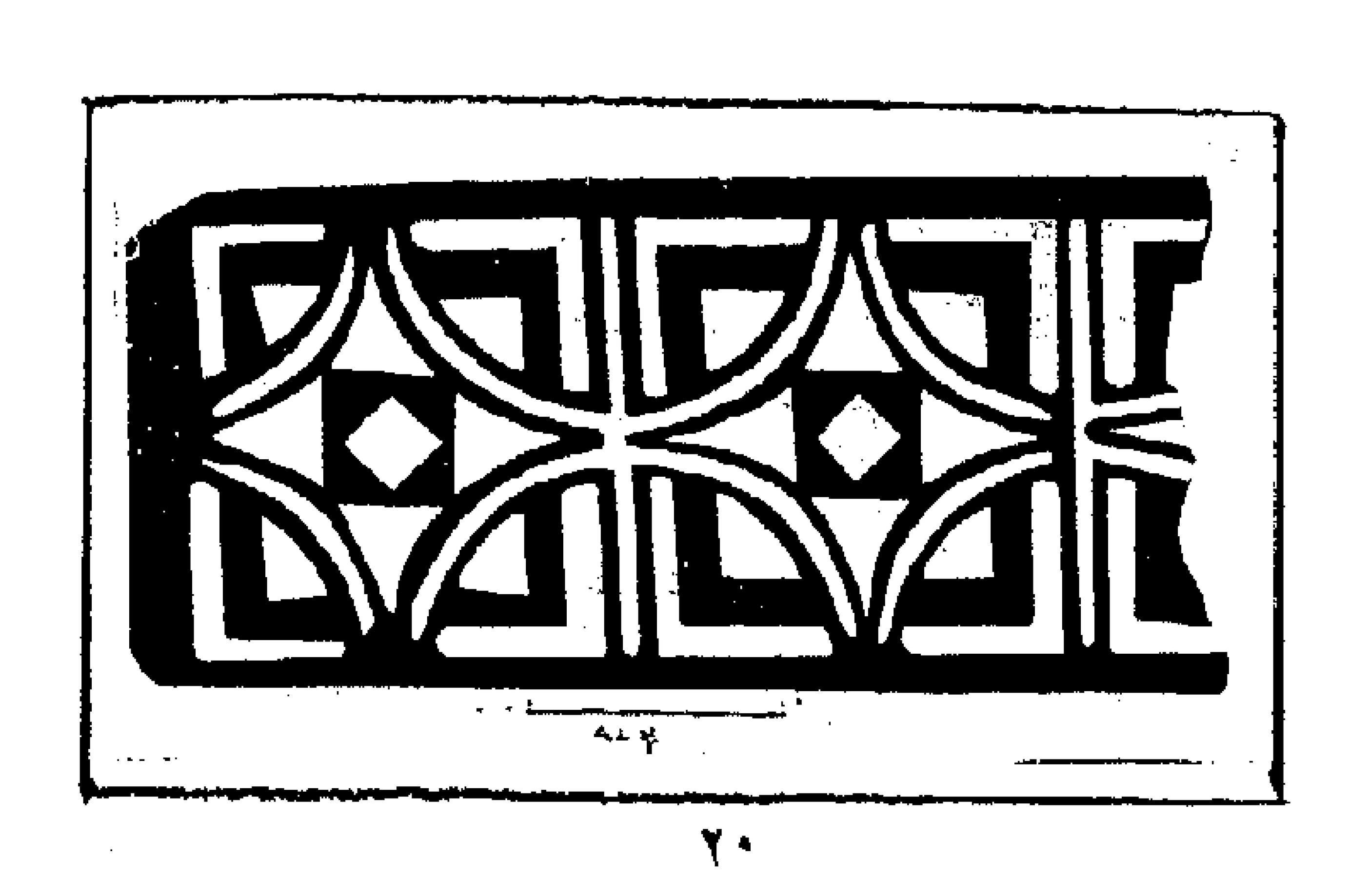
الوحدة الزخرفية محاطة باطار بارز عريض نسبياً تبرز منه أشكال بيضوية رفيعة تقطعها رؤوس الوردات عندما تصل بافريز الاطار أما النوع الثاني فلدينا منه مجموعة كسر كثيرة تمكنا من اصلاح بعضها والوحدة الزخرفية عبارة عن نباتات محورة عن الطبيعة تظهر لنا فيها الاوراق وبعض السيقان ومحاطة من الخارج بافريز بارز على شكل اطار بارز داخله شريط من الاوراق المحورة قليلاً عن الطبيعة وتحتها خطان حلزونيان يمثلان ورقتين لم يكتمل نضجهما بعد وبعد هذا الشريط يأتي افريز من خط منحني تخرج منه اشكالا بيضوية رفيعة الى الداخل ثم بعد ذلك يأتي خط آخر عمودي ينشطر ويصبح خطين يتجه كل منهما الى جهة ويلتوي على نفسه حتى يصبح نصف دائرة انظر الشكل رقم (١٩)



١٩

اما النوع الثالث فهو افريز مستطيل . ترتيب زخرفته بشكل هندسي مستطيل من مربعين وكل مربع داخله مربع آخر اصغر منه وتلتقي زوايا المربعات الداخلية في وسط اضلاع المربعات الخارجية وتلامسها . ووسط هذين المربعين مايشبه الاقواس الدائرية الشكل تقطع اضلاع المربعين الكبيرين من الوسط مارة بزوايا المربعات الداخلية ويحيط بهذا الشكل اطار بارز خارجي واللوح عموماً وجدنا عليه اصباغ حمراء لاتزال متينة واصباغ زرقاء زالت بتعرضها للطبيعة انظر الشكل رقم (٢٠)

٦- الالواح : - عثرنا على لوحين جصين واقصد باللوح هنا هو الوحدة الزخرفية المتكررة على عموم المساحة . فاللوح الاول ذا شكل مستطيل قوام زخرفته عبارة عن معينات هندسية سداسية الاضلاع وكل ضلع فيه انحناء الى الداخل وهي



٢٠

غائرة وفي داخل كل معين معين آخر اصغر منه ويشبهه تماما اوغائر الى الاسفل وفي مركز المعينين نتوء دائري بارز بشكل مقبب الى الاعلى وهذا الشكل متكرر في عموم اللوح . اما اللوح الثاني فهو مستطيل ايضا يحتوي على زخرفة هندسية بسيطة لكنها دقيقة وجميلة فهي عبارة عن مثلثات غائرة تفصل بينها مثلثات غائرة واعتقد ان هذا النوع من الالواح نفذ بطريقة الصب في قوالب

٧- اعمدة الواجهات

عثرنا على مجموعة كبيرة من الاعمدة لكنها محطمة تماما وتمكنا من اصلاح احدها وهذا النوع من الاعمدة الجصية رفيع نصف دائري يدخل جزء منه في الجدار وهذا الجزء الداخل مقطوع طولياً اما البارز فهو نصف دائري ينتهي تدويره بالتقائه مع الجدار ومزين بحزوز غائرة طوليا ويفصل كل جزء من الاخر خط بارز حاد من الاعلى وجد مطليا بصبغ ازرق زال بكامله عند تعرضه للطبيعة

٨- البرة بيت الجص : -

المقصود بالبرة بيت الجص اشكال هندسية مربعة من الاسفل تصعد على شكل مدرجات الى القمة . الى أن تنتهي لدرجة واحدة في الوسط يلتقي عندها الجانبين وهذا النوع من الزخرفة معروف في الفن الاشوري حيث وجدنا في اسوار مدينة نينوى برة بيت من الاحجار الكبيرة استعملت فوق الادراج للامور الدفاعية بينما استعملها الفرثيون لامور الزينة فتلصق في الجدار بما يشبه عملية التكعيب ولدينا نماذج منها مزينة بسهم رأسه الى الاعلى والثانية نصف سهم اما الثالثة فمزينة بنصل الحربة والرمح

٩- كسر جصية مختلفة : -

هناك اعداد كثيرة من كسر الجص تمثل انواعا من الزخارف النباتية الطبيعية والمحورة عن الطبيعة .

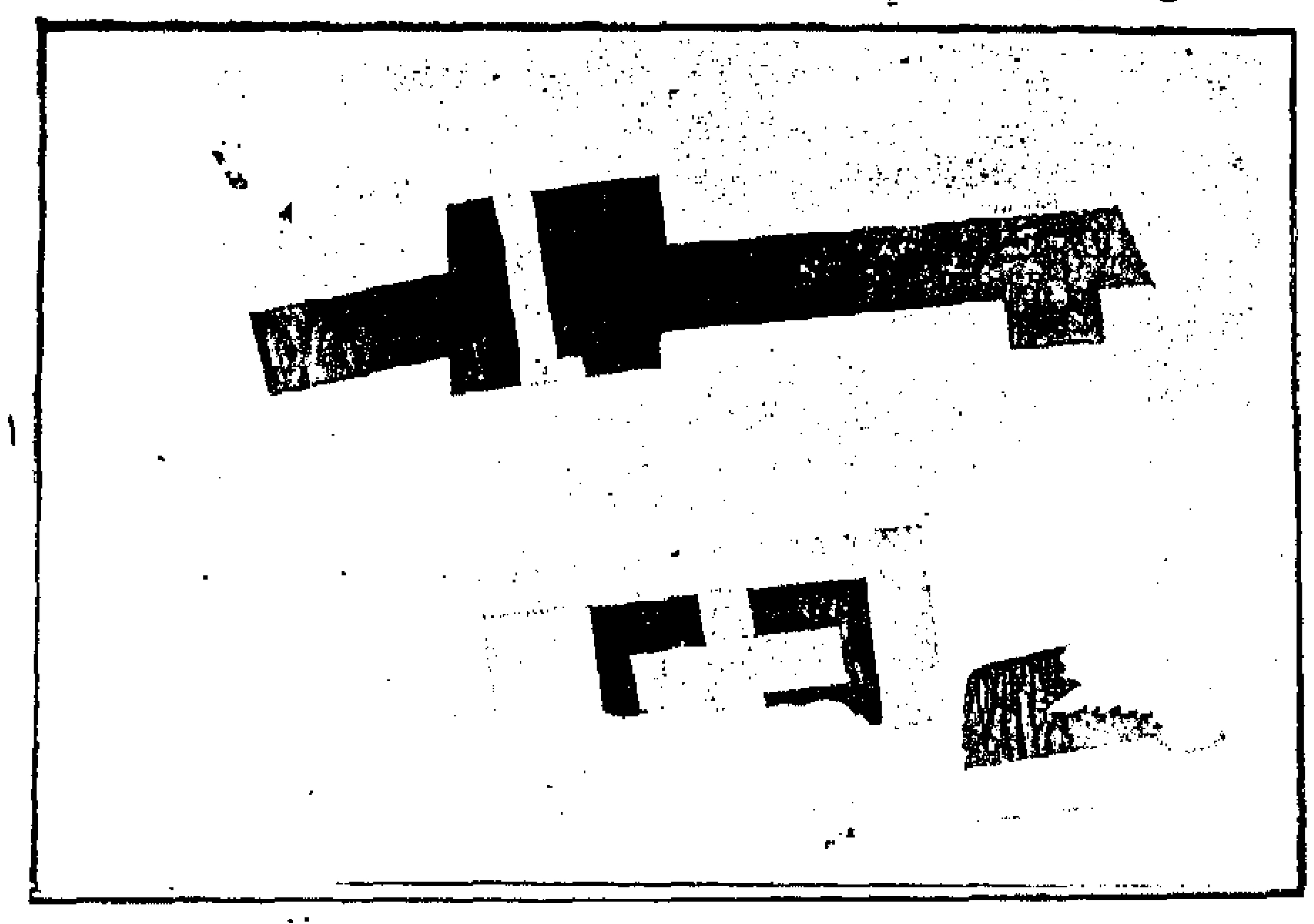
هذا ولم نعثر على جميع انواع الزخارف الجصية التي عثر عليها الالمان فهناك الافاريز والالواح التي وجدها الالمان لم نعثر على مثلها .

صيانة البوابة الغربية لمدينة اشور

حكمت بشير الاسود

يعالج هذا التقرير الأعمال التي قامت بها هيئة أشور، من أجل التهيئة لصيانة البوابة الغربية . بعد أن انتهت من أعمال التحري والتنقيب فيها بالموسم السابق عام ١٩٧٨ وقد تمكنا من الوصول الى المخطط الذي نشاهده .

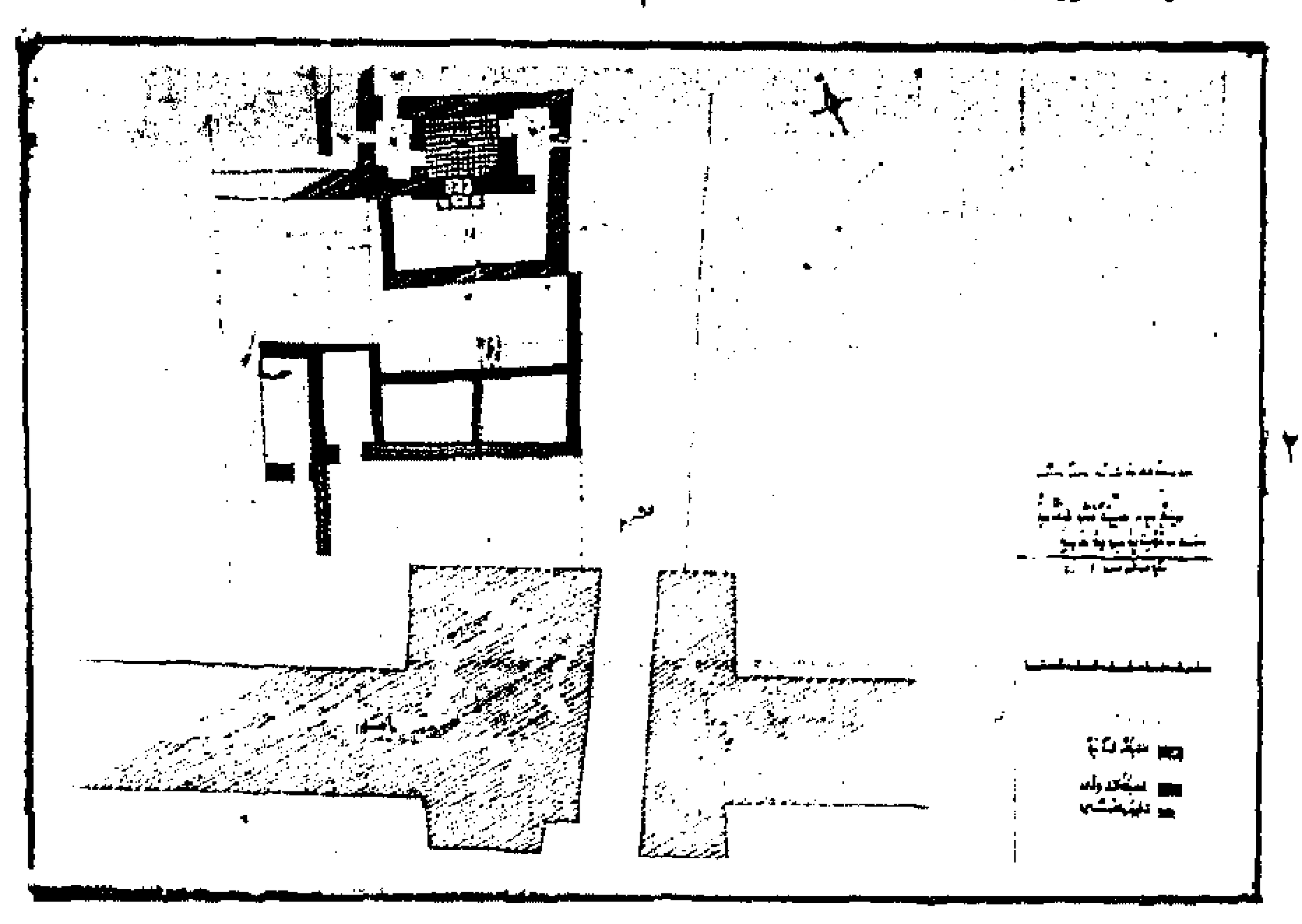
واضافة الى ذلك . فقد أظهرت التنقيبات في البوابة الغربية عن وجود (مرفق بنائي) يقع خلف البوابة والسور من الداخل . وعلى بعد (١٠ أمتار) تقريباً وقد كشف عن وجود طبقتين في هذا المرفق .


١

الطبقة الأولى :

عبارة عن مدافن لقبوروضعت في جرار كبيرة كانت معروفة من عصر الاحتلال الفرثي وهي طبقة فقيرة لاتحوي من المرافق سوى بعض الغرف الصغيرة التي لم يبق منها سوى الاسس المبنية من كسر الطابوق الأشوري وحجر الكلس

تتكون بقايا هذه الطبقة من غرفة مستطيلة الشكل . في ضلعها الجنوبية مدخل عرضه متر واحد وعتبة من الحجر والأسس أيضاً مبنية من حجر الجبس . والطابوق الأشوري المزجج والضلع الشمالية لم يبق منه سوى أساس من الحصى والحجر . وتبلغ مساحة هذه الغرفة ٦ متر × ٨٠ر٢ م . والى الشرق من هذه الغرفة هناك غرفة اخرى مساحتها ٥ر٥ × ٨٠ر٢ م في ضلعها الجنوبية باب عرضه ٢٠ر١ تقريباً . ويتصل بهذه الغرفة غرفتان متجاورتان لم يبق من جدرانهما الا الأسس فقط . كما توجد غرفتان صغيرتان في القسم الشمالي من البناء . في احداهما مجرى ماء وفي الأخرى قبر هو عبارة عن جرة كبيرة . وأسفل هذه الطبقة الفقيرة . ظهرت جدران من اللبن . تعود الى الفترة الأشورية ويلاصق البناء الفرثي المذكور من جهة الشمال بناء اشوري يتكون من غرف صغيرة ومداخل عديدة . تربطها مع بعضها . ويتكون القسم المكشوف من هذا البناء للان من : مساحة مستطيلة صورة (٢) أبعادها ٧٠ر٨×٤ م وقد كسيت جدرانها بعدة أكسية

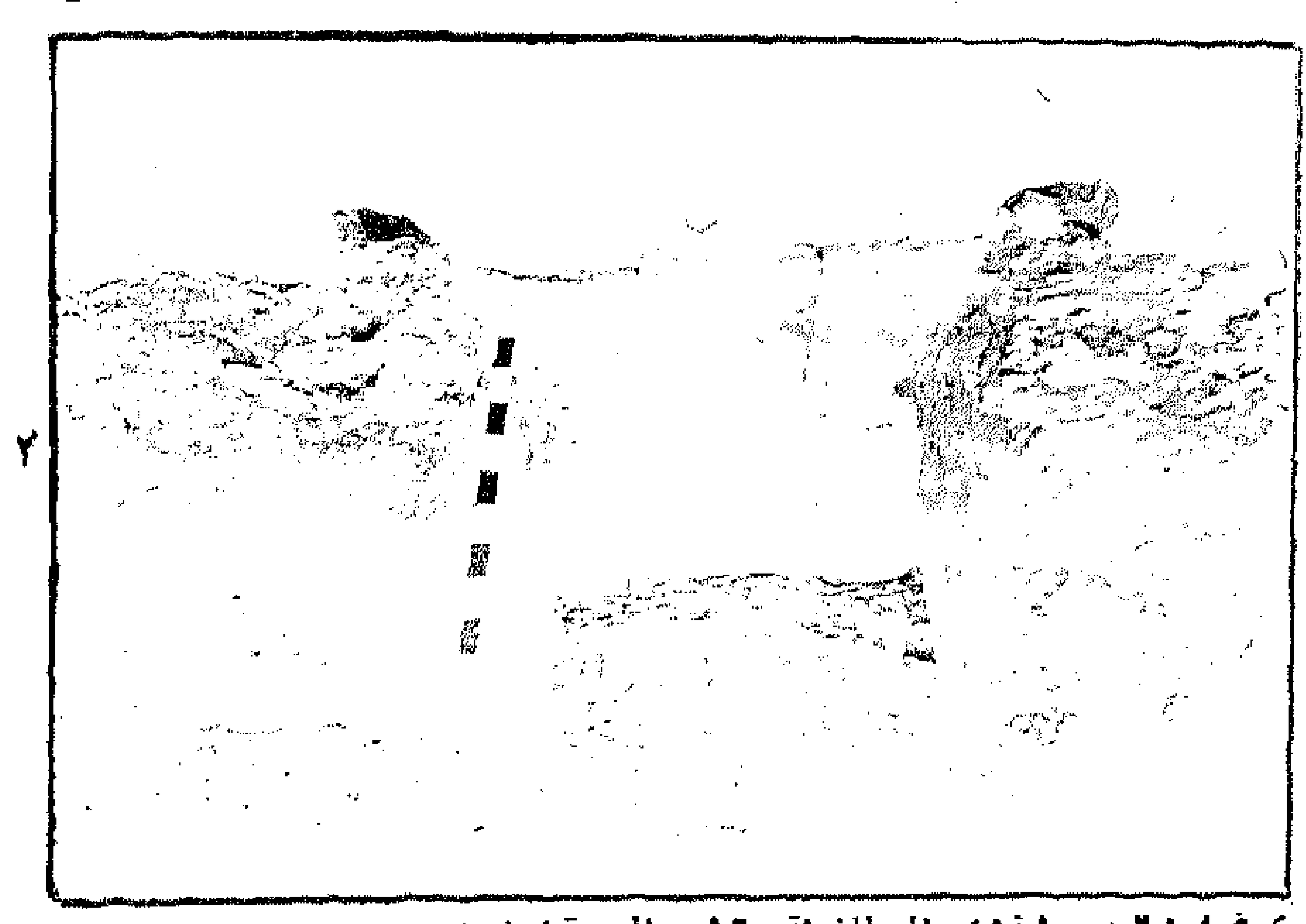

٢

الأول منها طبقة سميكة من الطين مصبوغة باللون الأبيض . ثم أعيد تجديده بطبقة خفيفة من الطين زفتت أسافل الجدران بطبقة من الزفت على طول جدرانها الأربعة القائمة على أسس من حجر الجبس وبأحجام مختلفة . كما ان على الجدران بقايا صبغ يميل الى اللون البرتقالي . وفي منتصف الضلع الشمالية لهذه الساحة مدخل واسع عرضه ١٤٠ سم وأمامه عتبة تتكون من ثلاثة ألواح من المرمر (٣٠ر٢× ٥٥ سم) - الوسطية منها يبلغ طولها متر واحد في وسطها ثقب قطره ٨ سم كان يستعمل لاسناد الباب ، وفي جهتيها فتحة على شكل حذوة فرس تتخللها وعلى عمق ٣٥ سم صنارتان للباب من الحجر . وهذه القطع الثلاث مزينة بخطوط متوازية تصبح نصف دائرته حول مكان الصنارتين .

وعلى يسار المدخل من جهة الساحة طلعة تبرز عن وجه الجدار ٣٨ سم وبجانبها

دخلة عرضها ١٣٢ سم وارتفاعها عن التبليط ١٢٠ سم ربما كانت فيها لوحة وهي في الوقت نفسه عليها أصباغ باللون الأبيض واللون الأحمر المائل الى البرتقالي ومزفتة الى ارتفاع ٣٦ سم . وأمام المدخل وبمستوى الأرضية وبارتفاع ٦سم عن عتبة الباب . ٣ قطع مرمرية طولها ١٤٠ سم تتجاوز عرض المدخل وموضوعة بصورة منحدرة الى الداخل . أي الى الغرفة (١٤) والمرفق (١٤) عبارة عن ساحة مستطيلة ٣٠ر٤ × ٩٠ر٣ م أرضيتها مبلطة بالطابوق قياس ٣٢ × ٣٢ × ٦ سم وعند زاويتها الشرقية الجنوبية طلعة بارزة مربعة الشكل تبرز عن الجدارين الشرقي والجنوبي بمقدار ٦٥ سم ولهذه الساحة مدخلان آخران يقعان في الجدارين الشرقي والغربي لها فالمدخل في الجدار الشرقي يؤدي الى الغرفة (١٥) ويبلغ عرضه ١٠ر١ م . والغرفة (١٥) قياسها ٩٠ر٣ × ٢ م حيث يكون مستوى أرضيتها أوطأ من مستوى أرضية الغرفة (١٤) بـ ٤٠ سم كما نلاحظ على جدرانها بقايا أكساء من الجص وكذلك نلاحظ أسفل المدخل بقايا أثر لمجرى الماء يقابله في نفس المستوى مجرى ماء آخر معمول من الفخار (١٣ × ١٦ سم) ويقع في الجدار الشرقي للغرفة (١٥) حيث يوجد أيضاً فتحة باب اخرى تؤدي الى الشارع الرئيسي . ومن المحتمل أن يربط البوابة بالمنطقة الرئيسية من المدينة وعرض هذا المدخل - ١٢٠ سم ثم يضيق فيصبح ٧٥ سم كما يوجد مدخل آخر في الجدار الجنوبي للغرفة عرضه ١١٠ سم يؤدي الى الغرفة (١٢) .

اما المدخل الثاني للغرفة (١٤) والذي يقع في جدارها الغربي الذي يبلغ



٢

عرضه ٦٠ سم فيؤدي الى الغرفة (١٦) والتي قياساتها ٦٠ر٣× ٢ م وعند الزاوية الجنوبية الغربية للغرفة طلعة بنائية تبرز عن الجدار الغربي بمقدار ٥٥ سم وعن الجدار الجنوبي ٧٥ سم وهناك بقايا أكساء من الجص على جدران هذه الغرفة وللغرفة (١٦) مدخلان أيضاً . الأول في الجدار الشمالي يؤدي الى الغرفة (١٨) عرضه ١١٠ سم (التنقيب فيها غير كامل) المدخل الثاني للغرفة (١٦) يؤدي الى الغرفة (١٧) عرضه ٩٥ سم تبلغ قياسات الغرفة ١٠ر٣ × ٩٠ر١ م وهناك بقايا اكساء من الجص على الجدران وفي جدارها الغربي مدخل عرضه ٨٠ سم يؤدي الى غرفة اخرى (لم يكتمل التنقيب فيها بعد) .

ملاحظات حول هذا المرفق البنائي الآشوري :

١ - يتميز هذا البناء بالغرف الصغيرة نسبياً . والمداخل المتعددة التي تؤدي الى بعضها والجدران العريضة التي لاتتناسب وحجم الغرف كل هذا يدلل على أهمية البناء واحتمال كونه يمثل بناء ديني (مع العلم أننا الى الآن لم نعثر على مايعزز هذه الفكرة وان أعمال التنقيب غير منتهية) .



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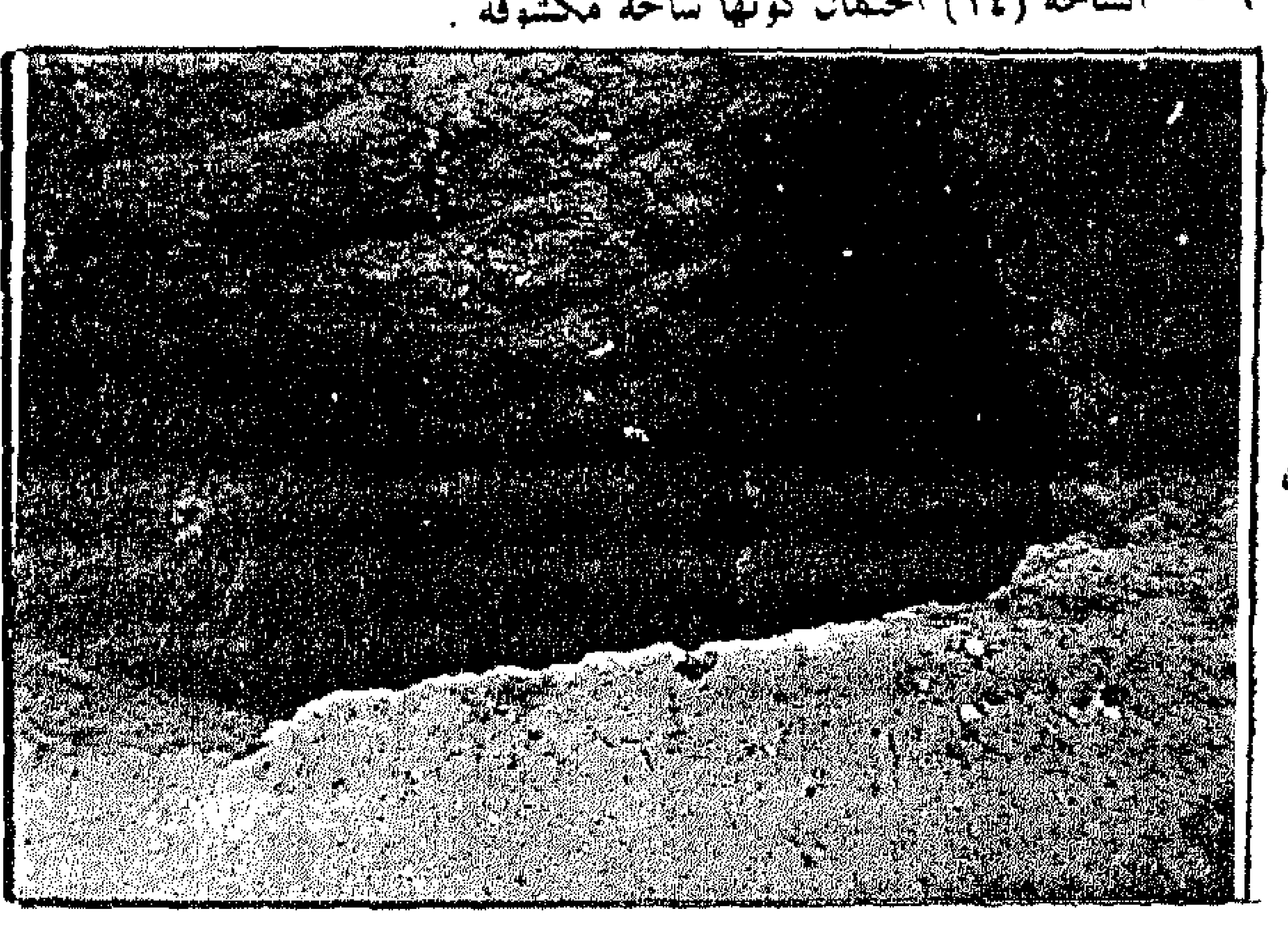
٢ - نشاهد على الجدران في جميع الغرف تقريباً بقايا أكساء من الجص وكذلك بقايا بعض الألوان وخاصة الأبيض والأحمر المائل الى البرتقالي .

٣ - الساحة رقم (١٢) الرئيسة أو الخارجية لم يعثر فيها على مدخل اذ لم يبق من جدران سوى ساف واحد أو سافين وجميعها عليها رتوش .

٤ - للبناية مدخل صغير جانبي يؤدي الى الشارع الرئيسي .

٥ - قسم من الجدران وخاصة خلف الدخلة الموجودة في الساحة رقم (١٢) معمولة من التراب الممزوج بكسر الفخار وبعض الحصى الناعم الا أنه وجد ملطوشاً مع الجدار وكذلك عليه بقايا ألوان .

٦ - الساحة (١٤) احتمال كونها ساحة مكشوفة .



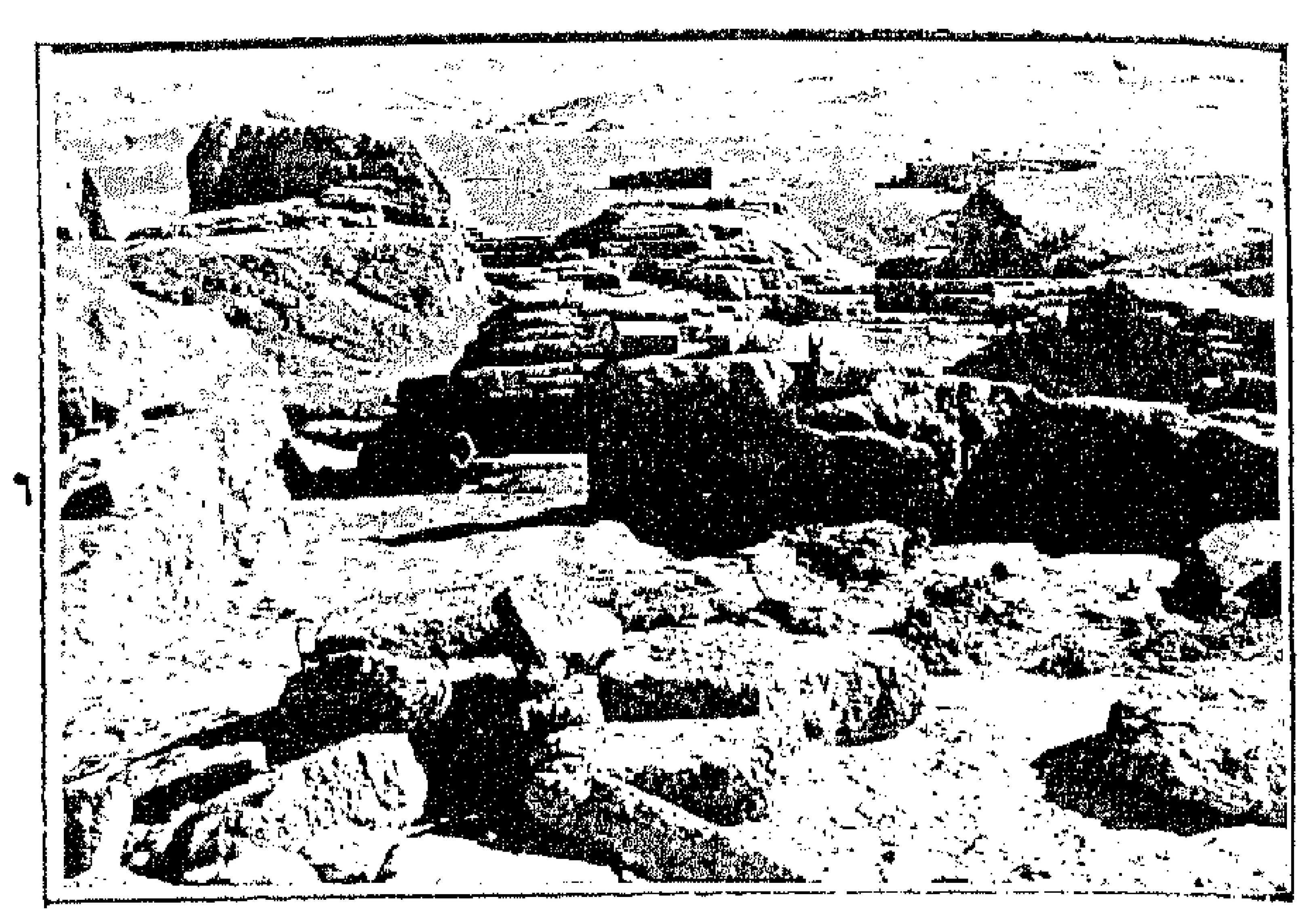
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وقد كشفت التنقيبات أيضاً عن برج حجري ذي شكل نصف اسطواني موجود أسفل السور الخارجي والى الغرب من فتحة البوابة الغربية بما يقارب ٥٠ م ويتكون من ١٠ مداميك من حجر الحلان المهندم يبلغ ارتفاع المدماك الواحد ٥٣ سم فيكون ارتفاع البرج الكلي ٥ م تقريباً .

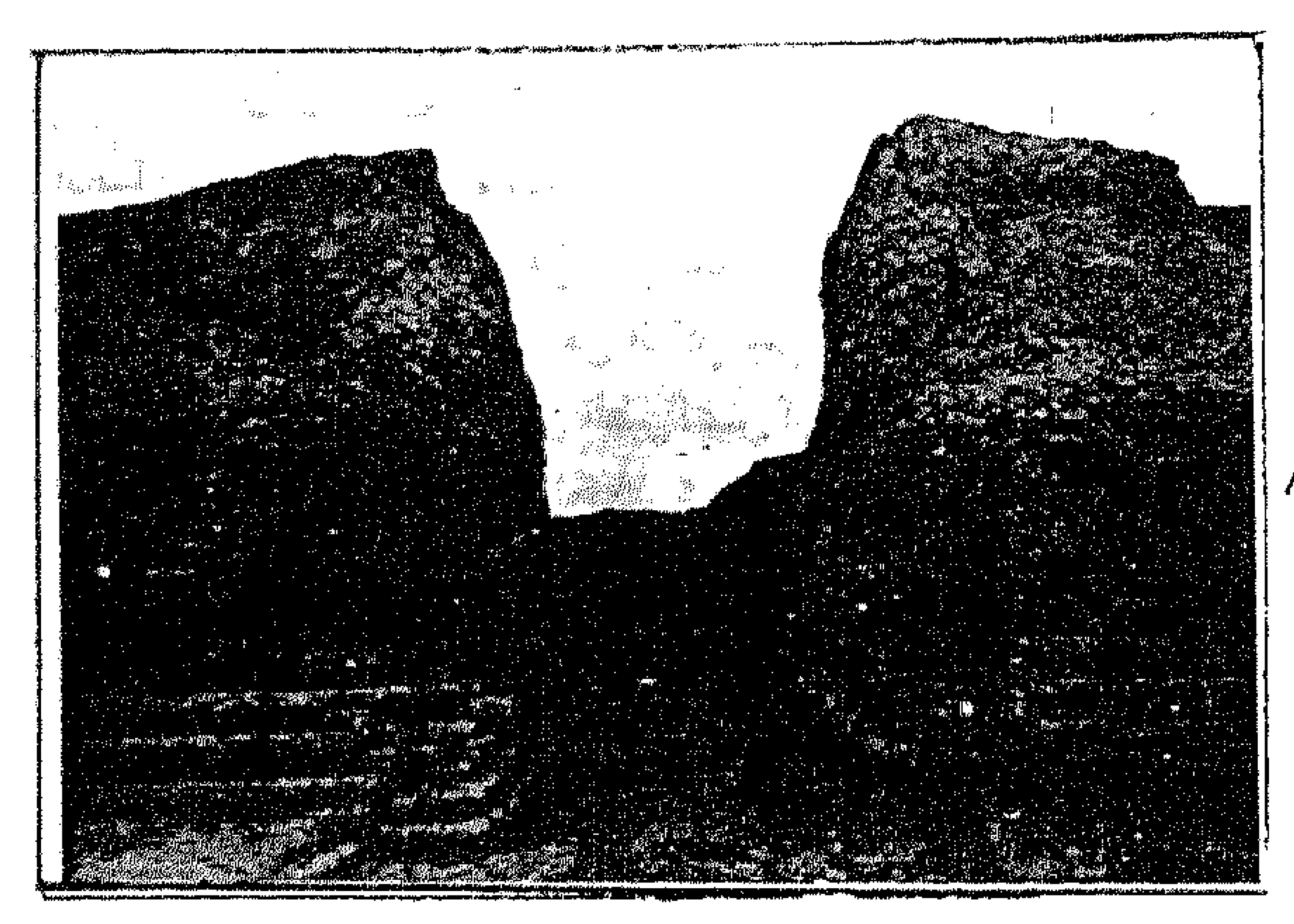
ان هذا البرج قد أقيم لحماية بعض الاجزاء الضعيفة من السور الكلي يقاوم تيارات المياه التي قد تمر عبر الخندق المحفور صناعياً في الصخر الرملي من قبل الملك الاشوري توكلتي نـنورتا الأول في القرن ١٣ قبل الميلاد .

من خلال عمليات التنقيب التي تمت في موسمين متتاليين من العمل في البوابة الغربية فقد واجهتنا صعوبات كثيرة منها :

(١) كميات الأتربة الهائلة التي خلفتها أعمال حفريات البعثة الألمانية منذ الحرب



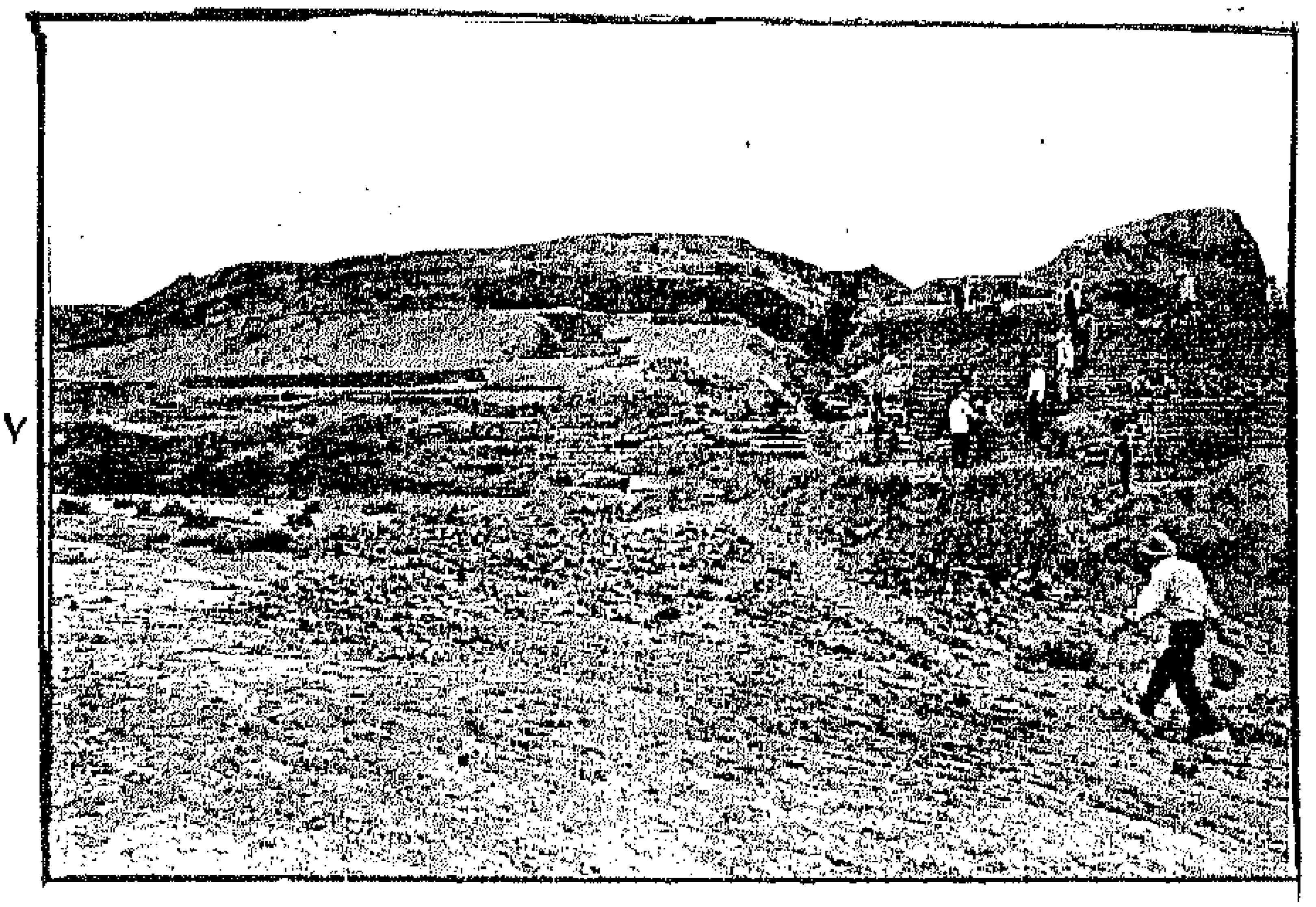
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٨

الأولى اضافة الى أن تنقيبات البعثة الالمانية كانت غير شاملة بالنسبة للمواقع المنقبة . حيث تركت مسافات غير منقبة بين منطقة واخرى مما يجعل عملية ربط تلك الحفريات بالتنقيبات الحالية صعبة .

(٢) ومن تعقيدات العمل أيضاً . هو هجر الموقع لسنين طويلة وما أصابه من الاهمال وكذلك العوامل الطبيعية والمناخية التي أثرت على البقايا الأثرية من السكن المتأخر وخصوصاً في فترة الاحتلال الفرثي حيث سكنت مدينة آشور لفترة طويلة من قبل الفرثيين الذين خلفوا لنا الكثير من أبنيتهم وخصوصاً المقابر المنتشرة فوق الأبنية الآشورية السابقة لها .



٧

ان هذه الصعوبات التي واجهتنا بسبب تداخل الادوار البنائية المتعاقبة في الموقع الواحد . وتلف الكثير من المعالم البنائية كانت تشكل عقبة أمامنا في التهيئة لصيانة البوابة الغربية ولو رجعنا الى المخططات أو المرتسمات التي وضعت من قبل البعثة الالمانية لنتائج تنقيباتها نرى ان هناك اختلافاً مع واقع ماوجدناه اثناء التنقيب فالبوابة الغربية حسب مرتسمات أندريه هي عبارة عن مصطبة من اللبن . تتدرج بالارتفاع الى ان يبلغ أرتفاعها عن الخندق مايقارب ٦ متر . حيث تكون بدايات الابراج الدفاعية للبوابة التي يبلغ عرضها ٦ م ويبرز عن السور الخارجي مايقارب ٣ م والمسافة المحصورة بين البرجين تبلغ ٦ م وعند بدايات السور تضيق المسافة حيث يبلغ عرض المدخل ٤ م وطوله ٦٫٨٥ م وهو عرض السور الخارجي وبعد ان ينتهي السور نحو الداخل توجد غرفتان على يمين ويسار الداخل وهي عبارة عن قاعتين كبيرتين للحرس ذات شكل مستطيل تبلغ أبعاد كل منهما ٦٫٥ × ٤٫٣٥ م وفي كل غرفة باب بعرض ١٫٨٥ م يؤدي الى درج داخل السور وبعدها تبدأ فتحة البوابة التي يبلغ عرضها ٤ م وبعمق ٣م .

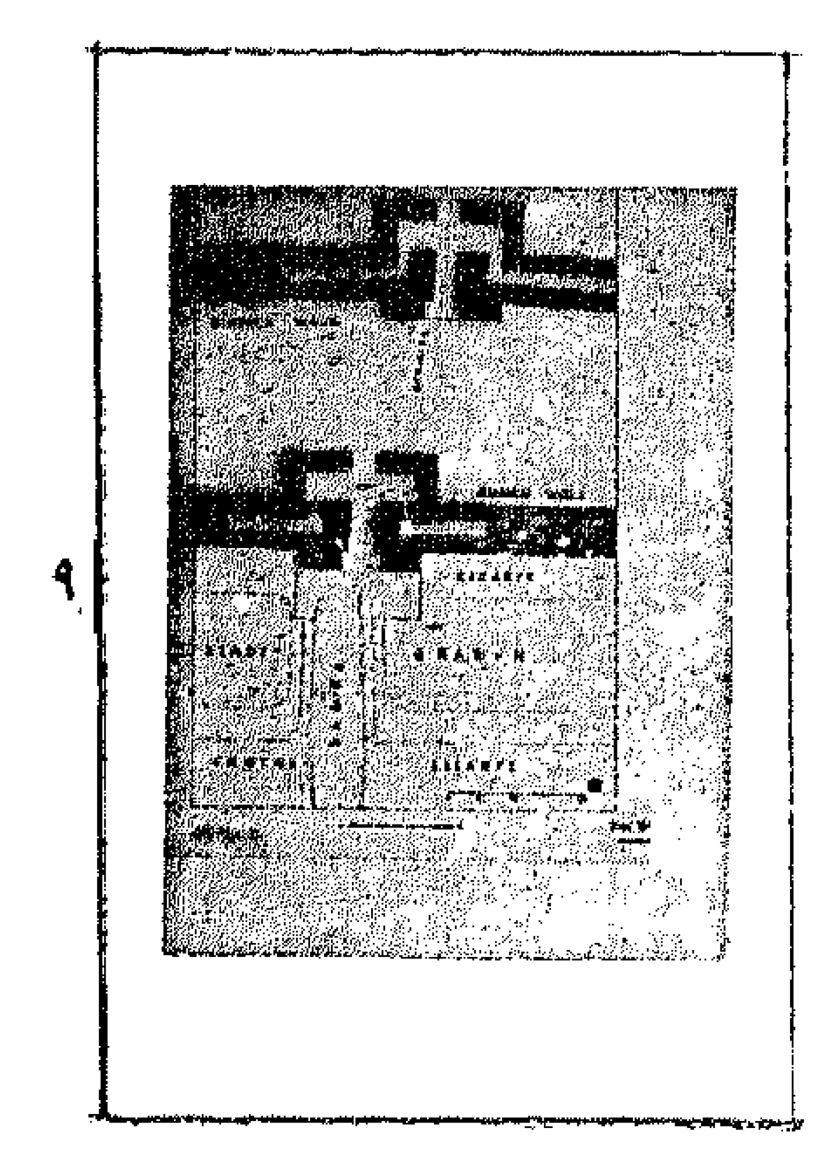
هذا بالنسبة الى البوابة الخارجية وبعدها تؤدي الى فسحة تقع بين البوابتين يبلغ طولها ١٥ م ثم تبدأ البوابة الداخلية التي هي ضرورة عن البوابة الخارجية الى الشرق بما يقارب ٧٫٥ م – والبوابة الداخلية تتشابه في تخطيطها مع البوابة الخارجية وكذلك أبعادها وقياساتها متقاربة .

ان هذا المرتسم او المخطط الذي رسمه أندريه لم نشاهده أثناء التنقيب ماعدا بعض زوايا الغرف وبعض الاسس والجدران التي مازالت باقية للآن .

وعلى ضوء التنقيبات التي اجريناها في البوابة الغربية . نستطيع ان نقول انها قد مرت بمرحلتين وفي الدور الآشوري . ففي المرحلة الاولى كانت هناك بوابة اعتيادية يرقى اليها بواسطة « RAMP. » وبعدها تأتي الابراج ثم المداخل والقاعات على الجانبين كما مر وصفه سابقاً .

أما المرحلة الثانية التي مرت بها البوابة الغربية فنلاحظها من بعض البقايا الموجودة فيها اذ وجدت هناك جدران من اللبن وبنفس القياسات الاشورية المستعملة في بناء البوابة ٣٨ × ٣٨ × ١٢ سم وهذه القياسات هي واحدة تقريباً . بالنسبة لبنايات البوابة وامتداد السور لها .

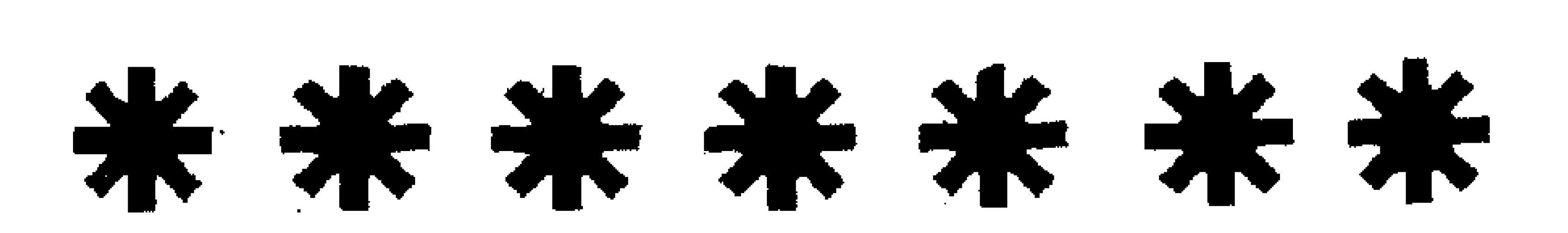
انجدران اللبن التي اقيمت امام البوابة والتي كانت ملاصقة تماماً لجدران البوابة الاصلية حيث يلاحظ عدم الترابط واضحاً « الحل » وهي عبارة عن جدران قد سدت بها البوابة الغربية نهائياً اذ على ما يبدو ان المرور عبر البوابة الغربية كان قليلاً بحيث ترك احياناً وبقي مسدوداً ثم استعيض عن البوابة واصبحت مصطبة مرتفعة من اللبن تشرف على واد عميق .



٩

بعد هذا العرض لمراحل التنقيب التي مرت بها البوابة أجرت الهيئة الدراسات حول كيفية صيانتها ونتيجة حرصنا للحفاظ على أكبر قدر ممكن من واجهات اللبن الأصلية وعدم تفريطنا بازالته وتعويض جديد عنه فقد قامت الهيئة بتغطية البقايا من مداميك اللبن المكتشفة بطبقة من اللبن المعمول حديثاً في الموقع وبنفس القياسات القديمة وذلك لغرض حمايتها من التآكل ومن تأثيرات العوامل الطبيعية كما كسيت الجدران المتبقية بطبقة من الطين لنفس الغرض ايضاً ثم بدأ بصيانة البوابة ومابينها من مرافق وابراج وفق المخطط نفسه الذي ورد في كتاب اندريه .

ومن أجل أظهار البوابة بمظهرها الاصلي أستخدمت الهيئة نفس مواد البناء المستخدم قديماً وهي اللبن والطين في عمليات الصيانة التي تحتاج الى جهد ووقت كبير وخصوصاً بتهيئة الكميات الهائلة من اللبن . وكما فعلت المؤسسة العامة للاثار والتراث في بوابة ماشكي من سور نينوى وقد اتفق على ان يكون الغلاف الخارجي في الصيانة من الطابوق وذلك لكي يقاوم العوامل الطبيعية والامطار وحماية البناء الداخلي لذا فقد بنت الهيئة أفران لغرض تهيئة الطابوق . وان عملنا في الوقت الحاضر سوف يتركز على القيام ببناء الاسس للمرافق البنائية للبوابة وكذلك الارتفاع في مصطبة اللبن . الواقعة امام البوابة وتثبيت أبعاد كافة الجدران والمرافق البنائية على الارض من أجل ان تبدأ عمليات الصيانة الضخمة وفق أسس علمية ومدروسة .

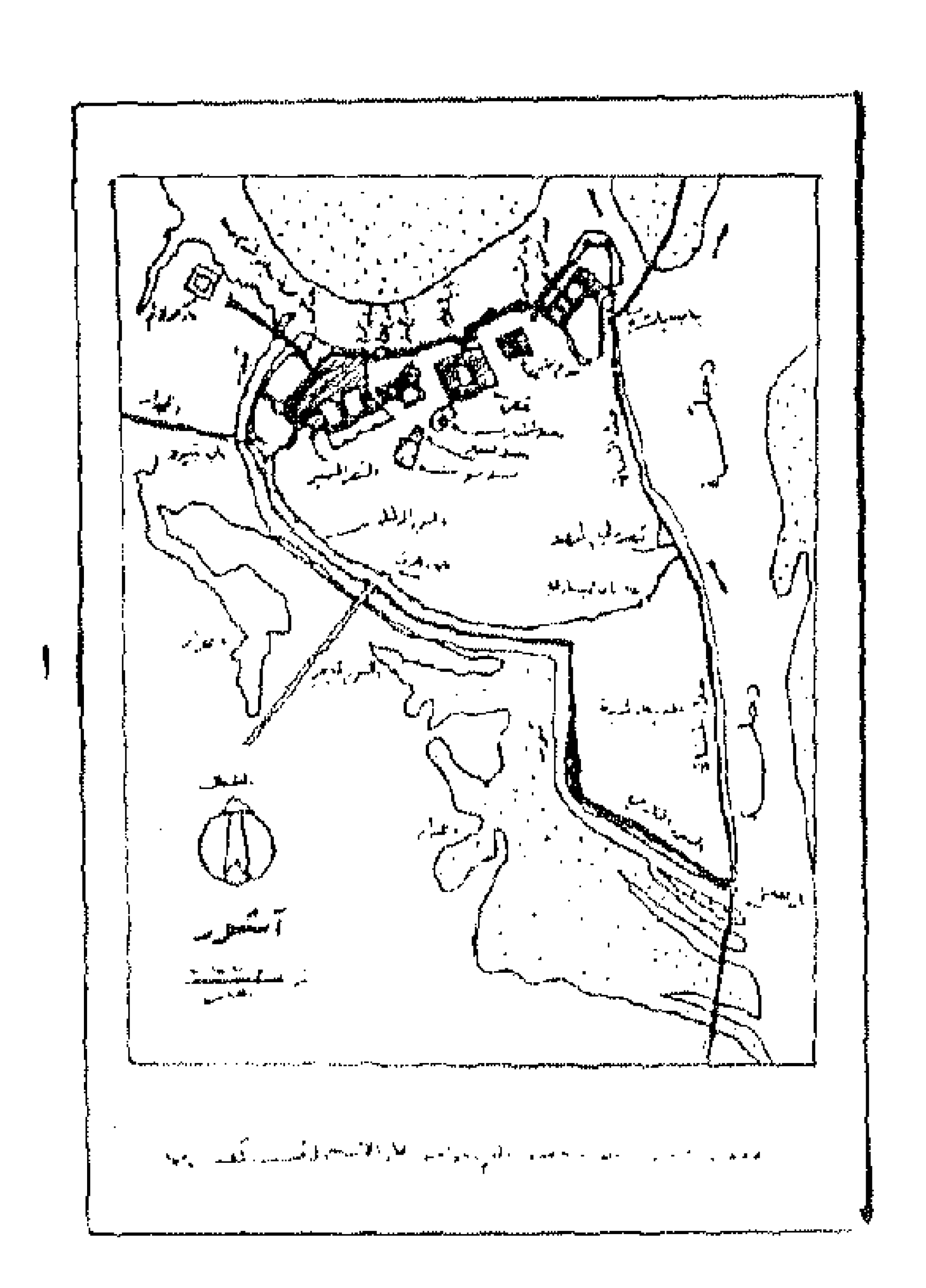


التنقيب في بوابة كوركوري (تابيرا) والآثار المكتشفة فيها للموسم الثاني (١٩٧٩).

فاضل عباس أحمد

تقع بوابة كوركوري في الضلع الشمالية الغربيه من سور المدينة . وتسمى ببوابة السلاح او الصناعات المعدنية . وقد تم الكشف عنها من قبل العالم الألماني (أندريه) في تنقياته عن المدينة (١٩٠٣– ١٩١١) وتم التنقيب فيها لأول مرة بعد تنقيات الألمان من قبل المؤسسة العامة للآثار في العام الماضي .

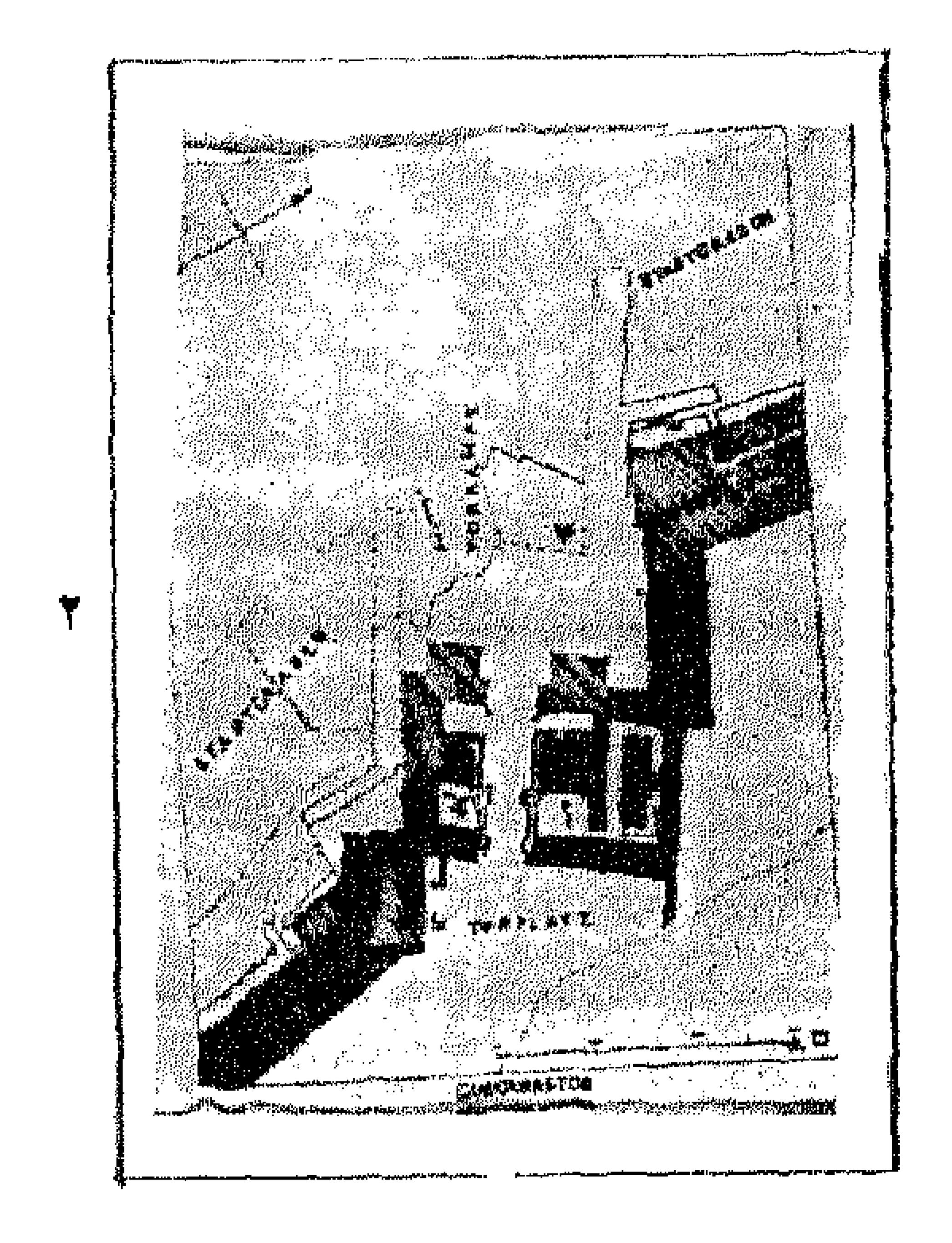
أستؤنفت أعمال التنقيب فيها للموسم الثاني بتاريخ ١٩٧٩/٣/١١– وتضمنت خطة العمل استظهار بقية المرافق الملحقة بالبوابة بغية اعدادها للصيانة .



١

تناولت أعمال التنقيب التمهيدية الأولى . حفر مجس في النقطة الكائنة خلف البوابة والمطلة على الوادي . للتأكد من نهاية المرافق البنائية للبوابة .

ونتيجة لأعمال التحري ظهر ساف من الحجر المرصوف بشكل منتظم تقريباً تكسوه طبقة رقيقة من الحصى والزفت . تقوم هذه الطبقة مباشرة على كتف الوادي . المتكون من طبقة من الرمل (الصلصال) بلغ طول الجزء المستظهر ١٠ م تقريباً . وبعرض يتراوح بين ٠٫٧٠ – ١٫٥٠ م ولم يتوكد من استمرارية هذه الطبقة



٢

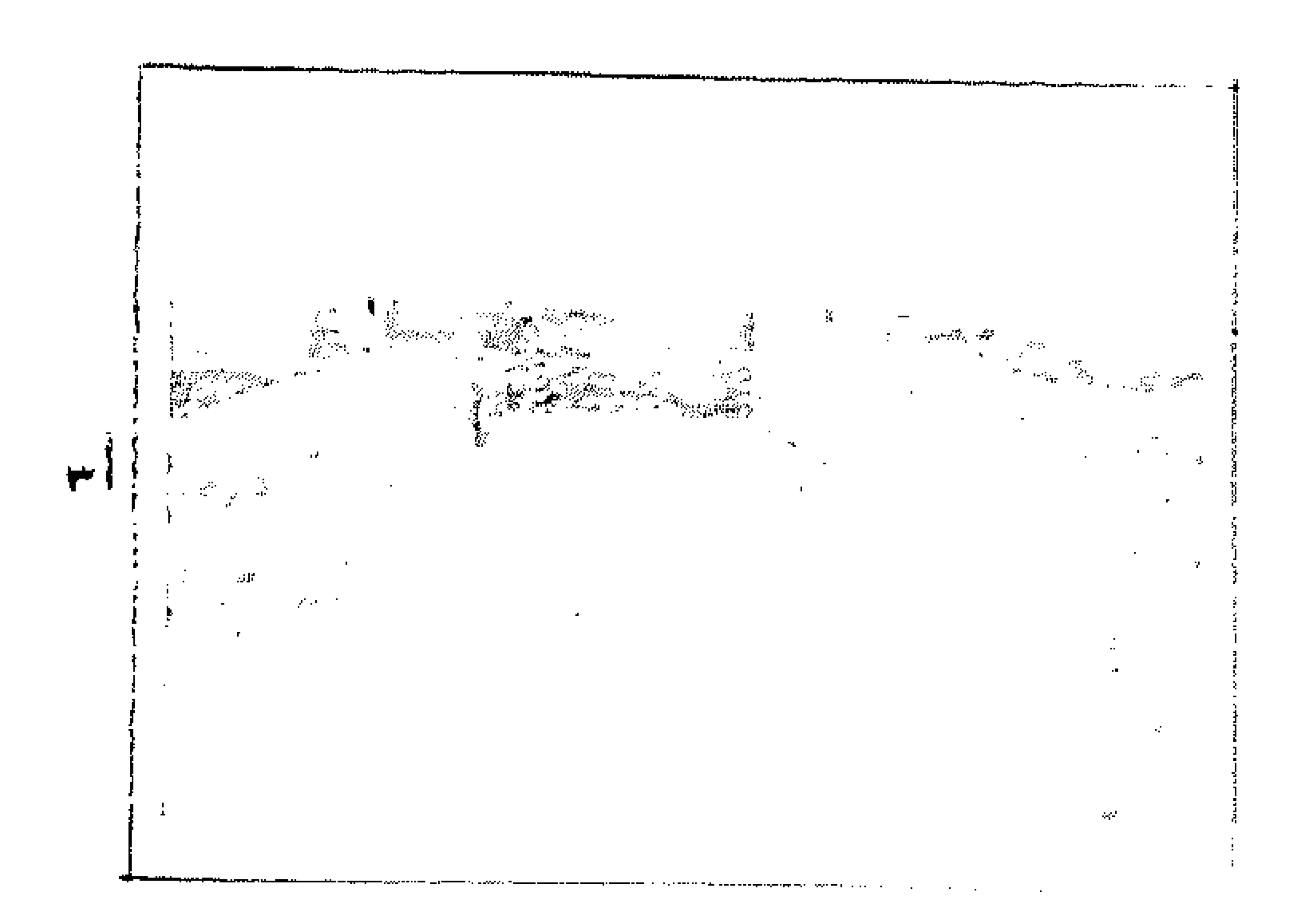
بأتجاه البوابة . بسبب وجود صفوف من اللبن . الامر الذي يتطلب رفعها . ولتفادي ذلك تم حفر مجس آخر في النقطة التي تقع عند مدخل البوابة (في الداخل) للتأكد من مدى استمراريته من عدمها وقد ظهرت لدينا طبقة من الحصى والزفت فوق طبقة من الحجر وبالعمق نفسه بكتف الوادي الذي ظهرت فيه الطبقة نفسها .

كما تم حفر مجس آخر في النقطة المقابلة من كتف الوادي . تقع الى اليسار قليلا عن النقطة الأولى . وظهر ساف من الحجر تكسوه طبقة من الحصى والزفت . ويلغ طول الجزء المستظهر منه ٨ م تقريباً .

يتضح مما سبق ونتيجة لتشابه المواد المستخدمة . في كلتا المنطقتين المطلتين على الوادي أن هنالك احتمالاً بأن هذه الأرصفة استخدمت كقواعد للاتصال بين جانبي الوادي . او احتمال تكوينها لشارع ينفذ الى داخل المدينة .

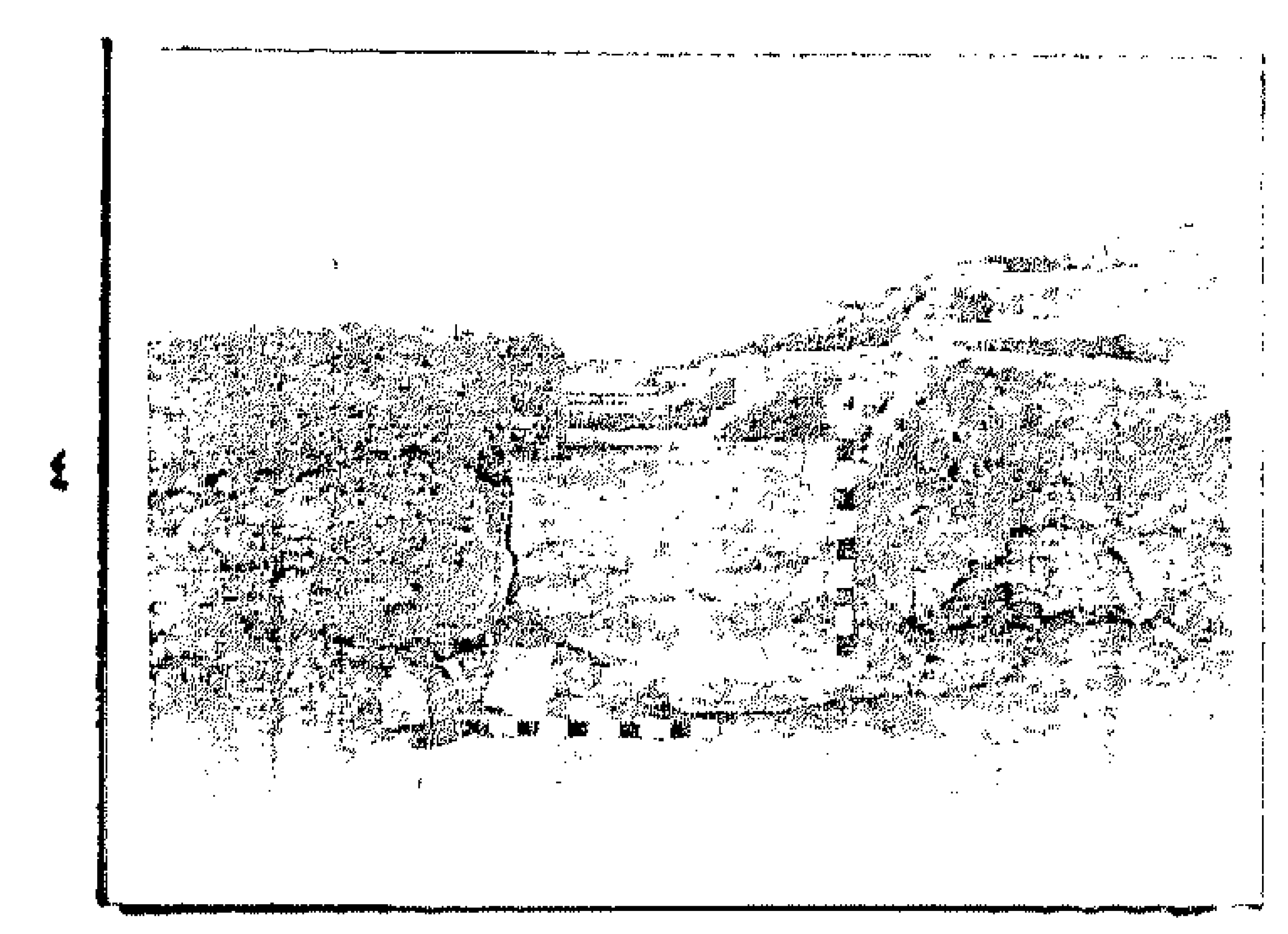
تم الكشف عن مجموعة قاعات وغرف تعود الى الفترة الآشورية المتأخرة . حيث تم اختيار نقطة عمل تقع الى الجهة اليسرى من البوابة والى شمالها . والتي لم يسبق للبعثة الألمانية ان نقبت فيها . وقد ظهرت نتيجة لأعمال الحفر والتنقيب

جدران من اللبن . معظمها مكسوة بطبقة رقيقة من الجص وهي تقوم على حجرية يبلغ معدل ارتفاعها ٣٠ر٠ م .



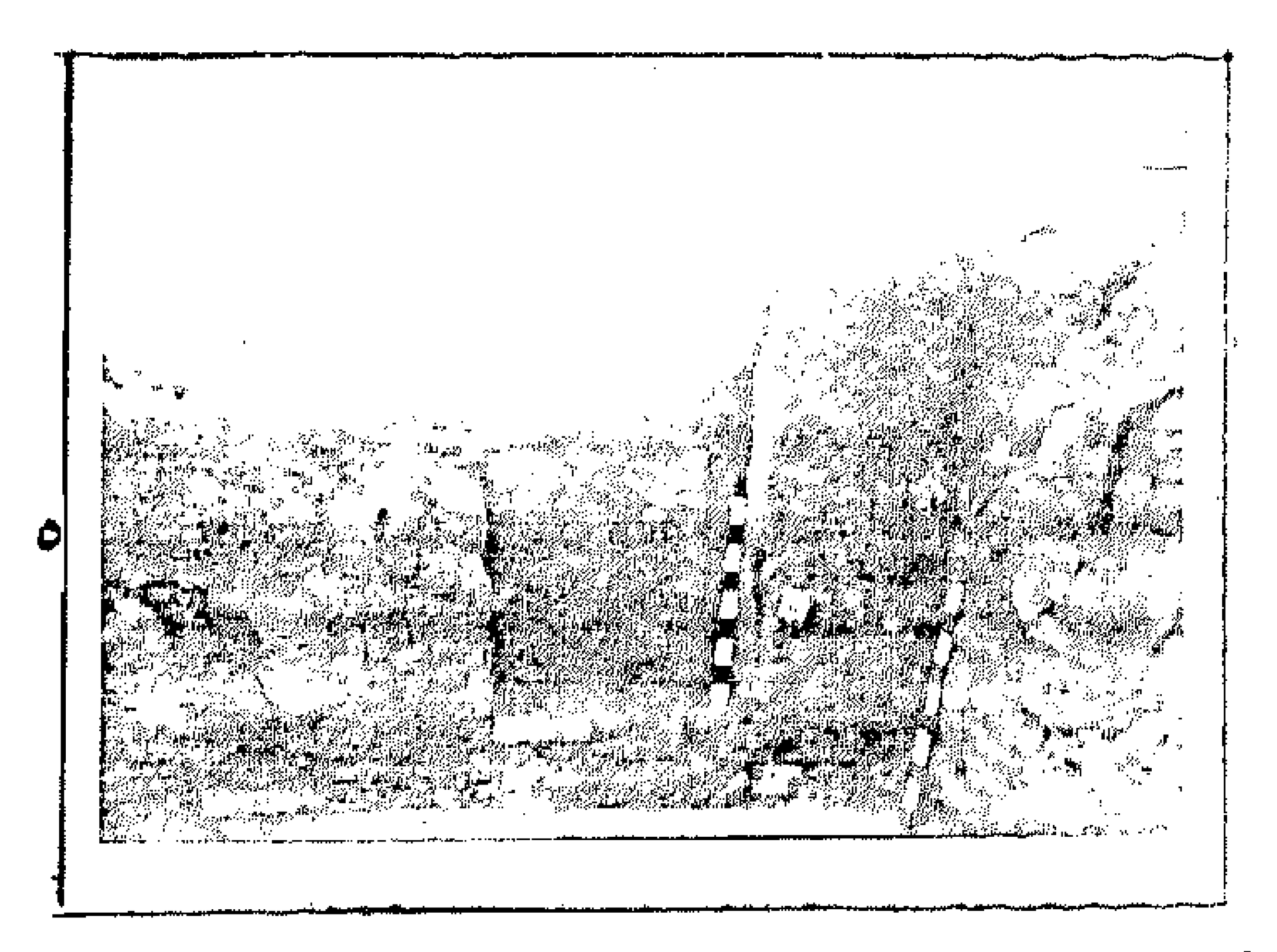
٣أ

تم الكشف عن قاعة كبيرة علمت بالرقم (٦) أطوالها ١١٫٥٠ م جدارهـا الشرقي ٣٫٠٠ م والغربي ٣٫٥٠ م وسمك جدارها الشمالي ١٫٠٠ م والشرقي ١٫٥٠م والجنوبي ١٫٠٠ م والغربي ٠٫٩٠ م .



٤

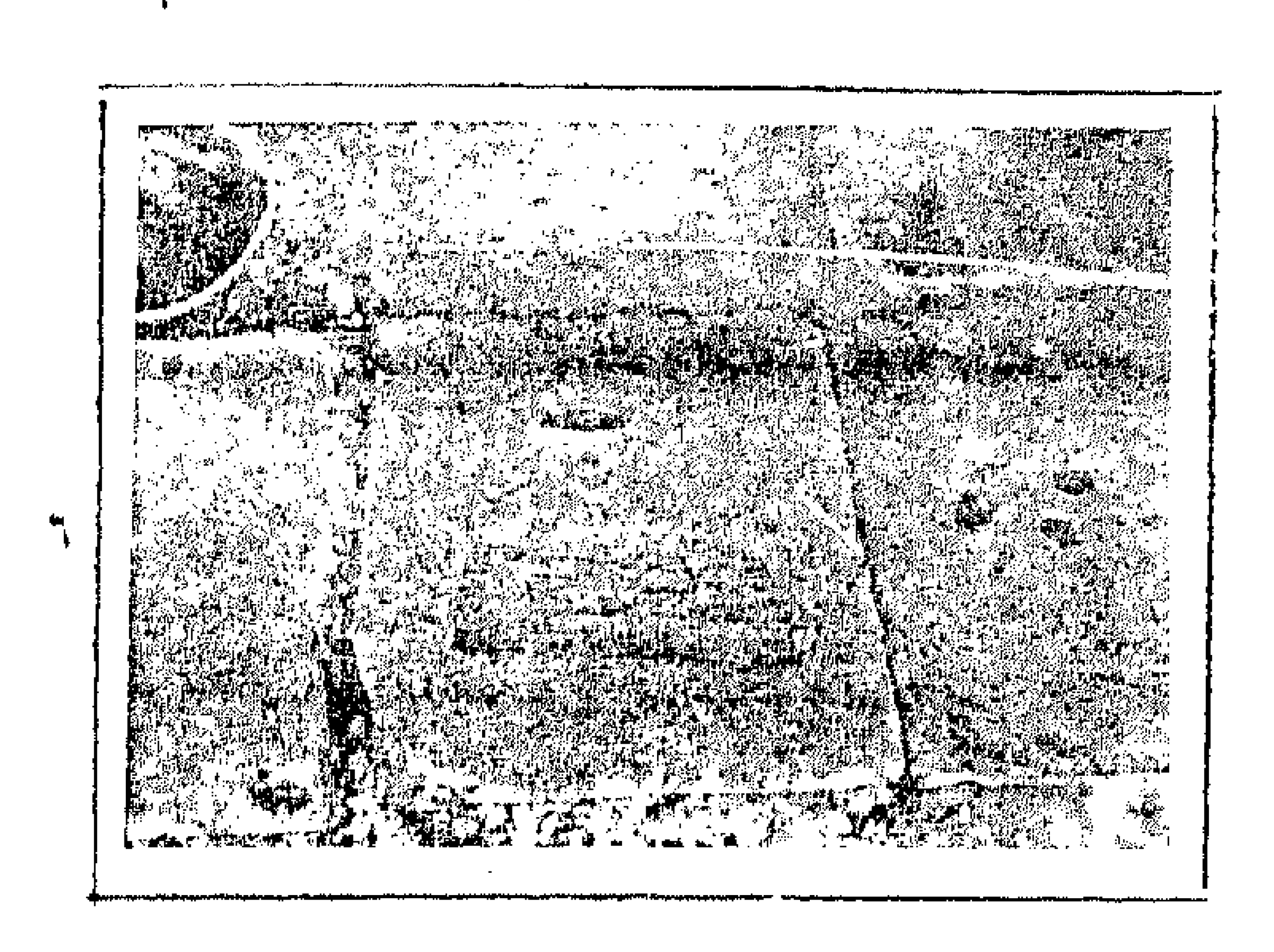
وأستظهر من الجدار الشمالي مايقارب من ٧٫٠٠ م أما باقي الجدار والبالغ ٢٫٥٠ م فلم يبق منه الا اسسه الحجرية وهذا الجزء المكسور عند الزاويـة الشمالية الشرقية . بسبب قربه من الوادي والتي تظهر عليه عوامل التعرية واضحة وعلى بعد مترين من بداية الجدار ظهر باب مسدود بلغ طوله ١٫٧٥ م وقد سد في عهد متأخر .



٥

وعثر في أرضية المدخل على عتبة غير منتظمة تحت الركن الأيسر للجـدار الجنوبي . كما ظهر على جانبي المدخل صنارتان من حجر المرمر.

والملاحظ في هذه القاعة . ان أسسها مبنية بالحجارة يعلوها جدار من اللبـن والمطلي بالطين وبطبقة رقيقة من الجص والقاعة مستطيلة الشكل تقريباً . وعثر في الركن الأيمن من الجدار الجنوبي على دخلة بلغ عرضها ١٫٠٠ م وعمقها فـي الجدار ٠٫٤٠ م وقد صفت ارضيتها بالطابوق الأشوري وطليت بالزفت وترتفـع عن ارضية القاعة بمسافة ٠٫٤٠ م وتنفذ هذه القاعة الى غرفة اخرى باتجاه الجنوب من خلال باب يقع في وسط الجدار الجنوبي لها بعرض ١٫٥٠ م .



٦

وعلمت هذه الغرفة بالرقم (٧) اطوالها ١٢٫٢٠ م وجدارها الشرقي ٦٫٥٠ م والغربي ٥٫٨٠ م وهي مستطيلة الشكل تقريباً . وأن جدارها الشرقي أطول مـن جدارها الغربي وذلك لوجود دخلة في الركن الأيسر للجدار الشمالي حيث تلتقي بزاوية مع الجدار الشرقي للغرفة أعلاه . ويبلغ عرض الدخلة ١٫٢٠ م وعمقهـا (٠٫١٠ م) ونتيجة لكبر مساحة الغرفة فيمكن اعتبارها قاعة .

وعثر في منتصف الجدار الجنوبي لها على مدخل عرضه ٢٫٢٠ م وطولـه ١٫١٥ م يقوم على أرضية من حجر المرمر ومهشمة طولها ١٫٢٠ م وعرضها ١٫٠٨ م وأن أرضية هذه القاعة مرصوفة باللبن قياس ٣٨ × ٣٨ × ١٢ وتنفذ هذه القاعة من خلال الباب المذكور سابقاً الى غرفة أخرى . مساحتها كبيرة ومستطيلة الشكل قياساتها ١١٫٥٠ م طولاً و ٤٫٢٠ م عرضاً وعلمت بالرقم (٩) عثر في هذه الغرفة على دخلتين الأولى في جدارها الشمالي طولها ١٫٣٥ م وعمقها ٠٫٤٠ م مصفوفة باللبن والثانية في منتصف الجدار الشرقي قياساتها ١٫٦٥ م طولا و ٠٫٦٠ م عمقاً وانها مبلطة بثلاثة صفوف من الطابوق قياس ٠٫٣٥ م × ٠٫٣٥ م × ٠٫١٠ م وبارتفاع ٠٫٣٠ م في جدار الدخلة .

وعثر في منتصف الدخلة على جرة فخارية اسطوانية الشكل ارتفاعها ٠٫٣٢م وسمكها ٠٫٠١ م وقطر فوهتها ٠٫٢٣ م وعمقها ٠٫٢٨ م وبعدها عن جدار الدخلة ٠٫٢٨ م ووجدت موضوعة تحت ارضية الدخلة . بحيث لم يشاهد منها سـوى فوهتها .

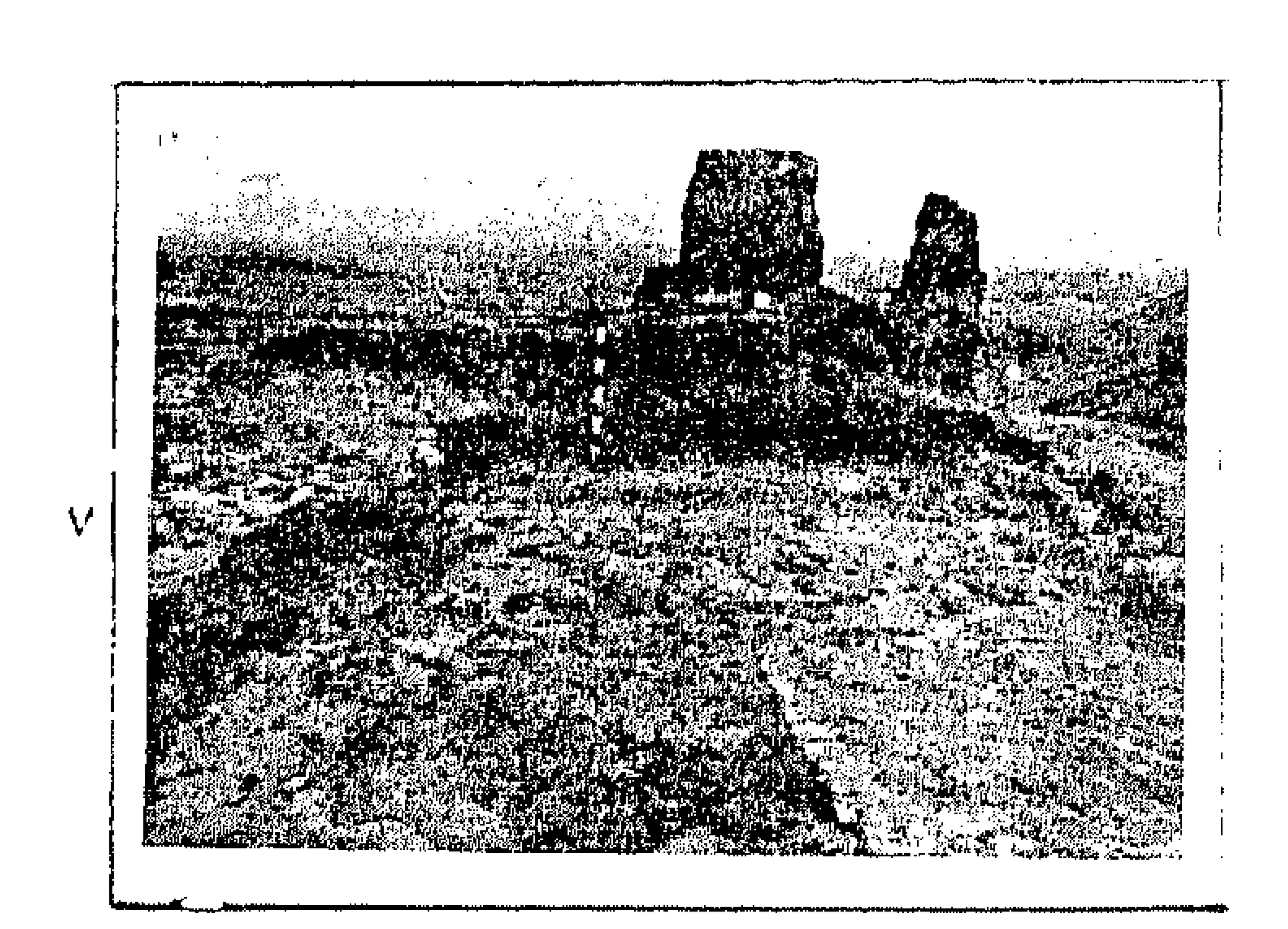
وقد طليت جدران الدخلة بالزفت . وطابوقة من الطابوق المصفوف في ارضية الدخلة من الأمام تحتوي على كتابة مسمارية موضوعة في مستطيل على وجـه الطابوقة . ومقسمة الى ثلاثة صفوف عرضية . وأنها في حالة لايمكن قراءتهـا لكثرة ماعليها من خدوش .

وأن جدران الغرفة أعلاه مطلية بالزفت والجدار الجنوبي فيها يلاصق جـدار

لبوابة لوجود تشقق بينهما . ومن جهة الوادي تم الكشف عن غرفة تقع الى الجهة ليمنى من القاعة (٦) حيث بلغ طول جدارها الجنوبي (٧) م وجدارها الشرقي ٣٫٠٠ م) وقد وجد مكسوراً وعلمت الغرفة بالرقم (٨) وان جدران الغرفة مبنية بكسر الطابوق والحجارة وبصورة غير منتظمة . وأرضيتها مرصوفة بالحجر تمثل بساطة البناء وقد أضيف جدار وجد في منتصف الغرفة حيث أنه أضيف في دورثان

وبوشر بالتنقيب في النقطة التي تقع خلف الجدار الشرقي للقاعتين (٦ و ٧) حيث تم تتبع الجدار المذكور وتنظيفه من التراكمات التي تعلوه وتم الكشف عن غرفة علمت بالرقم (١٠) بلغ طول جدارها الشمالي ٣٫٥٠ م والجنوبي ٣٫٠٠ م والغربي ٢٫٧٥ م وعثر في جدارها الشرقي على تنور ارتفاعه ١٫٠٠ م . وأستخدم الحجر والكسر الفخارية في بناء جدرانها .

وتم استظهار غرفة أخرى علمت بالرقم (١١) تقع الى الشمال من الغرفة (١٠) قياساتها ٢٫٩٠ × ٢٫٥٠ م وقد بنيت أسسها بكسر الطابوق والحجر وبشكل غير منتظم وهو متآكل . أن هذه الغرفة لم يوجد فيها مدخلاً سوى مدخل مسدود في الجدار الشرقي سد في عصر متأخر ويبلغ طوله ٠٫٨٨ م وعثر في الغرفة على تنور يبعد عن الجدار الغربي ٠٫٤٥ م وأن قاعدة التنور تنزل في أرضية الغرفة . حيث تم تتبع قاعدة التنور بحفر مجس للكشف عن قاعدته وأتضح بأنها تقوم على ارضية غير مستظهرة أولاً . وبهذا يمكننا القول بأن أرضية هذه الغرفة مبنية بدورين – الدور الأول يعود الى زمن بناء التنور والدور الثاني قد رصفت ارضيته بالجص وبشكل غير منتظم وأن اللبن المستخدم في بناء هذه الغرفة مادته رملية هشة .


٧

وتم أستظهار الوجه الخارجي للجدار الشرقي للغرفة (١٠) وأثناء التنظيف وعلى بعد ٠٫٠٧ م من الجدار أعلاه عثر على تنور متآكل يبلغ ارتفاعه ٠٫٤٨ م عن مستوى الارضية – وأنفتح الجدار الشرقي على ساحة كبيرة مرصوفة بالجص بلغ طولها ٧٫٥٠ م وبعرض ٥٫٢٠ م يلتصق جدارها الغربي مع الغرف الملحقة بالبوابة والساحة قد استخدمت لدورين الدور الأول مبلط ارضيته بالطابوق والدور الثاني مبلط بالجص علمت بالرقم (١٤) وقد وجد على بعد ١٫٧٠ م عن الجدار الشرقي للغرفة (١٠) بالوعة ومجرى ماء من الحجر غير المهندم وينفذ باب من منتصف الجدار الشمالي للساحة أعلاه الى غرفة كبيرة ويقوم الباب على عتبة مبلطة بالطابوق . ومن ضمنها طابوقة حجمها ٠٫٥٠ م × ٠٫٥٠ م متقوبة من الوسط في مدخل الباب والغرفة تمتد حتى الجدار الشرقي للغرفة (١١) وعلمت بالرقم (١٢) بطول ٧٫٥٠ م وعرض ٣٫٠٠ م وأن جدارها الشمالي والمطل على الوادي مكسور ويبلغ سمكه ١٫٠٠ م وأن ارضيتها مرصوفة بالجص .

الملاحظات في المرافق البنائية المكتشفة :

١- ان البناء متكون من ثلاث قاعات طولية متوازية . ذو مدخل واحد . ومداخل قاعاته متقابلة . والمعتقد أنها كانت مخصصة لجلوس ضباط حماية السور . ولها أغراض عسكرية .

٢- وجود الدخلات في كل قاعة . وهذه هي رمزيه للملك حيث توضع قاعدة صخرية او دخلة في صدر الغرفة تخصص للملك لتميزه عن باقي الأشخاص . وقد وجد أمثال من ذلك في ارسلان طاش وموقع تربيصو

٣- ان أسس جدران هذه الغرف مبنية بالحجارة وذلك لتقوية الجدار . والوقوف بوجه عوامل التعرية نحو الشمال مخالفة بذلك اتجاه السور الذي يواجه الغرب .

أ - ان القاعات بنيت في فترة متأخرة عن فترة بناء البوابة . وذلك لأن جدرانها تشكل حلولا بنائية مع الجدران الضخمة للبوابة .

ب- ان أسسها مرتفعة عن أسس مرافق البوابة الأصلية .

جـ- الغرف الشرقية للقاعات بنيت في فترة متأخرة عن فترة بناء القاعات وقد كانت هذه الغرف في بداية بناء القاعات ساحة تشغلها تنانير متعددة مبنية على التبان السكني لتلك الساحة .

د- ان جدران الغرف بنيت أيضا على تبان السكن لهذه الساحة . فهي تمثل دور سكني ثانية بالنسبة للأدوار السكنية في القاعات .

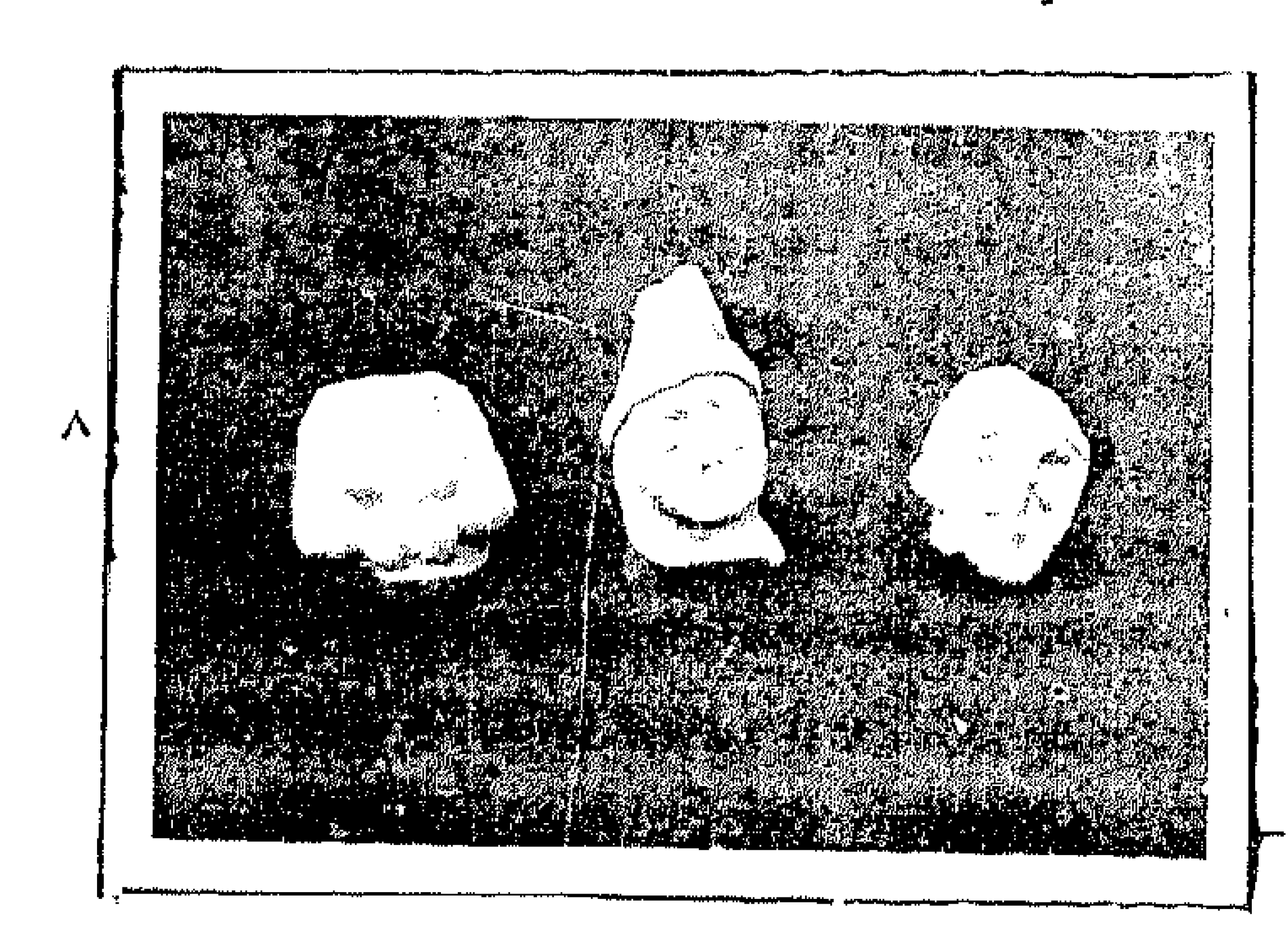
هـ- الغرف (١٠-١١) سكنت لدورين والدليل على ذلك طلاءات الطين لأكثر من واحد – فالطلاء الاول ينزل مع الجدار على أرضية السكن الاساسية والطلاء الثاني يقف على الارضية الثانية المتأخرة . اضافة الى وجود تنور واقع في الغرفة (١١) مبنى عل التبان السكني الاساسي في الدور الثاني .

و- اخيرا فالباب الموجود في الغرفة (١٣) انه أنتفى أستعماله في الدور الثاني وأغلق أو سد .

والخلاصة بأن هذا المرفق يمثل الدور الآشوري المتأخر وذلك لضعف بنائه ورداءة الارضيات واستعمالهم الحصى الكبيرة مكملا للتبليط المفروش بالطابوق . ثم ان المجرى الموجود مبني من الحجر غير المهندم والطين المستخدم في بناء المجاري حيث ان الاشوريين استخدموا الطابوق كما هو الحال في (نمرود)

الآثــار المكتشفــة :

١- دمية من الفخار تمثل رأس رجل يلبس عمامة يلفها من الأسفل شريط وذو ذقن طويل ارتفاعه ٣٫٥ سم عثر عليه في الغرفة (٦) وعلى بعد ١٫١٠ م من الجدار الجنوبي .


٨

٢- كأس فخاري معمول بطراز (Palace Ware) القاعدة مكسورة والبدن على شكل كمثري وذو طينة صفراء وعلى بدنه بصمات الأصابع أرتفاعه ٥ر٩ سم وقطر الفوهة ٧ سم عثر عليه في دفن القاعة (٦) وعلى بعد ٥٠ر١ م عن الجدار الجنوبي .

٣- رأس حصان من الفخار معمول بشكل جيد ومجوف من الداخل . يلف الوجه والرقبة لجام وجزء من الفك الاسفل والاذن اليمنى مكسورة وعيناه بارزتان . ومنخره معمول على شكل ثقوب أرتفاعه ٦ سم عثر عليه في الدخلة للقاعة (٦) .


٩

٤- جرة فخارية ذوفوهة اسطوانية صغيرة في بدنها فتحة للشرب مكسورة وبدنها كروي قاعدتها بيضوية ارتفاعها ٥ر١ سم — وقطر الفوهة ٩ر٣ سم تم العثور عليها في دفن القاعة (٩) في الجدار الغربي .

٥- اناء فخاري صغير . ذو طينة حمراء الجزء الأوسط من قاعدته مفقود وبحف به حز تحت حافة فوهته قطره ٣٥ر١٠ سم وسمكة ٥ر٨ مم وارتفاعه ٥ر٣ سم عثر عليه في الجدار الغربي في الغرفة (١٠) وعلى عمق ٠٠ر١ م من الجدار.

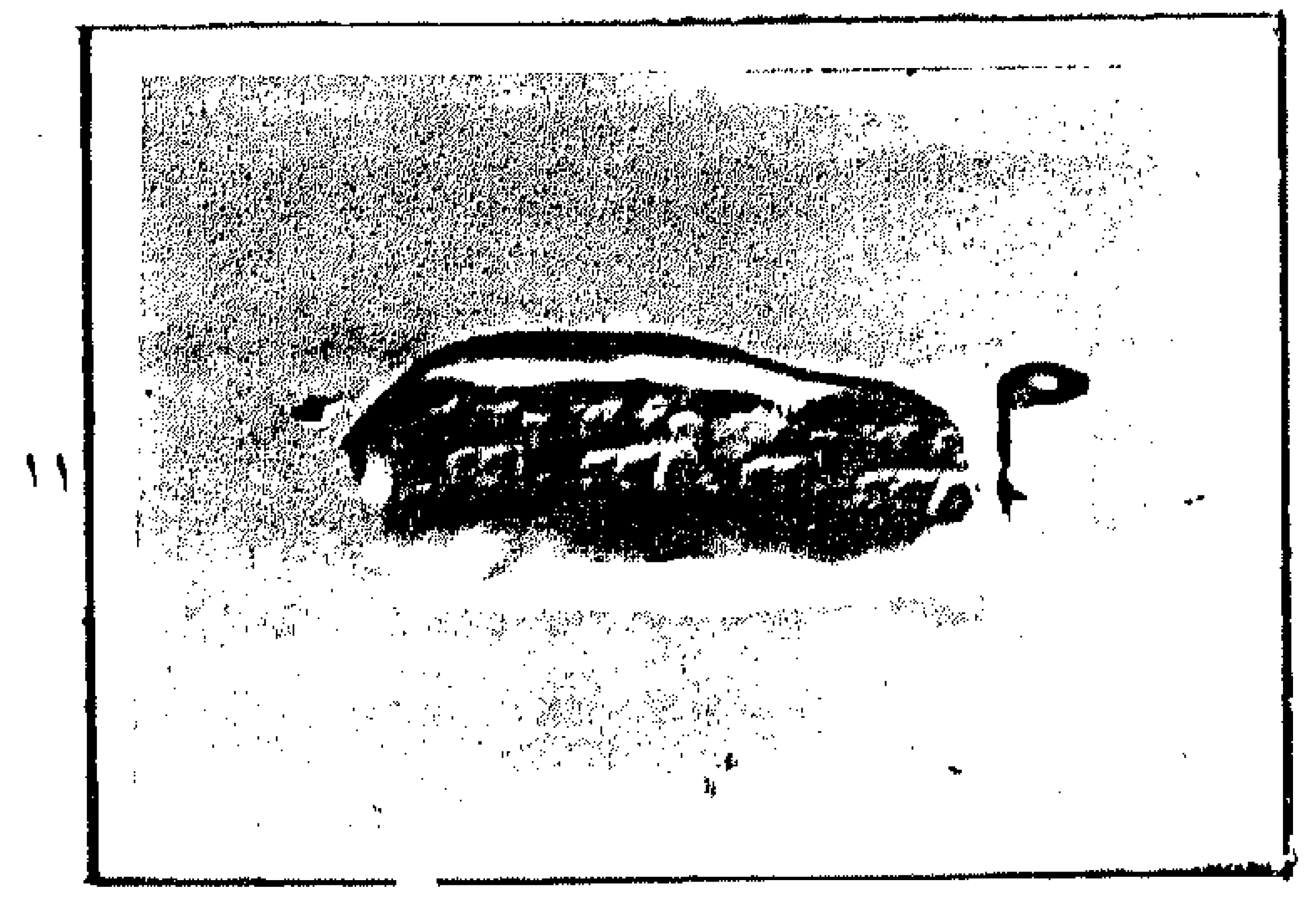
٦- قطعة من العاج دائرية الشكل تمثل الوريدة الآشورية (Rosit) مكونة من ١٨ فصا في مركزها دائرة صغيرة وسمك القطعة ٣مم وقطرها ٦ر٢ سم عثر عليها في دفن الغرفة (١١) .

٧- الاختام الأسطوانية الشكل وقد عرضت الأختام مساحة مصورة لاتتعدى بضع سنتيمترات مربعة . وفي هذا الجزء الدقيق كان على النحات ان ينقش بصعوبة شخوصه في الحجر الصلب حيث أنه رغم ضآلة سطح الختم . الا انه يوحي للمشاهد بضخامته — عثر على ختم أسطواني من حجر الدايوريت منقوش عليه صورة لشخص يمسك بيده اليمنى ما يشبه الخنجر . يصارع حيواناً اشبه بالغزال — تعلو الختم علامتان لاله القمر والسماء ويرجع عهده للعصر الاشوري الوسيط (١٣٠٠ ق . م) ارتفاعه ٢ر١ سم وقطره ١ر١ سم عثر عليه في دفن الغرفة (١٠) وعلى بعد ٥٥ر٠ م من الجدار الشمالي لها

عثر كذلك على ختم من مادة الفرت (عجينة الزجاج) اسطواني الشكل منقوش عليه صورة غزال يتبعه حيوانٌآخر تعلوه علامتان لاله القمر والسماء ارتفاعه ٨ر١٠ سم قطره ١ سم عثر عليه في دفن الغرفة (١٠) وعلى بعد ٠٠ر١ م من الجدار الشمالي لها .

٨- جرة من الفخار كبيرة الحجم ذات بدن مخروطي ينتهي بقاعدة بازرة قليلاً ومستديرة والرقبة قصيرة تنتهي بفوهة جزء منها مكسور والجرة برمتها مكسورة الى عدة أجزاء ومرممة ارتفاعها ٥٤ر٠ م وقطر الفوهة ١١ر٠ م والمعتقد بأنها تعود الى الفترة الهلينستية عثر عليها في دفن الغرفة (١٠) وعلى بعد ٠٠ر١ م من الجدار الشرقي .


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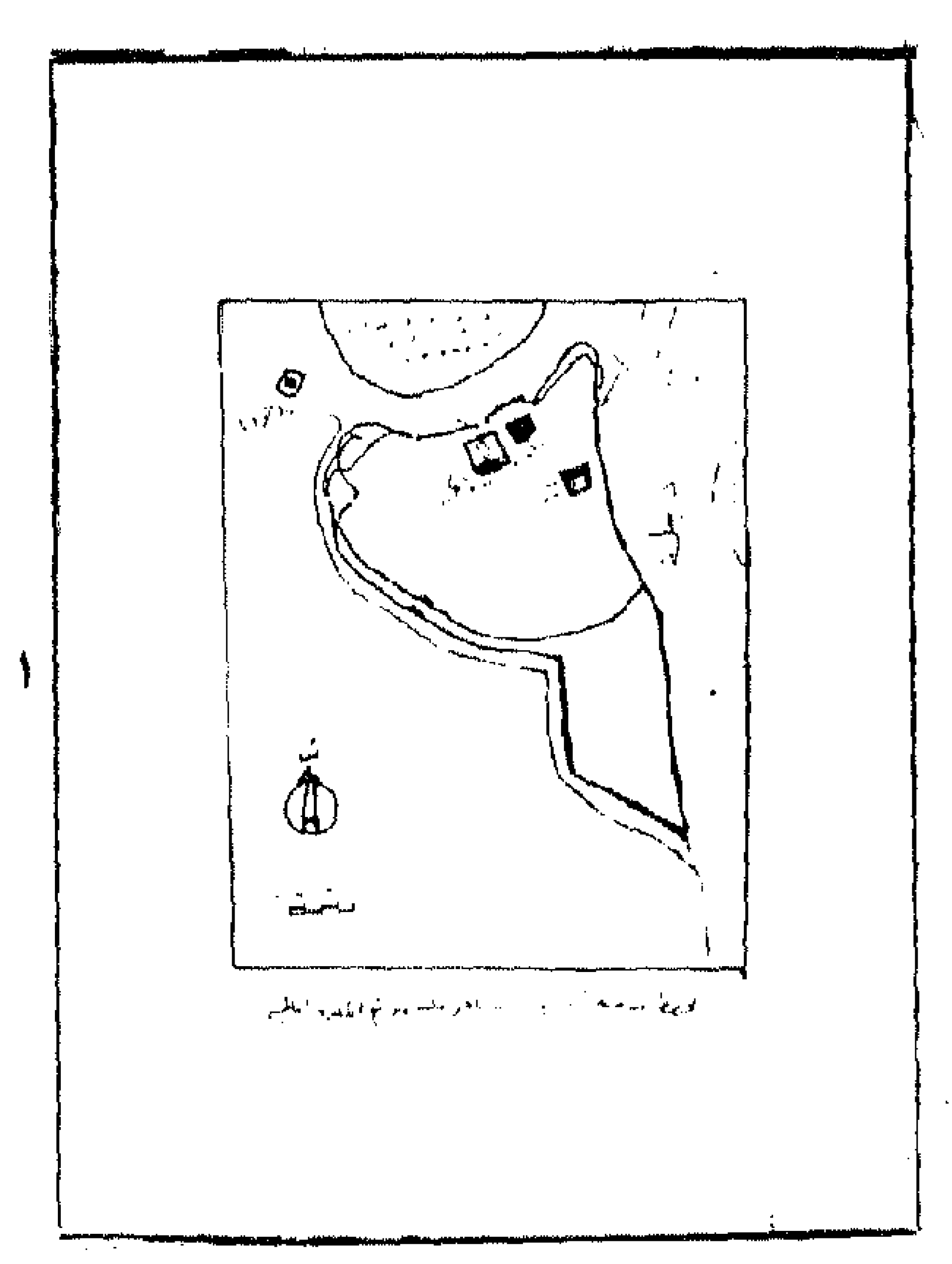

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٩- جرة صغيرة من الفخار طينتها تبنية الشكل . ويحف أسفل العنق حزان والبدن مغزلي ينتهي بقاعدة مدببة قليلا ومن الأعلى برقبة قصيرة تنتهي بفوهة حافاتها سميكة ارتفاعها ٣٧ر٠ م وقطر الفوهة ٥ر٢ سم وسمك الفوهة ٤٠ مم عثر عليها في دفن الغرفة (٨) وفي جدارها الجنوبي . وقد عثر على مجموعة خرز وجرار وأواني فخارية مشابهة للأنواع التي ذكرت انفاً .

الصيانة في بوابة تابيرا « كوركوري »

كاظم محمد كاطع
منقب آثار

تعتبر اعمال الصيانة المتمم الجوهري لاعمال التنقيب ،خاصة في المدن الاثرية الكبيرة ؛ بغية الحفاظ على ما تم استظهاره من المرافق البنائية ، والتي ستكون اكثر استجابة للظروف المناخية ولعوامل الطبيعة حيث سينحصر تأثيرها بالذات على اللطوش وجدران اللبـن .

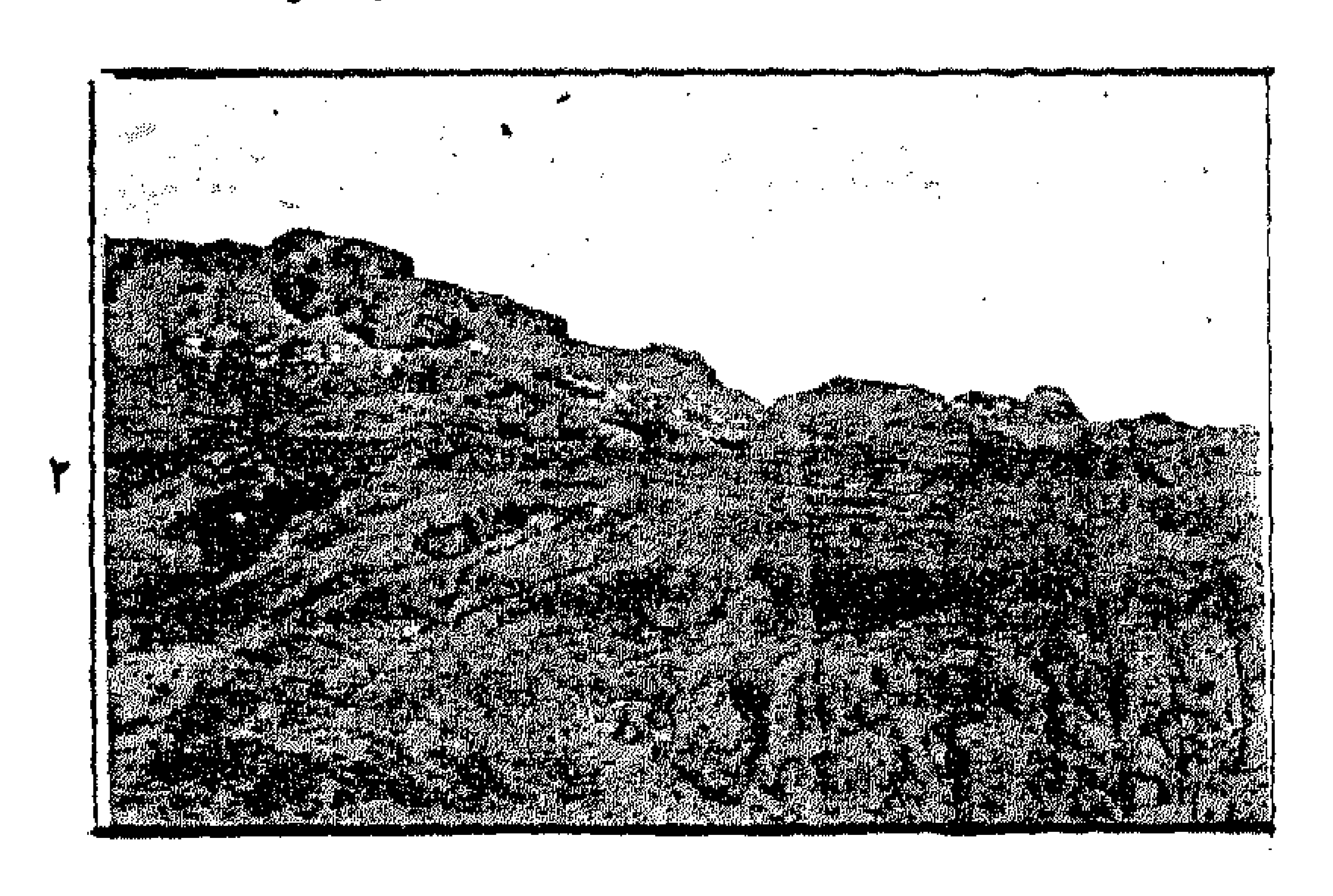


١

لقد اطلق على هذه البوابة تسمية (كوركورى) الذي معناه (بوابة عمال المعادن) وسبب استعمال الشعب لهذه التسمية . غير واضح — وتؤدي من الغرب الى داخل المدينة ( ) وتقوم على ارض صلبة قوامها الصخر الرملي الذي اعطاها قوة ومتانة . لقد تعرضت هذه البوابة لحقبة طويلة من الزمن الى عوامل الطبيعة — الامطار والرياح والسيول — وقد اثرت فيها كثيرا ، حيث تركت اخاديد عميقة خاصة في النقطة ابتداء من عند مدخل البوابة حتى نهاية المصطبة (باتجاه خارج المدينة) اضافة الى حدوث دفع كبير في بعض جدران مرافقها ، وفقدان الاسس الحجريه لكثير منها وامتدت اليها يد التخريب البشرية . رغم ما خلفه لنـــا الاستاذ / اندريه من كتابات ومخططات . حيث ان الخنادق والفجوات ليس في البوابة فحسب بل في عموم المدينة — التي نجمت عن تنقياته وتركها دون ردمها مهدت الطريق للامطار والسيول لتشق طريقها فيها . كما ان معظم الابنية المحاذية للوادي (من الداخل) تعرضت هي الاخرى لنفس الشاكلة . ان صيانة البوابة والحالة هذه تحتاج الى دراسة علمية دقيقة ، وعناية فائقة وجهود متضافرة للخروج بأحسن الصيغ والنتائج المقبولة . لصيانة هذا المرفق البنائي العظيم . انه تراث احقاب ونتاج اجيال ساهم في صنع حضارة وادي الرافديـن .

ان خطة العمل لصيانة هذه البوابة تمثلت على النحو التالي :

أولا : تنظيف معظم الفجوات والاخاديد من التراكمات الغرينية . والمواد الاخرى ، واستظهار اللبن القديم وتنظيف المتآكل منه . وكذلك تنظيف الاسس الحجرية ، واعادة بناء الاقسام المتاكلة والمفقودة منها . وفي حالة وجود الاسس الحجرية كاملة ، فان عملية تحديد وبناء الجدران تكون سهلة نوعاً ما .

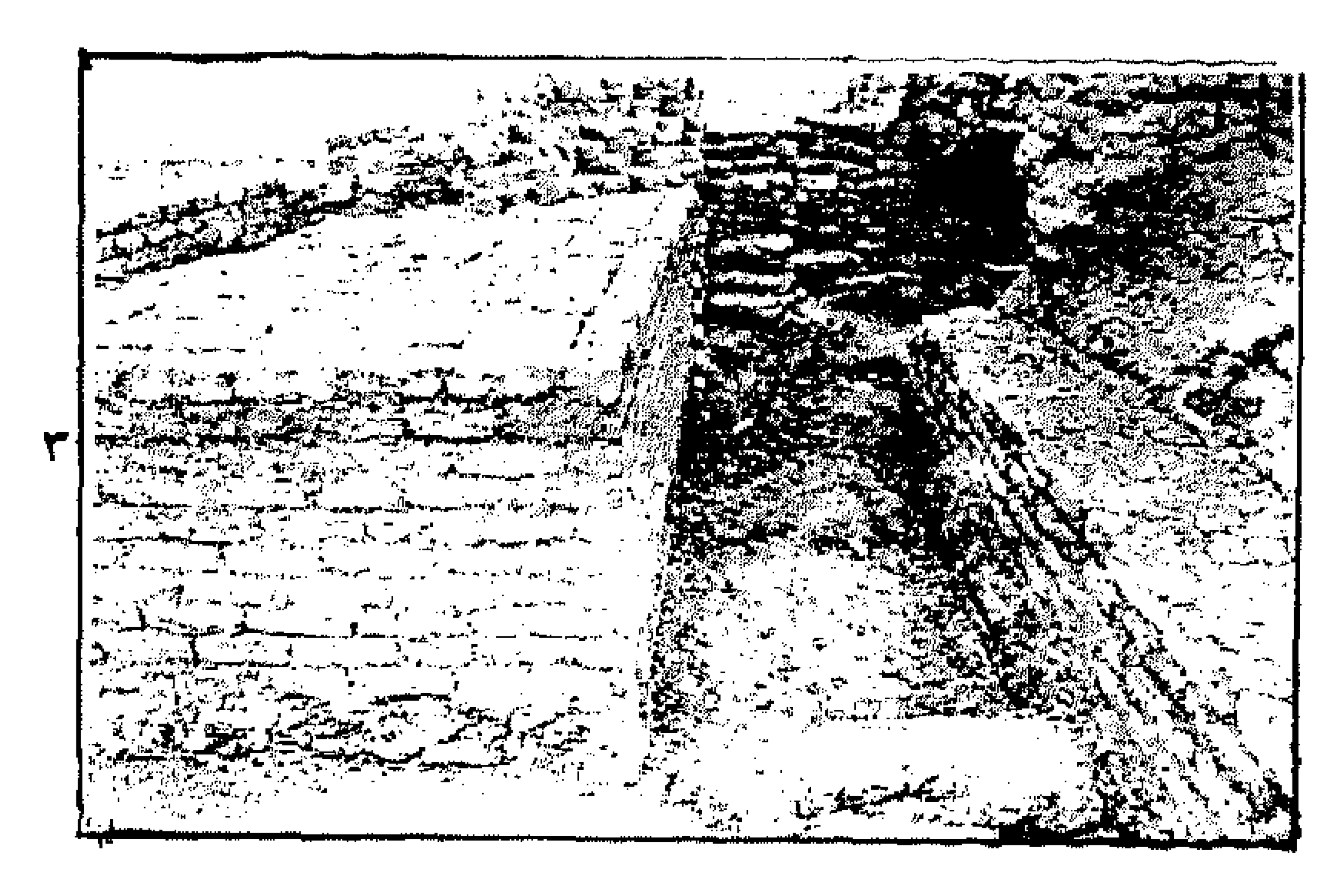


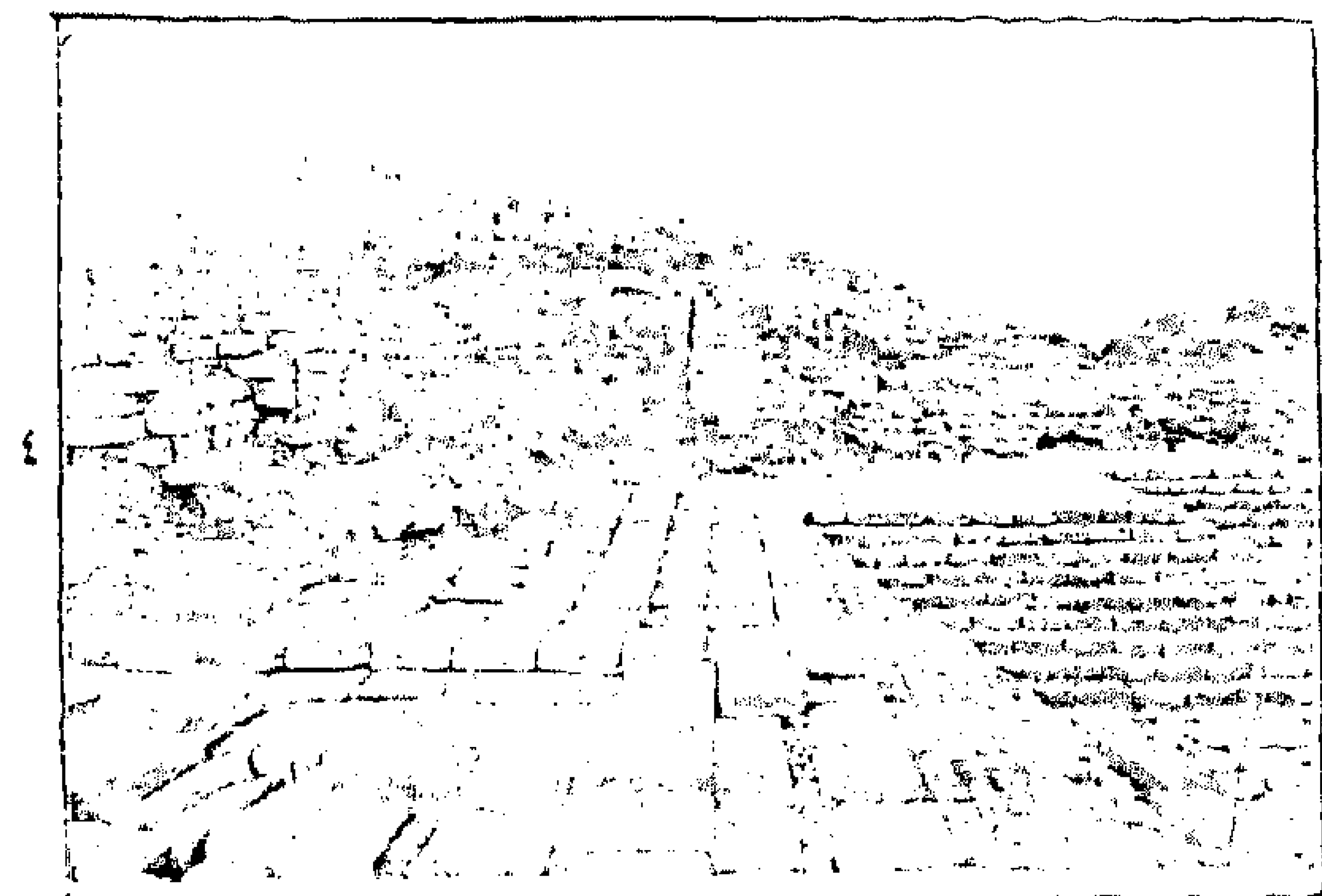
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ثانيا : وضع مخطط كامل لكافة المباني المراد صيانتها . كالغرف والقاعات والابراج ، وقد اعتمدنا مخطط اندريه لان عموم البوابة انذاك احسن مما عليه الان ، ولكون اندريه نفسه اعتمد في مخططه على الأسس الحجرية المتبقية . حيث ان مجمل المرافق البنائية في البوابة اسسها مبنية بالحجارة .

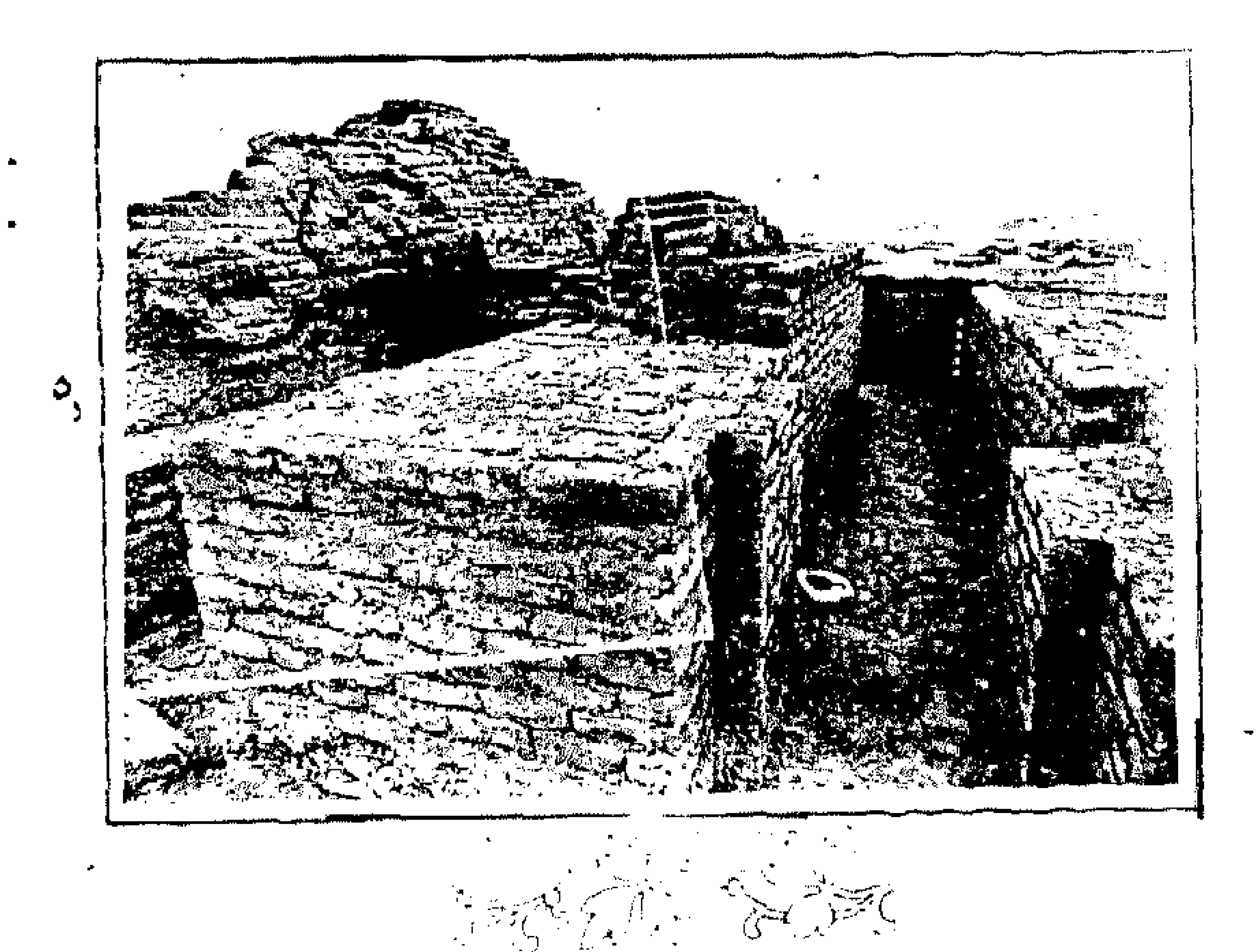
ثالثا : الصيانة تكون المواد المستخدمة نفسها قديما أي بالطين واللبـــن

واستخدام الطين المشوي (الطابوق) في الجدران التي ستكون عرضة لعوامل الطبيعة .


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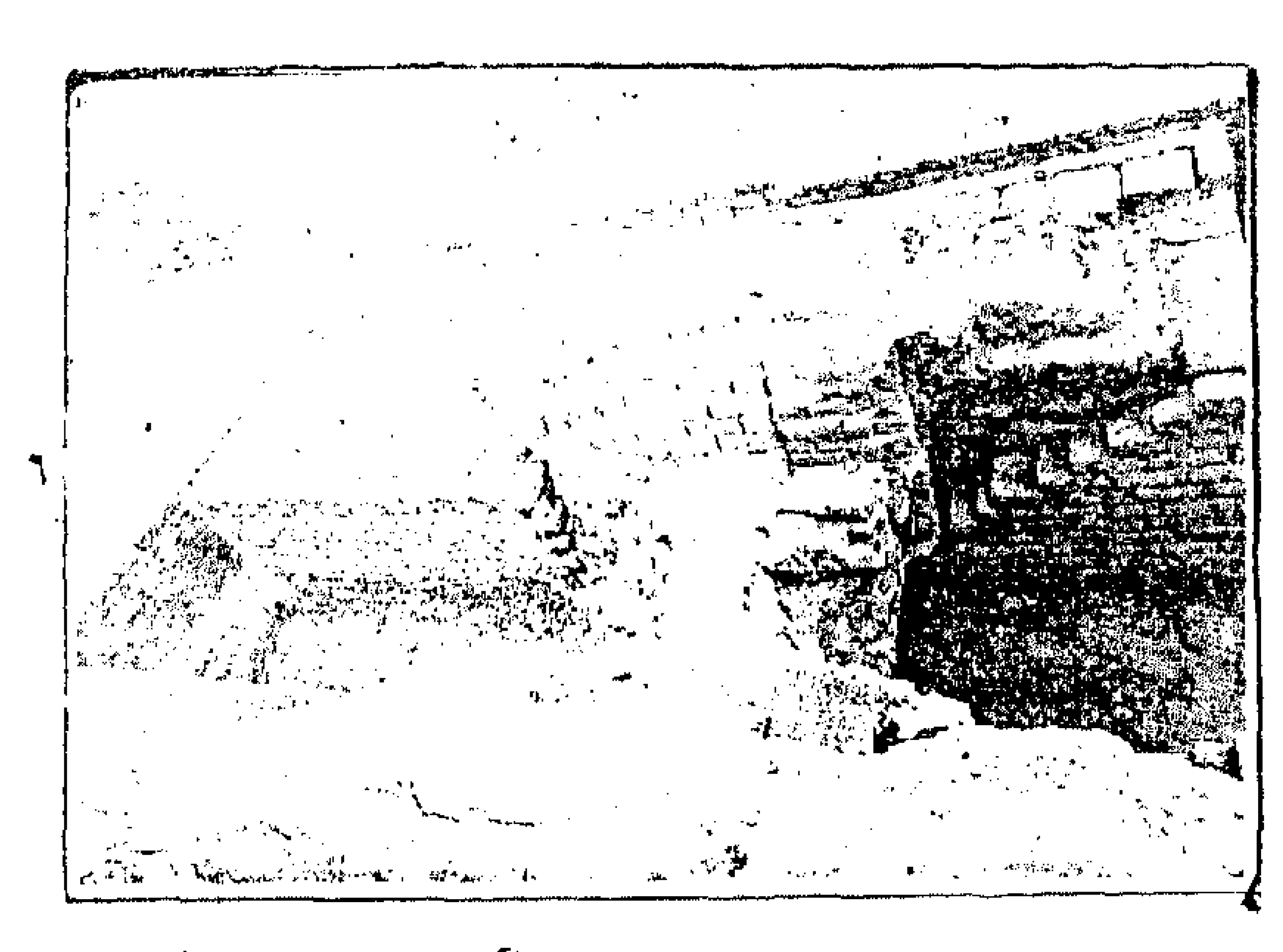
ومع اطلالة صيف ١٩٧٩ بوشر العمل بالمراحل الاولية التي تمثلت بتغطية اللبن القديم للمصطبة الذي استظهر في الموسم الاول ١٩٧٨ بغية الحفاظ عليه ثم تلا ذلك المباشرة بالأعمال التمهيدية للصيانة الأجمالية . حيث تم تنظيف الاخدود الكبير الذي يبدأ من عند مدخل البوابة . نزولاً الى نهاية المصطبة لقد بلغ أحياناً عمق الاخدود أكثر من خمسة أمتار . وتم أستظهار اللبن القديم وتنظيف المتآكل منه . كما تم اخراج الأحجار الكبيرة المتساقطة عند مدخل البوابة . واعادة بناء الأسس الحجرية المفقودة .


٥

لقد انصب جل اهتمامنا في البداية لصيانة المصطبة لسببين :

١ - التلف الكبير الذي اصابها للاسباب انفة الذكر .
٢ - ان ابراج هذه البوابة والغلاف المحاذية لها لا يمكن صيانتها الا بعد صيانة المصطبة والارتفاع بها الى حد الاسس الحجرية المتبقية القريبة من بداية البرج الايسر للبوابة .

ان الطريقة التي اتبعت في صيانة المصطبة تمثلت باستظهار اللبن القديم . وتكملة المتاكل والمفقود منه باللبن المستخدم في اعمال الصيانة الحالية وعلى مستويات مداميك اللبن القديم نفسها - أي أن عملية الصيانة تمت باستخدام اللبن الكامل وبالقياسات الاشورية ٣٨×٣٨×١٠ سم ولبس بكسر اوبقايا اللبن .


٦

لقد ارتاينا هذه الطريقة من المعالجة تلافيا لكل الاحتمالات المستقبلية . ومع استمرارية العمل في صيانة المصطبة بوشر بصيانة الغرفة المعلمه بالرقم (١) والتي ابعادها (١٥ ر ٥ × ٣٥ ر ٤ م) ووصل الارتفاع في معظم جدرانها اكثر من ٥٠ ر ١ م - ويتخلل الجدار الشمالي لهذه الغرفة مدخل يبلغ عرضه ١٠ ر ١ م وهو يؤدي الى قاعة مستطيلة الشكل علمت بالرقم (٢) ابعادها ٨٠ر١١ × ٣٥ ر ٥ م تمت صيانتها ووصل الارتفاع في معظم جدرانها الى مترين ويتوسطها جدار كبير يبلغ طوله ٩ م وعرضه ٣٥ ر ٢ م ضلعه الشرقي وجزء من الشمالي مفقود - حتى الأسس الحجرية - بسبب تنقيبات اندريه وقد صين ايضا

ان الغاية المتوخاة على الارجح لهذا الجدار كمسند لجدار الدرج المؤدي للمرافق العليا وربما كان هناك درج آخر من الجهة المقابلة ليسهل حركة التنقل بسرعة ويلاحظ وجود بقايا مداميك اللبن عند الزاوية الشمالية الشرقية للغرفة اعلاه . ومن المحتمل أنها كانت عتبات للدرج المذكور .

ان وجود مثل هذا الجدار الساند للدرج . يمكن ملاحظته في موقع نمرود الأثري وبالذات في قاعة العرش للملك الاشوري اشور ناصر بال الثاني (٨٨٣ / ٨٥٩ ق . م) .

كما شملت الصيانة الوجه الخارجي للجدار الشرقي للمرفقين (١ و ٢) وبمادة الطابوق والطين . ومن الجدير بالذكر ان مداخل الغرف الجانبية المطلة على مدخل البوابة قد سدت في فترات متأخرة ربما في الفترة الهلينستية وبمادة الجص والحجر - ان مثل هذا التحصين على الاكثر كان لاسباب امنية وما تزال اعمال الصيانة مستمرة لصيانة بقية المرافق الاخرى .

القصدير والنحاس في نصوص اشور

موكنز لارسن

كانت تجارة عصر البرونز بالمعادن خاصة النحاس والقصدير . موضوع عدد كبير من المقالات والكتب الحديثة . ويبدو من المعقول مناقشة هذا الموضوع ضمن اطار مؤتمر حول اشور . اذ أن تلك المدينة لعبت دوراً مهماً في التبادل الدولي بتلك المعادن . ان النصوص من العهد الاشوري القديم من (كولتبة) هي بالطبع افضل مصدر متوفر لدينا حول مثل تلك التجارة . ونحن نعرف أن آشور لعبت في ذلك العهد دوراً حيويا كمركز عبور لتجارة القصدير . ولكن النصوص من العهد الاشوري المتوسط والعهد الاشوري الحديث . تتضمن معلومات مهمة جداً – وأن كانت غير مفهومة جيداً – حول هذه المعادن . خاصة المعدن المعروف باسم اناكوم .

كما تعلمون كان من الصعب التوصل الى اتفاق حول معنى المصطلحات المختلفة للمعادن . ولم نتوصل بعد الى اتفاق عام . ويبدو أن الأبحاث الحديثة من مختلف الانواع فتحت الباب امام مناقشات جديدة تتعلق بالكلمات . التي يبدو أن معناها قد اصبح ثابتاً . اذكركم بالمصطلح اناكوم . لقد كتب لاندزبيركر مقالاً قصيراً ومقنعاً جداً في ١٩٦٥ ذكر فيه أن هذه الكلمة تعني القصدير وليس كما اعتقد معظم العلماء مدة طويلة معدن الرصاص . ويشير عدد من النصوص بوضوح الى أن (اناكوم) هو المعدن الذي يمزج مع النحاس لانتاج البرونز وذلك بحد ذاته يكفي في الحقيقة للبرهنة أن الكلمة تعني الرصاص . ولكن (اناكوم) تتكرر مراراً في النصوص من العهد الاشوري المتوسط . في سياقات تدل على أن هذا المعدن كان وسيلة للتبادل في تلك الحقبة "كانت القروض واسعار المواد المشتراة يعبر عنها بكميات من (اناكوم) كما كانت الغرامات تدفع بهذه العملة . ولذا فان (لاندز بيركر) يستنتج أن هذه الكلمة لايمكن أن تعني الرصاص الذي كان رخيصاً جداً . بحيث لم يكن ممكناً استعماله في أية فترة حتى كـ "Scheidemunze" كان النحاس وحده هو الذي يمكن أن يستعمل لذلك الغرض . وفي مختلف الفترات وقد تحقق ذلك فعلا بينما كانت قيمة (اناكوم) بين الفضة والنحاس على الدوام .

يبدو ان مقال لاندزبيركر بخصوص دراسة كاريل للمواد من العهد الاشوري القديم قد اقنع معظم العلماء أن (اناكوم) هي الكلمة الاكدية لمعدن القصدير .

وكما تعلمون فان التجارة في الاناضول في العهد الاشوري القديم تضمنت شحن كميات ضخمة حقاً من هذا المعدن الى الاناضول . حيث كان يباع في السوق مقابل الفضة . وتشير الاحصائيات التي اعدها فينهوف الى أن حوالي ١٣٥٠٠ كغم سجلت بانها ارسلت الى الاناضول في النصوص المتوفرة لدينا . ومن الطبيعي أنه توجد لدينا نماذج قليلة فقط من مجموع النصوص . ولذا يبدو من المعقول الافتراض بان ما مجموعه ٨٠ طناً على الاقل من هذا المعدن قد صدرت من اشور الى بلاد الاناضول خلال خمسين عاماً . وهذه تجارة واسعة جداً لابد أنها استندت الى نظام راسخ من التجهيز الى اشور . ولكننا لانعرف لحد الان من أين كان ياتي ذلك المعدن ؟ كما أن تقنية انتاج البرونز غير معروفة . ورغم أنني لاأتفق أبداً مع قول موهلي مؤخراً أنه « قبل أن نستطيع أن نقول شيئاً عن التجارة يجب أن نعرف بصورة جيدة اولاً التقنية الاساسية لتعدين النحاس في عصر البرونز » . فانني اؤيد أن من الضروري وبشكل ملح أن نثبت مصدر النحاس وعامل الخلط بالإضافة الى التقنية المستعملة في الانتاج . والواقع أنه على خلاف قول موهلي فاننا نعرف الكثير جداً عن التجارة والاساليب التجارية بالمقارنة مع المعادن التي كانت تدخل في تلك التجارة . وليس بوسعنا انتظار قيام علماء الطبيعة ومساعديهم بتقديم الاجابات على تلك الاسئلة قبل أن نحاول فهم المعاني الاوسع لموادنا النصية والاثارية .

ونجد حتى في كتب حديثة القول الخاطيء أن اساس التجارة الاشورية في الاناضول كان الحاجة الى النحاس في اشور وأن النحاس كان يجلب من الاناضول . والواقع أن نصوصنا تشير فقط الى تجارة النحاس داخل الاناضول . ولذا فان النحاس لم يكن يرسل من كانيش الى اشور او من اشور الى كانيش . ويبدو من المنطقي الافتراض أن النحاس كان يجلب الى وسط الاناضول واشور من مكان ثالث . وأن المرشح المعقول هو بالطبع (ابركا ني مادن) في جنوب شرق تركيا . لايثير هذا أية صعوبة فيما يبدو عدا حقيقة أنه لاتوجد ادلة اثارية في ذلك الموقع لحد علمي - تؤيد هذا القول . كما أن النصوص المتوفرة تشير كما يبدو الى أن النحاس كان يستخرج في اكثر من مكان واحد . وأنه كان يصل المستعمرات الاشورية بنوعيات مختلفة بعضها منقى والبعض الآخر غير منقى . وبعضها يحتوي على حجر الهيماتيت (من خامات الحديد) او بدونه .

لقد نشر ايتون ومكاريل في مقال نشراه في عام ١٩٧٦ ~~تفتح عدد~~ كبير من تحليلات المعادن التي اجريت باستعمال طريقة الاستشعاع السيني (X - ray ـ fluorescence) . وقد ضم هذا المقال بيانات مهمة واقتراحاً جديدا حول الترجمة الصحيحة لمصطلح (اناكوم) . لقد بين المؤلفان اولاً أن كميات كبيرة مما يسمى بـ « البرونز » من انحاء الشرق الادنى كافة أثناء فترتي عصر البرونز المبكر وعصر

البرونز المتوسط . كانت في الحقيقة نحاساً زرنيخياً ولم يكن يحتوي على أي قصدير. لقد كان البرونز القصديري موجوداً بالتأكيد في تلك الفترات ولكنه لم يكن شائعاً مثل النحاس الزرنيخي بصورة عامة . ولم يحل محله حتى عصر البرونز المتاخر . وعلى هذا الاساس فقدْ أستنتج الكاتبان أن كلمة (اناكوم) قد تشير الى القصدير والى النحاس ذي المحتوى الزرنيخي العالي أوكما يقولان « ذلك المعدن ذو اللون الفضي الذي ينتج خليطاً معدنياً صلباً قابلاً للصب عند اضافته الى النحاس »

لقد كانت الردود على هذه الاراء المقترحة متباينة . وفي الواقع أن من الصعب التعليق على عمل ايتون ومكاريل لسببين رئيسيين :

١ . ان الجداول المختلفة التي يقدمها الكاتبان تتضمن البيانات الاحصائية فقط . وليس المعلومات الكاملة حول المواد التي جرى تحليلها . وأين . ومن أي محتوى أثري جاءت .
٢ . انهما يستعملان تصنيفات جغرافية واثارية خاصة تعتبر واسعة جداً بحيث أن الارقام المقدمة لايمكن أن تربط بالمجموعات الادق التي يمكن تثبيتها على اساس موادنا النصية .

ولعل الادلة من العهد البابلي القديم توفر افضل توضيح لهذه المشكلة : في حين أن ايتون ومكاريل يتحدثان عن « وسط الاناضول » ويشيران الى سبعة مواقع مختلفة باعتبارها مصادر للنماذج التي قاما بتحليلها . وفي حين أنهما يستعملان مصطلحات زمنية واسعة مثل « العصر البرونزي المبكر » . المحدد بالفترة ٣٠٠٠–٢٢٠٠ ق.م. و « العصر البرونزي المتوسط » المحدد بالفترة ٢٢٠٠–١٦٠٠ ق.م. فان النصوص المتوفرة التي تلقي الضوء على التجارة بـ (اناكوم) تشير الى منطقة جغرافية محددة وخاصة في فترة قصيرة جداً من الزمن . ولابد من مقارنة مائة او مائتين من النماذج من فترة ٦٠٠ سنة مع النصوص التي تشير الى خمسين سنـة . ولابد أن أؤكد هذه النقطة بقوة اذ ليست لدينا أية طريقة لمعرفة ماذا كانت التجارة بـ (اناكوم) المؤيدة بالوثائق من كولتبه . لها تاريخ اطول بكثير أي ما اذا كانت قائمة قبل وربما بعد الفترة التي تغطيها نصوصنا .

ان هذا يظهر بعض المخاطر المتضمنة في محاولة مقارنة البيانات النصية مع مثل هذه التحليلات . ويبدو لي أن عمل ايتون ومكاريل البارع والدال على الحرص عديم القيمة من الناحية العملية في الاقل بالشكل المتوفر به الان . ولابد أن نصر على أن تحليلات من هذا النوع . يجب أن تستند الى مجموعات من الاسئلة والمسائل القائمة على اساس النصوص والمجموعات التي نستطيع تثبيتها . استنادا الى فهمنا لها .

أن هذا لايعني أن استنتاجاتهما مغلوطة ووجود عدد كبير من الاشياء المصنوعة من النحاس الزرنيخي يتطلب اهتمامنا بالتأكيد . والحقيقة أن موهلي في الملحق الذي كتبه للبحث الاساسي عن النحاس والقصدير اعترف بان كلمة (سيبارو) التي تترجم « برونز » دائماً قد تعني البرونز القصديري وخليط النحاس الزرنيخي . ومن ناحية اخرى فانه يرى فيما يبدو أن (اناكوم) كانت تعني القصدير فقط .

ولابد أن نتذكر أن التحليلات كشفت أن البرونز القصديري والنحاس الزرنيخي وجدا بكميات متساوية تقريباً في عدد من الاماكن في الشرق الاوسط . ولذا فاننا مانزال في الحقيقة نواجه نفس المشكلة الدائمة بالضبط . وهي من اين جـاء القصدير؟ فبالرغم من أنه ليس كل أنواع البرونز كانت سبائك من النحاس والقصدير فان نسبة كبيرة منها كانت كذلك .

ان تفسير كلمة (اناكوم) باعتبارها « قصدير » يثير مشاكل مالم يكن بالامكان ايجاد أي مصدر محتمل لهذا المعدن . ومن الواضح لجميع من درسوا الادلة من العهد الاشوري القديم والعهد البابلي القديم أن (اناكوم) كان يرد الى بلاد الرافدين من الشرق .

ان احد التفسيرات مايلي : يوجد القصدير في جداول بعد تعريته من العروق في صخور الصوان مثل الذهب . واستناداً الى موهلي فقد كانت الطريقة الوحيدة التي كان يتم بها الحصول على القصدير قبل العهد الروماني . ان مثل تلك المكامن يمكن ان تكون قد استنفدت خلال عملية مكثفة لعدد من السنين . وهناك احتمال قليل جداً ان يعاد اكتشافها من قبل الجيولوجيين الآن . ان العروق في صخور الصوان لاتزال موجودة هناك . ولكن المناطق المعنية (زاكروس) لم يتم التحري عنها بشكل جيد بحيث ان عدداً من مصادر القصدير لايمكن ان تكون قد افلتت من الاكتشاف بسهولة .

انني عاجز عن تقدير صحة هذا التفسير . وكما قد تتذكرون فقد حاول كالمير ان يفسر « الاوعية » الغريبة التي عثر عليها في قبر من العهد الاشوري القديم فـي مدينة اشور باعتبارها الاداة المستعملة لفصل القصدير من الجداول . ومن الشكوك التي تدور حول هذا النموذج . هو ان النصوص من العهد البابلي القديم تبين فيمـا يبدو ان (اناكوم) كان يتدفق على اشور بصورة مستمرة . وقد يشك فيما اذا كانت حالة وجود عدد من مناطق الانتاج الصغيرة توفر اطاراً محتملاً للتجارة الاشورية .

لقد قدم علماء الاشوريات الروس تفسيراً مختلفاً . على اساس اللقى التي عثر عليها الجيولوجيون الروس في افغانستان لم استطع الحصول على التقرير الجيولوجي الذي نشر قبل بضعة أعوام ولكن معلومات الاستاذ دياكونوف هي انه كانت هناك كميات « هائلة » من القصدير . وان عمليات الاستخراج قد نظمت في مناجـــم حقيقية وهذا يعني ان خام صخور الصوان هو الذي استعمل . وقد اغلقت الزلازل تلك المناجم قبل مئات السنين واكتشفت صدفة . ويبدو ان اي اثاري لم يشاهـد تلك المناجم . ولم تتم دراسة الفخار الذي عثر عليه الجيولوجيون لحد الآن .

قد تعتبر طريقة الاستخراج من صخور الصوان دليلاً ضد تحديد تأريخ مبكر جداً لمناجم القصدير تلك . وبعكس ذلك لا اجد سبباً لرفض احتمال ان القصدير ربما جاء من مكان بعيد جداً . مثل افغانستان . ان فقدان الادلة على وجود اتصال حضاري مباشر بين هذه المناطق المعينة يجب الا يقف عقبة امامنا . اذ ان معظـم العلماء يتفقون على ان القصدير الذي استعمل في العهد الاشوري الحديث جلبه التجار الفينيقيون من اسبانيا . ولا توجد لحد علمي ادلة على صلات حضارية بين بلاد اشور واسبانيا في تلك الفترة .

يجب أن نأمل انه سوف يتم حل تلك المشاكل في المستقبل غير البعيد جداً . ولا داعي لمحاولة اثبات احد الاحتمالين اوالآخر مادام احد لم يبحث الادلة الاثارية من افغانستان .

هناك مشكلة اخرى هي اصل خام النحاس الزرنيخي الذي لابد انه خلط مع النحاس النقي لانتاج الاشياء المصنوعة من النحاس الزرنيخي التي حللها مكاريل . انني ادرك انه يوجد بعض التناقض حول النتائج التي توصل اليها وقد اعلمنـــي الدكتور جون كورتيس من المتحف البريطاني ان اعادة تحليل بعض الاشياء التي سبق ان حللها مكاريل اشارت الى وجود فروق في ثلاثين بالمائة على الاقـل مـن الحالات . وقد حذر موهلي في عدة كتابات من الاعتقاد الساذج . بعدم امكانية وقوع العلوم الطبيعية في اخطاء وذكرنا بحقيقة ان المختبرات المختلفة كثيراً ما تحصل على نتائج متباينة جداً . بحيث ان الاستنتاج هو انها لايمكن ان تستخدم لاغراض التحليل المقارن .

ومع ذلك فأننا لانستطيع ان نسمح لأنفسنا بالتطرف . وأن ننسى النحاس الزرنيخي . ان التحليلات الموجودة لدينا حالياً تظهر استعمالاً واسع الأنتشار لهذا الخليط المعدني في الشرق الأدنى .

لقد ذكر مكاريل ان مكامن كبيرة من النحاس ذات المحتوى الزرنيخي العالي (لحد ٢ بالمائة) يمكن العثور عليها في جنوب شرق تركيا في جبال طوروس .لكنني لم أجد مايؤيد هذا الأدعاء ولكن وجود مثل تلك المكامن - يبقى احتمالاً قائماً.

النقطة الأخيرة التي أود بحثها في هذه القائمة من الأسئلة المحزنة التـــي ليست لها اجابات اولها اجابات كثيرة جدا هي حقيقة ان المعدن (اناكوم) يلعب دوراً واضحاً وغريباً جداً في النصف الثاني من الألف الثاني . وكما يذكر موهلي : ان الأشارات الكثيرة الى القصدير في النصوص التي تعود الى عهود تالية من بلاد الرافدين تبعث على الارباك أكثر من إي شيء آخر ويذكر ان قروض القصدير والكميات الضخمة من القصدير كجزية من شمال سوريا والأناضول . التي تعود الى العهد الاشوري المتوسط والحديث . العامل الاخر الذي يدعو للارباك والذي لم يذكره هو السعر الواطيء جداً لـ (اناكوم) في الألف الثاني . وقد اوضح ذلك هيلتزر في كتابه الجديد الذي يحمل عنوان « البضائع والاسعار وتنظيم التجارة في اوغاريت »

يرى هيلتزر ان ترجمة (اناكوم) بمعنى (قصدير) ويقبل أيضاً تحديد زاكا كنيني لمصطلح (برر) الأوغاريتي بمعنى (قصدير) . يوجد هذا المعدن في اوغـــاريت ونوزي في النصوص من النصف الثاني للألف الثاني . حيث يبدو أنه كان رخيصاً بشكل يبعث على الأستغراب .

ان الاسعار التي يذكرها هيلتزر تبين ان سعر تبادل الفضة والقصدير يبلـغ ١/٢٠٠/ أوحتى ١/٥٠٠/ وهذا يعني ان القصدير تلك الفترة وفي تلك الاماكن كانت له نفس قيمة النحاس . وهذا يبعث على الدهشة حقاً عندما نقارن مع الارقام من النصوص التي تعود الى العهد الاشوري القديم والعهد البابلي القديم حيث كان سعر التبادل ١ /١٥/ بينما كان النحاس يباع باسعار تبلغ ١/١٠٠/ و ١/٢٤٠.

ولـذا فان استنتاج هيلتزر هو من مصادر جديدة للقصدير قد توفرت لشعوب الشرق الادنى في الفترة بين القرن الثامن عشر والقرن الثالث عشر قبل الميلاد . ويريد تحديد تلك المصادر الجديدة في المناطق التي من المعروف ان القصدير فيها هو بالسعر الارخص . اي المناطق بين بحيرتي فان واورميا . وتؤيد ذلك كما يبدو الاشارات في نص من تل الرماح الى (اناكوم) من بلاد نايري. ولـكن لابد ان اقول : ان هذا الاستنتاج يبدو محفوفا بالشكوك . اذ ان الاسعار المعروفة من اوغاريت وخاصة من نوزي تبدو غير مؤكدة التفسير. واذا كان مصدر جديد للقصدير قد اكتشف حقاً ربما يفكر المرء بمناجم القصدير المصرية التي كرر موهلي ذكرها .

وعلى اية حال . قد يمكن اقتراح حل مختلف . وهو ان المعدن قيد البحث ربما كان جزئيـاً على الاقل نحاساً زرنيخياً . وتحديد موقع مصادر كبيرة من هـذا الخام في طوروس كما اقترح مكاريل ينطبق مع الاشارة الى (اناكوم) من بـلاد نايري بصورة جيدة ويسهل فهم وفرة هذا المعدن في الازمنة الاشورية المتوسطة . ولـكن السعر المنخفض يبقى امراً غامضاً ولا يكاد يمكن تطبيقه على المواد من المنطقة الاشورية نفسها .

ان طريقة تمحيص مثل هذه الفرضية هي بالطبع اجراء عدد كبير من التحليلات للمواد البرونزية من العهد الاشوري المتوسط . ان مثل هذه التحليلات يجب ان تكون ممكنة ولكنها لم تنفذ . وفي مطبوع جديد لـ (مكاريل) نشر سلسلة مـن التحليلات ثلاثة منها من بلاد اشور (رغم انها ليست من مدينة اشور كما يذكر) ولا يحتوي اي منها القصدير او الزرنيخ .

انني اعرض هذا الاقتراح . ليس لانني مقتنع ان له ميزة كبيرة بل لـكـــي أشير الى حقل جيد لتطبيق مايسمى بالتحليلات « العلمية » .

المدن الفينيقية والامبراطورية الاشورية في عهد سرجون الثاني

الدكتورة جوسيت ايلاي

تولى سرجون الثاني العرش في عام ٧٢١ ق. م. في آشور. حيث أقام في بداية حكمه. ثم حول مقره الى كالح ونينوى وأخيراً دورشروكين (خورسباد). أي أبتعد أكثر فأكثر الى الشمال ربما بسبب انشغاله بمشاكل حدوده الشمالية والشرقية ولكنه بقي يهتم اهتماماً شخصياً بالعاصمة القديمة آشور. وهنا سنتناول سياسة سرجون في المدن الفينيقية [1]

لم تكن بلاد فينيقيا آنذاك وحدة جغرافية اوسياسية. بل كيانات متجاورة شبه مستقلة ذاتياً ودول مدن ساحلية لها نفس الحضارة والمصالح والتنظيم السياسي. ولكن كتّاب سرجون لم يميزوا بين المدن الساحلية والداخلية ماعدا النص الذي يذكرون فيه «ملوك الساحل البحري [2] » وفي معظم السجلات الآشورية يعتبر الفينيقيون بأنهم «هاتي» وهو مصطلح لتسمية شعوب غرب البحر المتوسط. ومنذ الحملة الاولى لتيكلاث – بيلصر الأول في حوالي عام ١١٠٠ ق. م. وحتى تيكلاث – بيلصر الثالث العرش في سنة ٧٤٥ ق. م. حافظت المدن الفينيقية على استقلالها الذاتي بدفعها الجزية أحياناً. الى الملوك الآشوريين (مثلا تيكلاث – بيلصر الاول وآشورناصر بال الثاني وشلمنصر الثالث واداد نيراري الثالث) [3]. ولكن تيكلاث – بيلصر الثالث بدأ سياسة جديدة بضم الأقاليم حيث وحدت المدن الفينيقية في أقليم كان بحكمه واحد اوأكثر من الحكام الآشوريين. عدا المدن الرئيسة التي يبدو أنها احتفظت بحكامها (صيدا بالتأكيد وربما بيبلوس وارزاد أيضاً) [4] ولدى تولي سرجون العرش قرر التوسع في الفتوحات. وكان عليه أن يواجه في كل اتجاه قوى كبيرة تعادل قوته وراحت تتآمر مع الممالك التي تدفع الجزية في مناطق الحدود الآشورية. وكانت تمثل خطراً مستمراً بالنسبة للحكام الآشوريين في المناطق المجاورة. ولذا حاول سرجون أخضاع القوى المستقلة وتحويل الممالك القبلية الى أقاليم اشورية. لم يواجه صعوبات كبيرة في منطقة الحدود الغربية بالمقارنة مع مالقيه على حدوده الشمالية والشرقية الحافلة بالمشاكل [5]. بحيث أن معظم جهوده العسكرية كرست لتلك الحدود. وكانت المشكلة الخطيرة الوحيدة المتعلقة بالحدود الغربية هي مكائد مصر التي كان نفوذها كبيراً على ساحل البحر المتوسط وخاصة المدن الفينيقية.

ونظراً للأهمية الثانوية للعلاقات بين امبراطورية سرجون والمدن الفينيقية في سياسته. فأنها تذكربأختصارفي نصوص سرجون. وعلى اية حال سوف نبحث كافة الوثائق المتوفرة.

تتناول الوثيقة الأولى تمرد صيميرا أضطر سرجون في السنة الثانية من حكمه (٧٢٠ ق. م.) لمواجهة تحالف شكله أيوبيدي ملك هماث وصيميرا وعدة مدن أخرى وكانت تدعمه مصر [6]. كانت صيميرا مدينة فينيقية تقع على ساحل البحر جنوب جزيرة ارواد. وتعرف الآن بتل كازل [7] كانت صيميرا على خلاف ارواد المجاورة لها قد حولت الى اقليم آشوري في عهد تيكلاث – بيلصر الثالث في عام ٧٣٤ ق. م. وربما كانت حدود هذا الأقليم جبال سانا (زاوي) وجبل عكار في الشرق وربما أقليم بيبلوس في الجنوب [8]. وعين شلمنصر (الذي تولى العرش فيما بعد بأسم شلمنصر الخامس) حاكماً لصيميرا. ويحتمل أنه كان يوجد أكثر من حاكم آشوري واحد لهذا الأقليم. كما تشير الى ذلك سجلات تيكلاث- بيلصر «... هاتاريكا .... باب (لوس) . صيميرا. ارقا. زيمارا. ... اوزنو. (سيانو). ربرابا. ريسيو... مدن ... البحر الأعلى اخضعتها لحكمي [9] وعينت ستة موظفين حكاماً عليها ... ولاتزودنا الكتابات بأية معلومات حول ظروف انظمام أقليم صيميرا الى التمرد. وربما كانت تشعر بالحسد لأستقلال ارواد المجاورة. ونحن لانعرف ماذا كان حاكم صيميرا الآشوري قد اشترك في المؤامرة ولكن لوكان الحال كذلك لسجل العقاب السريع بالتأكيد. ولذا نعتقد ان التمرد اقتصر على السكان التابعين. ويشير الكتبة دائماًالى مسؤولية أيوبيدي بأعتباره المحرض علي ذلك التحالف: «سبب ايوبيدي تحالف مدن اربادا وصيميرا ضدي ووحدها وأعدها للمعركة [10]. قابل سرجون الحلفاء في قرقر حيث أدى النصر الساحق الى اسرايوبيدي وأخضاع هماث التي حولت الى أقليم آشوري ثم زحف على المدن المتمردة التي عاملها بقسوة: «في وسط تلك المدن وذبح المتمردين وثبت الأنسجام» [11] كانت صيميرا ماتزال عاصمة شمال فينيقيا تحت حكم اسرحدون [12]. ولكنها لم تعد مدينة قوية والأرجح أنها أدمجت بأقليم ارواد تحت الحكم الاخميني [13]. ولم تزد التنقيبات في تل كازل حتى الآن معرفتنا بهذه المدينة [14]

كان العمل الثاني لسرجون ضد المدن الفينيقية اخضاع سبعة من ملوك اياتنانا (قبرص) . كان الفينيقيون قد أسسوا طيلة قرن واحد او أكثر مستوطنات في قبرص مثل كيتيون ولابيثوس ونارناكا [١٥] .

ولانعرف على وجه التأكيد ماإذا كان هناك فينيقيون بين الملوك الذين اخضعهم سرجون ولكن لايوجد سبب للشك في ذلك . وقد ذكر أحياناً أنه لم يكن لكيتيون ملك لانها كانت مستعمرة تابعة لصور . ولذا لايمكن ان تعود لتلك القائمة ولكن كتابة من القرن الرابع قبل الميلاد تبين أنه كان لكيتيون ملك محلي وحاكم من صور [١٦] . كما ان مسلة قبرص التي تعود الى سرجون التي عثر عليها في عام ١٨٤٥ والموجودة الآن في برلين . نصبت في كيتيون اوفي ضواحيها في رأي معظم العلماء [١٧] . وكان سرجون اول ملك آشوري يخضع ملوك قبرص استناداً الى المسلة : « [وسبعة ملوك] من ايا . اقليم في اياتنانا . . . . اسم بلدهم [منذ] الأيام الغابرة لزمن اله القمر . لم يسمع أحد من الملوك ابائي الذين عاشوا قبلي به . . . » [١٨] ان من المستحيل تحديد أول مرة فرض فيها سرجون الجزية عليهم. يتكرر ذكر هذا الحدث في السجلات الآشورية ولكن بأختصار [١٩] . ماعدا في الحوليات التي أتلفت لسوء الحظ عند هذه النقطة ويبدو أن النص الذي يتناول الحملة ضد قبرص يشير الى جزية كانت ترسل سابقاً الى سرجون من قبل الملوك القبارصة [٢٠] . وأستناداً الى كتابة العرض ومسلة قبرص فقد استسلم الملوك القبارصة . لأنهم شعروا بالخوف من فتوحات سرجون في كالديا وبلادهاتي . ولما كانت تلك الأنتصارات قد تمت في حوالي بداية حكمه [٢١] فلايمكن استنتاج شيء بالنسبة لتحديد التاريخ . وعلى أية حال فمن الواضح ان سرجون أراد السيطرة على التجارة الفينيقية التي كانت طرقها الرئيسية ، تربط المدن الفينيقية الداخلية مع المدن في قبرص . ومن المقطع أعلاه من الحوليات نعلم ان سرجون قام بحملة ضد ملك قبرصي (اومدينة قبرصية ؟) لرفض دفع الجزية وربما تمت الحملة في عام ٧٠٩ ق . م. وربما يعود تاريخ المسلة الى عام ٧٠٩ او٧٠٨ أو٧٠٧ ق. م. أي في زمن الحملة التأديبية [٢٣] . وبالنسبة لقبرص اضطر سرجون الى استعمال اسطول في الأقل لنقل جنوده أثناء حملة ٧٠٩ . ولأول مرة في تاريخ بلاد آشور استخدم ملك اشوري اسطولاً لغرض عسكري .وربما كان أسطولاً فينيقياً أو سيليسيا لأن سيليسيا حولت الى اقليم آشوري في ٧١٥ أو٧١٣ ق. م. [٢٤] وعلى أية حال ليس من المستغرب ، ان المدن الفينيقية المستقلة سياسياً والمتنافسة أحياناً قبلت مساعدة الآشوريين في حملتهم ضد المدن القبرصية (حتى لوكان بعضها فينيقياً) .

لا بد ان نؤكد ان اخضاع سرجون لملوك قبرص حدث مهم في تاريخ بلاد فينيقيا . وطبيعي أن المدن القبرصية احتفظت بملوكها المحليين . بل ليس من المؤكد مرابطة القوات الاشورية في الجزيرة لأن سرجون اضطر لارسال قواته بالسفن عندما وقعت بعض المشاكل . ولكن كان على المدن القبرصية ان تدفع جزية باهظة واصبحت معظم الموانيء التي كانت لهم معها تجارة مزدهرة تحت الحكم الآشوري ولكن الضحية الرئيسة كانت مدينة صور بلا شك .

ان الوثائق التي تتناول العلاقات بين سرجون وهذه المدينة ليست واضحة تماما وقد أصبحت صور اقوى المدن الفينيقية لتحويل دمشق الى اقليم اشوري . وبالاضافة الى اراضيها كان اقليما صيدا وكيتيون جزأين من امبراطورية صور التي كانت تحتاج الى قاعدة كيتيون في قبرص لضمان الطرق البحرية الى مستعمراتها . كانت انذاك مملكة تدفع الجزية حكم ملكها لولي (اي - لولايبوس) من ٧٢٩ الى ٧٠١ ق . م (او ٦٩٤ ق . م ؟) [٢٥] والارجح ان لولي كان احد « ملوك الساحل البحري » المذكورين في الحوليات الذين كانوا يدفعون الجزية الى سرجون [٢٦] وتذكر احدى رسائل نمرود التي يرجح انها تعود الى حكم سرجون ضريبة دفعتها صيدا [٢٧] . ونعرف من رسائل نمرود [٢٨] أيضاً ان حاكماً آشورياً هو كوردي - إشور - لامور أقام مع وحدة شرطة خاصة (قوات ايثوا) في مكان ما في أقليم صور . ربما في أوشو لفرض السيطرة على تجارة خشب الارز . وقد خول ليت في ظروف معينة بدون الحصول على موافقة مسبقة من ملكة . وكان يعطي الأوامر الى مسؤول اشوري اقل مرتبة ربما كان يقيم في صيدا . وكان مراسل خاص (نابورشيزيب) يحمل اليه الرسائل من ملك صور وكانت اللغة الرسمية هي الارامية . وتبين السجلات ان سرجون كان مهتماً بصورة رئيسية بخشب الارز الذي أستعمل في بناء قصره في خورسباد (خشب الأرز من جبل لبنان وجبل أمانوس) [٢٩] وفرض الحاكم الاشوري ضريبة على الاشخاص الذين كانوا ينقلون الخشب . وأستناداً الى منحوتات خورسباد يمكن القول أن كتل اشجار الارز كانت تنقل بحراً من صور الى ارواد [٣٠] ومنها كانت ترسل الى عاصمة سرجون الجديدة ربما سوية مع خشب الارز من امانوس .

رغم ان الحاكم الاشوري لم يكن مقيماً في الجزيرة . فان سكان صور كانوا يخضعون لسيطرة محكمة . فمثلاً لم يكن الحاكم يسمح لهم ببيع اشجار الأرز الى غير الآشوريين : « وبخلاف ذلك لن اعطيكم حريتكم (و) لن تذهبوا الى الجبل » [٣١] واذا لم يكن تاريخ رسائل نمرود التي كتبها كوردي - اشور - لامور خاطئاً [٣٢] فيبدو ان صور التي كانت تدرك مدى قوتها لم تتحمل حكم سرجون بسهولة . ورغم ان تلك الكتابات مهشمة نستطيع ان نلاحظ ان الحاكم الاشوري واجه بعض الصعوبات بالنسبة للعبيد الذين هربوا وقيام شخص من صيدا بقطع مجرى ماء وهجمة قام بها الأيونيون (القراصنة ؟) وربما عصيان (؟) ولكن حدث أمر أخطر يظهر أنه عداء سكان صور للحكم الآشوري . ونقرأ في الرسالة الثانية عشر [٣٤] ان سكان صور وصيدا هاجموا وقتلوا جامعي الضرائب الاشوريين بحيث ان القوات الاشورية اضطرت لاخضاعهم . وقد زاد عداء صور للحكم الاشوري عندما سيطر سرجون على كيتيون . ولم يقبل لولي ذلك بالطبع والارجح انه تصرف على الفور (اي بعد عام ٧٠٩ ق . م) لغرض اعادة الاستيلاء على كيتيون . ويمكن بالتالي الافتراض ان نص جوزيفوس المشوه تناول عمل لولي : « عندما ثار سكان كيتيون ركب البحر واخضعهم » [٣٥] وبسبب عمل لولي في قبرص غزا سرجون فينيقيا . واستسلمت له كافة المدن الفينيقية ما عدا جزيرة صور . واستخدم سرجون الاساطيل الفينيقية الاخرى في شن معركة ضد لولي وخسرها ثم تراجع ووضع الحراس على النهر والقنوات لمنع سكان صور من سحب المياه والحقيقة ان ذلك الحصار الذي دام خمسة اعوام لم يكن حصاراً حقيقياً . لانه كان لدى سكان صور ابار وخزانات وربما كان بوسعهم جلب الماء بزوارقهم التي لا تبدو انها كانت مشمولة بالحصار . هذا الحدث مذكور فقط في اربع اسطوانات عثر عليها في خورسباد وربما يعود تاريخها الى ٧٠٦ ق . م [٣٦]

اي انها كانت اخر الكتاب من حكم سرجون [٣٦] . ولا تذكر الحوليات هذا الحدث لانها لاتشمل السنوات الاخيرة من حكمه . ان فشل حملة سرجون ضد صور يفسر الحملة التأديبية التي شنها سنحاريب ضد لولي في ٧٠١ ق . م والتي يرد ذكرها في نصوص سنحاريب . يبدو هذا الافتراض الجديد الاكثر منطقية لانه مؤيد بكافة الوثائق الكسرية المتوفرة والتي تتناول هذه الاحداث

وباختصار لم يغير سحق تمرد صيميرا من وضعها . ولكن يبدو انه ادى الى تقليل رفاهيتها . ان اخضاع سبعة ملوك قبارصة يعني انه منذ ذلك الحين . واضطرت المدن الفينيقية للقيامَ بالتجارة تحت الاشراف الاشوري . وقد تحمل سكان صور تلك السيطرة نوعاً ما حتى حوالي نهاية القرن الثامن قبل الميلاد عندما تمردوا واستعادوا كيتيون مما ادى الى حملة سرجون الفاشلة ثم الحملة الظافرة لسنحاريب وتقسيم امبراطورية صور . ولكن طالما كانت المدن الفينيقية تقبل حكم سرجون . لم يكن هناك سبب يدعوه لمضايقة التجارة الفينيقية بل على العكس من ذلك فقد حاول حمايتها لانه كان بمقدوره تقدير المنتجات والصناعة اليدوية الفينيقية كما نستنتج من وثائق كثيرة[٣٧] .

كما نشير الى حملته الاخيرة ضد الكيمريين في عام ٧٠٥ ق . م[٣٨] . التي ادت الى ان يفقد حياته . اذ يبدو ان المدن الفينيقية على الاقل ان لم يكن غرب آسيا كلها مدينة لخلاصها من الغزو الى هذه الحملة .

الهوامش :

1. S. Moscati, *Lepopee des Pheniciens* (Paris, 1969), pp. 36 - 47
   J. Elayi. L,essor de la Phenicie et le passage de la do domination assyro - babylonienne a la domination peres. *BaghdaderMitteilungen* (1978): 33 36 (with reference).
2. D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient records of Assyria and Babylonia* . vol. 2 (Chicago, 1924), p. 7, 9 18 (Annals).
3. *CAH*, vol. 3, pp. 43 – 60
4. According to Moscati, op, cit., p. 41
5. For Sargon's campaigns on Cilicia, cf. J. Elayi - A. Cavigneaux. " Sargon II et les Ioniens", *OA* 18 (1978): 59 - 75
6. *CAH*, vol. 3, pp. 56 – 57; Elayi, loc. cit.: 32
7. M. Dunand – N. Saliby, "A la recherche de Simyra", *AAS* 7 (1957) : 3 – 16; M. Dunand – A. Bouni – N. Saliby " Fouilles de Tell Kazel . Rapport preliminaire" *AAS* 14 (1964) : 3 – 14# J.p. Rey – Coquais Arados et sa perce (Paris, 1974), pp. 101 – 104
8. According to Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung: des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1920), pp. 56 - 57
9. J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the* Old Testament (Princeton, 1955), p. 283
10. Luckenbill, op. cit., pp. 27, 9 55 (Display Inscription); 3, 9 5 (Annals): 70, 9 70 (Assur charter).
11. Ibid., p. 27, 9 55 (Display Inscription).
12. Elayi, loc. cit.

١٣–٢٤ :– مراجع تلاحظ في النص الأجنبي رجاءاً .
٢٥–٣١ مراجع ومصادر تلاحظ في النص الأجنبي رجاءاً .
في هذا المجلد من مجلتنا سومر ص ١٢٩

٣٢– استناداً الى ١ Saggs (loc. cit : 126 ff.) تعزى الرسائل الأثنتا عشرة الى الفترة بين النصف الأخير من حكم تيكلاث – بيلصر الثالث والنصف الأول من حكم سرجون . والأرجح أن الرسائل التي كتبها كوردي - آشور – لأمور تعزى الى حكم سرجون .
Cf. H. Tadmor, "The Campaign of Sargon II of Assur . *JUS* 12 I 1958 I: 94).

33. Saggs, loc.cit. : 130 131 (Letter XIII): H.W. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952 POrt VI, *Iraq* 25 (1963) : 76 ff. (letter LXIX).
34. Saggs, *Iraq* 17: 127 - 130.
35. Josephus, *Ant. J.*, IX, 283 287 (Quoting Alexander Polyhistor, who quotes Menander, who translates the Annals of Tyre).

للاطلاع على مناقشة النظريات المختلفة حول هذا الموضوع قارن مع
Elayi - Cavigneaux, loc. cit: 66 67
(بأختصار فان حصار الخمس سنوات الفاشل لصور الذي يتحدث عنه جوزيفوس . لايمكن أن يعزى الى حكم شلمنصر الخامس لأنه حكم ٥ سنوات فقط وحارب ٣ سنوات في فلسطين . كما لايمكن أن يعزى الى بداية حكم سرجون والألكان قد ذكر في الجزء الأول من الحوليات. وعلى أية حال فأن هذا الملك النشيط لم يكن ليقبل ان يبدأ حكمه بمثل ذلك الفشل . بدون ان يرد بقوة . كما لايمكن ان يعزى الى حكم سنحاريب لأن حملته ضد لولي وصفت بدقة في نصوصه ومن الواضح أنه نجح في الأستيلاء على صور .)

٣٦–٣٨ مراجع ومصادر تلاحظ في النص الأجنبي رجاءاً .

مقترحات حول وضع خارطة عامة لآشور

ديتريش سورنهاكن

قبل سنوات قليلة استأنف الدكتور طارق مظلوم التنقيب في آشور باسم المؤسسة العامة للآثاروالتراث . بعد توقف دام ٦٦ عاماً .

أننا نعرف مدى صعوبة البدء مجدداً بالعمل في موقع سبق التنقيب فيه . وقد وجدنا أن الدكتور مظلوم قادر على تولي هذه المهمة . ولكن تحقيق ذلك بصورة ناجحة يتطلب بالطبع شروطاً مسبقة معينة . واحدها هو تكوين فكرة كاملة قدر الامكان عن نتائج العمل السابق . وفي هذه الحالة هي النتائج التي توصل اليها اندريه ومساعدوه بين عامي ١٩٠٣ و١٩١٣ وبقدر علمي لاتوجد عملية تنقيب واحدة نشرت نتائجها كاملة بل على العكس ففي حالات كثيرة يلاحظ المرء النقص المؤسف في التوثيق . ولكن هذا لاينطبق على آشور . وذلك بفضل اندريه الذي كرس نفسه واهتمامه الشديد بمسؤولياته المتعلقة بالنشر في وقت جعلت الظروف ذلك صعباً . وهذا ما يجب أن نتذكره اذا وجدت هنا وهنالك نواقص تجتذب ليوم النقد السلبي . وبدلاً من ذلك يجب أن نحاول سد أية ثغرات أن امكن على اساس السجلات المتوفرة عن التنقيبات .

ان هذا يقودني الى موضوع حديثي الذي ساحاول فيه ملء أحدى الفجوات في التوثيق اوبالأحرى الاشارة الى طريقة لمعالجة هذه المسألة . وآمل أن استطيع بهذه الطريقة تقديم مساهمة بسيطة من أجل المزيد من الجهود المستمرة في اشور . ولنبدأ بنظرة سريعة الى اعمال المسح في آشور أثناء فترة وجود اندريه .

جرى مسح موقع اشور بصورة رئيسية في شتاء ١٩٠٣ ١٩٠٤ وتولاه اندريه و ج . جوردان واي . هيرزفيلد . كان الاسلوب بسيطاً جداً . وحسب المرحلة الفنية لادوات المسح المعاصرة انذاك . ولا يكاد بوسع المرء ان يفترض انه كانت تتوفر مزولة او جهاز لقياس المناسب من النوع المستعمل اليوم . ومع ذلك يمكن تثبيت ثلاث حقائق مهمة :

- اتجاه الشمال باستعمال البوصلة
- المسافة باستعمال تلسكوب مسح الابعاد وشريط القياس .
- الارتفاع باستعمال الجهاز المسمى بالالمانية Buthenschon sche Libelle

ان الخارطة الكونتورية لآشور التي اعدت بهذه الطريقة لم تنشر بهذا التكسل ومنه نعرض قسم شمال غرب آشور هنا وهي توضح الاساليب المطبقة . اولاً خطط مضلع في المنطقة السفلية خارج منطقة الآثار . وعلى هذا الأساس تثبت المسافات من النقاط الثابتة الى نقاط محددة ضمن منطقة الاثار بالتثليث حتى اصبحت الشبكة متقاربة بشكل يكفي لقياس المسافات التفصيلية باستعمال شريط القياس . وهكذا تم وضع الخارطة الكونتورية لآشور وهي اساس خرائط الموقع العامة كافة فيما بعد .

كانت الخطوة الثانية نصب شبكة موحدة . متجهة نحو الشمال لتجري التنقيبات ضمنها . وقد اختار اندريه شبكة مقسمة الى مربعات طول ضلع الواحد منها ١٠٠ متر . وقد اشير الى هذه المربعات بالحروف ٠٠٠ ر٢ .a, b في اتجاه المحور الشمالي الشرقي و .....1, 2, 3 في اتجاه محور الشمال – الجنوب . وأثناء التنقيبات نشأت الحاجة لتمديد الشبكة نحو الغرب واشير الى المربعات الاضافية بـ ..... aa, bb, cc. على محور الشرق – الغرب . أن مثل هذه التسميات التي تناقض من حيث المبدأ النظام الذي اختير اصلاً يجب تبنيها لامحالة حيث لم تعتبر الشبكة كنظام احداثيات تتألف من عدد غير محدود من النقاط بل كمنظومة من المسافات المحدودة . وفي هذه الحالة توجد فقط امكانيات محدودة لتمديد الشبكة مع استمرار توافقها مع نظام الرموز المستعمل . ومع ذلك يبدوأن هذا الاسلوب قد انتشر ويستعمل اليوم في كثير من التنقيبات .

لغرض تحقيق دقة اكثر في المسح قسم كل مربع قياس ١٠٠ متر الى ٢٥ مربعاً طول ضلع الواحد ٢٠ متراً . وقد اشير اليها بالحروف A - E على طول محور الغرب – الشرق والارقام الرومانية I - V في محور الشمال – الجنوب . وهكذا فان التسمية الكاملة للمربع هي مثلاً aB3V أي أنه مربع طول ضلعه ٢٠ م يبعد ٢٠–٤٠ م من الغرب و ٨٠–١٠٠ م من الحدود الشمالية من مربع المائة متر الرئيسي a3 .

بالنظر لهذا العمل الذي انجزه اندريه ومساعدوه قد يتوقع المرء في الاقل في أحد المطبوعات النهائية نشر خارطة عامة لآشور تبين الخطوط الكونتورية والنقاط المثبتة والشبكة (وبضمنها المربعات التي يبلغ طول ضلعها ٢٠ م) بجانب النتائج العمارية للتنقيبات . وتكون مقياساً يستطيع أن يتأكد من كل مصدر مذكور من المطبوعات النهائيه . ولتجنب التعقيدات يجب الاقتصار على البقايا العمارية من عهد سنحاريب التي يمكن اعتبارها وبشكل معقول ممثلة للمخطط بكامله . ولكن من الغريب أنه لاتوجد مثل هذه الخريطة .

مم تتألف الخرائط المنشورة لآشور اذن ؟ وكيف ترتبط بيعضها ؟ يمكن تميز مجموعتين :

١ . الخرائط العامة
٢ . الخرائط التفصيلية

١ . منذ نشر التقارير الأولية في MDOG اعيد نشر الخرائط العامة للمدينة بصورة كاملة او بشكل اجزاء وتظهر المقارنة انه قد اشير الى البقايا العمارية بشكل تخطيطي فقط على هذه الخرائط وتمثل في الغالب المرحلة التي تم الوصول اليها في التنقيبات . وتوجد خريطة عامة واحدة لاشور تظهر كافة نتائج التنقيب لحد سنة ١٩١٣ .

A. Haller, Graber und Grufte

ان عيوب هذه الخرائط واضحة . اذ أن المقياس كبير جداً . وموقع المباني تخطيطي وغير دقيق (بالاضافة الى عدم التكامل) وقد رسمت فيها شبكة المربعات التي يبلغ طول ضلعها ١٠٠ م فقط . وفي مثل تلك الظروف لايمكن تحديد مواقع اللقى الفردية والمجموعات بشكل دقيق .

٢ . يوجد نوعان من الخرائط المفصلة . احدها يضم رسوماً تفصيلية طابوقة فطابوقة قياس ١ : ٢٠٠ في الغالب يشمل ارتفاعات المواقع وتعيد عموماً عرض الخرائط الحقلية الأصلية . والنوع الآخر تخطيطات للمراحل المختلفة من المباني تستند الى الخرائط المفصلة طابوقة فطابوقة .

كمثال على هذه الخرائط التفصيلية لدي هنا منطقة «Obere Tor» شمال بوابة تابيرا . ولتمثيل الخرائط التخطيطية التفصيلية اخترت خريطة ال « Grosse Haus. » التي تقع الى الغرب من بوابة تابيرا وتتداخل بشكل جزء مع ال « بنتور» ال « بنغال » الاقدم .

من الخصائص المشتركة لكلتا الخريطتين فقدان خطوط الشبكة وعدم اتفاق المحور العمودي للخريطة مع الشمال . ولذا يستحيل على اساس المطبوعات وحدها ربط الخرائط التفصيلية بالخرائط العامة .

ان هذا يصبح اكثر خطورة عندما يثبت المرء انه لم تنشر الاكتشافات كافة في الخرائط المفصلة .

وينطبق هذا مثلاً على ال « Grosse Haus. » المذكور قبل قليل والتي اشرت بجانبه مجموعات اخرى من البيوت في الشمال الغربي كما نكتشف من نص المطبوع .

لقد نشر الجزء الجنوبي فقط من هذه المجموعات كخريطة مفصلة بينما نفتقد المجموعات الاخرى كافة . ولايمكن حتى اعادة التصور بشكل موثوق لدرجة معقولة لما كان يوجد في هذه الفجوة بين ال «Grosse Haus » وال « Obere Tor » لاننا كما قلنا لاتظهر الشبكة مع اشارات المربعات .

يمكن تحديد شرطين استنادا الى ماذكرنا :

١ . نشر الاكتشافات العمارية كافة في الخرائط التفصيلية آجرة فآجرة المتجهة نحو الشمال وذات الشبكة بمقياس ١ : ١٠٠ او ١ : ٢٠٠ والتي هي ثابتة على ايـة حال .

٢ . وضع خريطة عامة . ويفضل أن تكون بقياس ١ : ٥٠٠ مع خطوط كونتورية ونقاط ثابتة وشبكة (بضمنها المربعات التي يبلغ طول ضلعها ٢٠ م) تمثيل تخطيطي كامل قدر الامكان لفن العمارة في زمن سنحاريب كما اقترح سابقاً .

ان الشرط الاول لايكاد يمكن تحقيقه في المستقبل المنظور . لاسباب تتعلق بالوقت والاموال اللازمة . أما الشرط الثاني فانه مسألة اخرى . أن ضمن محفوظات جمعية الشرق الالمانية مسودات وثائقية تجعل اعداد خريطة عامة خلال فترة قصيرة نسبياً امراً ممكناً . وقد عرضنا مقتطفاً منها يبين الخطوط الكونتورية والنقاط الثابتة . ولكن توجد ايضاً خريطة عامة غير منشورة تبين البقايا العمارية الكاملة بشكل تخطيطي . لكنه دقيق بقدر ما امكنني التدقيق الموقعي .

قسمت هذه الخريطة الى مربعات طول ضلع الواحد منها ١٠٠ م ثم تنقسم الى مثلثات رغم أن ذلك ليست له صلة مباشرة فيما يبدو بالشبكة نفسها . لقد اتضحت أهمية هذه المثلثات لي ، عندما اثبت حجمها من المقياس اذ أنها تمثل مساحة تبلغ ٣٤×٢٢ متراً (أي ٣٤×٢٢ سم . بمقياس ١ : ١٠٠) . وكان الاخير هو حجم اوراق الرسم التي استعملتها بعثة آشور . ولذا فان هذه خريطة عامة أشر عليها الموقع الدقيق لكل ورقة رسم وهو اجراء خاص ولكنه ذا قيمة عظيمة بالنسبة لاغراضنا . اذ أن بوسعنا الان أن نؤشر المربعات بطول ٢٠ م على الخريطة العامة وحتى على اوراق الرسم نفسها . وذلك لأنها هذه ايضاً مثل الخرائط المفصلة في المطبوعات النهائية لاتظهر الشبكة وبعضها لاتتجه بشكل دقيق نحو الشمال . وبهذه الطريقة يمكن الان سد الفجوة بين ال (Grosse Haus) وال (Obere Tor) وحتى الخريطة العامة تظهر بقايا عمارية متصلة هنا ويمكن تثبيت تفاصيلها من اوراق الرسم لبعثة آشور . ويمكن تنفيذ نفس الشيء في كافة الحالات المشابهة الأخرى . ولذا فان اعداد خريطة عامة لآشور لم يعد يواجه أية عقبات خطيرة

الـكتابات الملـكية الاشورية على المخاريط الطينية المـكتشفة في اشور

أ . ك . كريسون
جامعة تورونتو

لقد مر اكثر من نصف قرن منذ أن توقفت التنقيبات الالمانية في اشور . وفي حين ان التقارير الاثارية قد نشرت كلها . فان الـكثير من المواد المكتوبة التي تمثل المخاريط الطينية جزءاً مهماً منها لم تنشر على الاطلاق . اوانها نشرت بشكل غير مرضٍ . ويقع اللوم في ذلك ليس فقط على العلماء البارزين المسؤولين عن نشر النصوص كما سنرى . بل ان احداثاً خارجية اثرت سلباً على محاولات نشر نتائج التنقيب . ان معظم اللقى من آشور مخزونة الآن في مكانين هما المتحف الاسيوي في برلين الشرقية والمتحف الاثاري في استانبول . وقد اهتمت ادارة متحـف استانبول منذ سنوات كثيرة بنشر المواد المتعلقة باشور وفي عام ١٩٦٩ كلفتني السيدة معزز جيغ امينة محفوظات الالواح . والسيد فيصل دونباز (الذي اصبح اميـن المجموعة مع السيدة فاطمة يلدز لدى تقاعد السيدة جيغ) بنشر المخاريط الطينية من اشور . كبداية لمشروع يستهدف نشر النصوص كافة من اشور .

لقد تم الان استنساخ المخاريط الطينية وتحريرها وفي هذا التقرير عن نتائج بحثنا أجد من المناسب ان اعرب عن تقديري وتقدير السيد فيصل دونباز للاسناد والتعاون الذي مكننا من القيام بهذه المهمة . كما نشكر موظفي المتحف الاثاري لتخصيص هذه المواد لغرض النشر . ولتزويدي بالتسهيلات الضرورية. اثناء زياراتي الى استانبول لاغراض البحث في عام ١٩٦٩ و١٩٧٧ . وقد تحمل مجلس كندا الاعباء المالية لتلك الرحلتين ولذا اود ان اعبر عن شكري الجزيل له . وانا مدين لفرصة حضوري وتقديم هذا التقرير النهائي حول بحثي الى كرم المؤسسة العامة للاثار والتراث في الجمهورية العراقية وجامعة تورونتو

اود بهذه المناسبة ان الفت الانتباه الى مشروع دولي مقره في جامعة تورونتو لاعداد طبعات قياسية للـكتابات الملـكية كافة من بلاد الرافدين . يحمل المشروع اسم (الـكتابات الملـكية لبلاد الرافدين) (RIM) وسيقوم بنشر كل نص متوفر مع ترجمته . والتعليق عليه . بالاضافة الى مقدمة مع قائمة ببلوغرافية . وسيجري تدقيق الـكتابات كافة والسعي للحصول على نصوص جديدة . ويتوقع ان تستغرق المهمة حوالي عشرين سنة . وتقوم جامعة تورونتو حالياً بتمويل المشروع . ويجري السعي للحصول على مصادر أخرى للدعم لفترات طويلة .

أود أن أناقش في هذا البحث مايلي :

١ . تاريخ الكتابات الملكية المكتشفة في آشور منذ اكتشافها .
٢ . شكل وغرض المخروط الطينـي .
٣ . الكتابات على المخاريط الطينية من آشور الموجودة الآن في استانبول .

١ . تاريخ الـكتابات الملـكية المـكتشفة في اشور منذ اكتشافها :

لقد واجه نشر الكتابات الملكية التي اكتشفت في آشور منذ البداية صعوبات جمة . كادت أن تدمر محاولات العلماء المعنيين بنشرها . منح السلطان عبدالحميد الثاني والتر اندريه الفرمان بالتنقيب في موقع آشور القديم . الذي يقع على تل يسمـى محلياً بقلعة الشرقاط . والغريب ان هذا التل كان ملكاً شخصياً للسلطان . وكانت التنقيبات برعاية جمعية الشرق الألمانيه . ولسوء الحظ لم تصل كافة الارساليات الى المكان المقصود . لأنه مع نشوب الحرب في اوربا أصبحت السفن الألمانية هدفاً للبحرية الملكية البريطانية . ولجأت سفينة المانية من هامبورغ تحمل ارسالية من آثار آشور الى لشبونه حيث تم الأستيلاء على حمولتها واختفت[1] . ووجدت آثار أخرى من آشور طريقها الى المتحف البريطاني حيث نجد لقى تحمل رقم تنقيب من آشور[2] . ولحسن الحظ فان المنقبين عملوا نسخاً وصوراً وقوالب للكتابات عندما استظهرت . وقد برهنت هذه على قيمتها الكبيرة في الجهود التالية التي بذلت لنشر النصوص .

وعندما اكتشفت النصوص وصفها اندريه في تقاريره المتعددة من الموقع . وظهرت التقارير في الجزأين ٢١ (١٩٠٤) و ٥٤ (١٩١٤) من)
Mitteilung der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft .
Elayi - Cavigneaux .

ولـكن أندريه كان عمارياً بالدرجة الاولى وليس عالماً باللغات القديمة ولذا كان اوصاف الـكتابات في تقاريره ذات قيمة محدودة لمحرر النصوص . ولحسن الحظ ان أندريه استطاع استشارة دليتزش بين الحين والآخر في المانيا وزارد ليتزش البعثة في صيف ١٩٠٥ . وكان الهدف هو نشر كافة الـكتابات الملكية في مطبوع واحد . وقد ظهر الجزء الأول من عمله في ١٩١١ بعنوان

Keilschrifttexte aus Assur : Historischen Inhalts

واذا عرفنا ان التنقيبات كانت قد بدأت قبل ذلك بسنوات قليلة . وانها كانت

لاتزال مستمرة في الواقع فان ذلك التاريخ يعتبر مبكراً بالنسبة للنشر. ولكن ذلك الجهد الاولي واجه مشاكل وتأخيرات كما يصف دليتزش في المقدمة .

تولى دليتزش مهمة اعداد النصوص بمساعدة ميسرشمت . وقد اعدا نسخهما من النصوص المسمارية على اساس النسخ والقوالب والصور التي اعدها أندريه في الحقل وعلى اساس النسخ والتدقيقات التي اعدها دليتزش في الحقل اثناء اقامته في اشور في صيف ١٩٠٥ . ولم يستطع ميسرشمت اجراء التدقيقات والمقارنات الضرورية مع الكتابات الاصلية في استانبول . بسبب مرض ادى الى وفاته وقد نشر دليتزش نسخة . غير المصححة تحت الرمز KAHI .

ظهر مجلد واحد آخر هو KAH2 في هذه السلسلة بعد احد عشر عاماً اي في ١٩٢٢ وقد تأجل نشر هذا المجلد بسبب الحرب العالمية الاولى والمشاكل السياسية الاقتصادية التالية في المانيا بعد الحرب . وفي ذلك الوقت تم التخلي عن الخطة الاصلية لنشر الكتابات الملكية كافة .
كما ذكر فيبر في المقدمة.

اعد شرويدر النسخ على اساس الكتابات الاصلية في حالة اللقى الموجودة في برلين ولكن بالنسبة للقى الموجودة في اماكن اخرى استند الى الصور او النسخ الاولية التي اعدها اخرون . خاصة ميسرشمت وأندريه . لم تكن تلك قاعدة مرضية لاعداد نسخ محددة ولكن حدث ماهو أسوأ من ذلك . وقبل ان يكمل شرويدر عمله ترك خدمة الاكاديمية البروسية ولم يستطع اكمال تدقيقاته قبل نشر نسخة في KAH2 . وهكذا فان مجلدي الكتابات الملكية من آشور KAH1 & غير كاملين في محتوياتهما وغير معتمدين في التفاصيل اذ ان النواقص المهمة ليست خطأ العلماء . بل الازمنة والظروف التي عاشوا فيها .

لم تبذل أية محاولة أخرى لنشر نسخ كاملة من الكتابات الملكية من آشور. ولكن في منتصف العشرينات بدأ فايدنر بالتعاون مع بول ومايسنر سلسلة AltorientalischeBibliothek لنشر كافة النصوص المسمارية . وقد احتوى المجلد الوحيد من هذه السلسلة وكان بعنوان

Die Inschriften der Altassyrischen Kűnige (Leipzig . 1926).
(edited by Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner)

على أقدم الكتابات الملكية الآشورية حتى شلمنصر الأول . وقد ادخلت نصوص غير منشورة من آشور على أساس نسخ أعدها فايدنر من صور التنقيبات وقام فايدنر بتدقيق النصوص المنشورة سابقاً بمقارنتها قدر الامكان مع الصور والقوالب . ورغم فائدة هذا الكتاب . فان فيه عيوباً كبيرة اذ لم تنشر أية نسخ ولم تفحص أية كتابات اصلية في استانبول مما أدى الى اخطاء خطيرة .
نشر فايدنر كتابات آشور التي تعود الى ملوك متأخرين في عدد من المقالات في

Archiv fü Orent forschung

وفي كتابه

Die Inschriften Tukulti – Ninurtas I. Und Seiner Nachfolger(Graz, 1959)

وبحلول ١٩٥٩ ماكان بمقدوره تدقيق الكتابات الأصلية في استانبول او برلين وعمل فقط مستنداً الى ملاحظاته وصور التنقيبات وبعض النسخ التي أعدها ميسرشمت وكوشر . وخلال نفس الفترة نشر عدد من الكتابات الملكية بشكل أو بآخر في تقارير التنقيبات لبعثة آشور وأهمها من حيث المواد المكتوبة كتاب اندريه الذي يحمل عنوان

Die Festungswerke von Assur(Leipzig, 1913)

قبل اختتام هذا العرض لتاريخ محاولة نشر الكتابات الملكية من اشور . لابد من التأكيد على حقيقة واحدة هي ان العلماء الذين ارتبطت اسماؤهم بهذا المشروع الذي لم يقدر له النجاح كانوا متخصصين كفوئين وحريصين في الاشوريات . بذلوا قصارى جهدهم تحت ظروف غير مناسبة . لم يكن خطأهم انه تم نشر اطول النصوص واهمها . وانه حتى هذه النصوص قدمت في الغالب بدون الرجوع الى الكتابات الاصلية . وبذلك وقعت اخطاء في القراءة والفهم . وتظهر هذه الاخطاء بصورة خاصة في النصوص الموجودة الآن في استانبول اذ ان المحررين المختلفين لم يفحصوا الكتابات الاصلية لها[٣] .

٢ شكل وغرض المخروط الطيني

تعتبر المخاريط الطينية اغرب مجموعة الاشياء المختلفة التي كتبت عليها الكتابات الملكية الاشورية . وعلى خلاف الآجر والتماثيل والمنحوتات الجدارية البارزة والمسلات وحتى الألواح الطينية التي يمكن تمييز أشكالها وأغراضها مباشرة فان المخاريط الطينية لاتتفق مع أي نموذج مألوف الآن . ولم يعرف غرض المخروط الطيني حتى أوائل هذا القرن . عندما أكتشف بعضها في مواقعها الأصلية في القصر القديم في أشور وأيد مخروط مشابه عثر عليه في القصر في خورسباد بعد بضعة أعوام حل السؤال القديم .

ان مصطلح « مخروط (طيني) » ترجمة غير مناسبة للكلمة الاشورية سيكاتو (زيكاتو) اسم شيء يرد بكثرة في النصوص الكتابية . ويستعمل بعض العلماء المصطلحين « كره » او « عقدة » (واحياناً « مسمار » او « وتد ») وفي المطبوعات القديمة كثيراً ماوصفت قطع المخاريط الطينية بانها اجزاء من حواف انية الزينة او الجرار لأن شكل المخروط الطيني لم يكن يميز عموماً . أنه جسم مخروطي مجوف بشكل مستطيل يضيق حتى يكاد يصبح مدبباً عند احد النهايتين بينما في النهاية الاخرى رأس كبير شبه دائري . وضمن حدود هذا الوصف تتنوع الاشكال وقد نشر أندريه مخططاً مفيداً للاشكال مرتبة ترتيباً زمنياً .[٤]

يرافق المخروط الطيني اللوح الطيني . وكان الجزء المدبب من المخروط يدخل في ثقب في وسط اللوح ويوضع الجسم المركب في الاجزاء العليا من الجدار الداخلي للغرفة بان يوضح اللوح على الجدار مع بروز رأس المخروط . وغالباً ماكانت الاجزاء الظاهرة تزجج ولايزال اللون موجوداً على عدد قليل من المخاريط والالواح المعروضة في استانبول وتوجد رسوم توضيحية لنماذج بحالة جيدة في متحف برلين الشرقية نشرها أندريه في كتابه الجيد :

Farbige Keramik aus Assur

المنشور في برلين في ١٩٢٣ .[٥] ويظهر توضيح للغرض منها في رسومات داخل الغرف في خورسباد نشرها لود[٦] . وقد شملت زينة الجدران ليس فقط المخاريط الطينية والألواح غير المزججة أو متعددة الالوان بل وكذلك الفتحات والأفاريز وآجر مزجج ولابد ان التأثير المشترك كان رائعاً .

كان المخروط الطيني من خصائص العمارة السومرية والبابلية وهنا يكمن اصل النظير الاشوري في الاقل كمصدر ايحاء . لقد كتب الكثير جداً عن هذه الظاهرة في الحضارة الجنوبية وقد بحث كراوس خاصة عن اصل المخاريط الطينية وتوصل الى انها تعود الى اجراءات ترتبط بمبيعات الممتلكات[٧] . ودرس اليس بعده شكل هذا الشيء . وغرضه فيما يتعلق بصناديق الاسس في بلاد بابل ويذكر باختصار النظير الاشوري[٨] . ان المخاريط الطينية مؤيدة في الالف الثالث في بلاد بابل وفي العهد البابلي القديم ولكن عقب ذلك يتضاءل العدد واخيراً لاتبقى سوى حالات نادرة كما في اوراثناء حكم اشوربانيبال .

يتبع ظهور المخروط الطيني في بلاد اشور النمط البابلي المشهور للتأثيرات

الحضارية البابلية على الحضارة الشمالية ويظهر اولاً في بلاد آشور في حوالي منتصف الالف الثاني وهي الفترة التي بدأ فيها يختفي في بلاد بابل . وبعد ان ثبــت استعماله استمر كخاصية قابلة للنمو حتى الايام الاخيرة من الامبراطورية الاشورية حيث تعود النماذج الاخيرة الى سين شارا ايشكون . وتوجد صلة حقيقية بيــن الحضارتين فيما يخص المخاريط الطينية . اذ كما اظهر لاندسبيركر وبالكان فــي دراسة اوصاف النشاطات العمارية في الكتابات الملكية وان تثبيت المخاريــط الطينية في البناء رافقه في كل من بلاد بابل واشور احتفال تكريسي لدى انجــاز التشييد[٩] .

لقد حلل كراوس وهالو شكل الكتابات على المخاريط الطينية من الجنوب بشكـل مفصـل ووضعهـا العالم الثانـي منهما تحت المصطلـح العام « كتابات الابنية »[١٠] وفي بلاد اشــور . وفيما عـدا النصوص التحليليــة فان كافة انــواع الكتابات الملكية (وهي نصوص العرض والاوصاف التذكارية والتسميات والنصوص التكريسية) مؤيدة . وهو مانتوقع بالمقارنة مع التقاليد الجنوبية . لــم يسمح الحجم الصغير نسبياً للجسم باوصاف مطولة وهكذا فقد استبعدت الروايات التحليلية .

٣ . الكتابات على المخاريط الطينية من اشور الموجودة حالياً فــي استانبول :

في حين أن المخاريط الطينية كافة من بلاد بابل الموجودة في متحف استانبول حالياً قد صنفت من قبل كراوس في المقال المذكور انفاً فان المخاريط الاشورية لم تنشر كاملة لحد الآن . وفي السنوات الاخيرة جرى شوي مجموعة اشور بكامله التي تكون المخاريط الطينية جزءاً مهما منها . وتنظيفها واعادة ترقيمها من قبل العاملين في المتحف بحيث انها الآن باحسن حالة ممكنة لغرض دراستها . تتألف مجموعة المخاريط الطينية من حوالي ثلاثمائة وخمسين مادة يتراوح حجمها بين نمــاذج كاملة وقطع صغيرة جداً . وقد درس المؤلفون هذه المادة بشكل دوري . طيلة عقد من الزمن . واعتقد انه لايمكن تحقيق المزيد من التقدم المهم فيما يخص الربط وفك الرموز بدون ان نجمع سوية هذه المجموعة ومجموعة متحف برلين الشرقية .

تتعلق الكتابات على هذه الاشياء اعمال التشييد في مختلف المباني في اشور من اسوار وبوابات ومعابد وقصور . ومن حيث الترتيب الزمني فان المجموعة تمتد عبر تاريخ مدينة اشور من منتصف الالف الثاني وحتى تدميرها في القرن السابع قبــل الميلاد وهي فترة تبلغ حوالي الالف سنة . ان بعض العهود وفترات حكم الملوك ممثلة بشكل افضل من غيرها وخاصة فترة حكم شلمنصر الثالث (٨٥٨–٨٢٤ ق . م) الذي تبلغ نصوصه حوالي خمس المجموعة كلها . وقد نشر ميسرشمت وشرويدر في KAH نسخاً من بعض الكتابات بينما نشر البعض الآخر ايلنك ومايسنــر وفايدنر في LAK .

لم ينشر عدد كبير من الكتابات وسوف نقدمها في كتابنا مع نسخة وتعليــق كامل للمرة الاولى . وسوف يضم الكتاب ايضاً نتائج فحوصاتنا للنصوص المعروفة سابقاً التي تطلبت في بعض الاحيان اعداد نسخة جديدة وتحريرها بشكل تام .ان حقيقة ان العلماء السابقين لم يستطيعوا دراسة مجموعة استانبول . وعملوا بالاستعانة بصور التنقيبات او النسخ أدى الى الوقوع في اخطاء كثيرة جرى تصحيحها الآن . وباختصار ظهرت من خلال بحثنا النصوص والاكتشافات المهمة التالية :

أ . برهنا ان ربطاً عمله مايسنر من صور التنقيب غير صحيح ويتعلق بانليــل ناصر الأول وقد لفت الانتباه الى استحالة ربط الاجزاء في ARI. 1, p. 154 .

ب . نمــاذج « المقدمــة القياسية » و « الخاتمة القياسية » التـي تعــود الــى اداد ناراري. كما اعاد فايدنر تصويرها في IAK . تشير الى ان هــذه النصوص المركبة تقوم على درجة عالية من الافتراض وهي مشكلة سيتولى مشروع الكتابات الملكية من بلاد الرافدين (RIM) بحثها بشكل كامل .

ج . يوجد ٣٨ نموذجاً جديدا لـ « النص القياسي » من عهد شلمنصر الاول وهي تشير الى ان ماذكره فايدنر يعتمد عليه .

د . اكتشفت اول كتابة ملكية تعود الى اشوردان الثالث (٧٧٢–٧٧٥ ق . م) وهي تصف العمل في كيسالماخ ايهور ساكوركورا المبنى نفسه الذي قام بترميمه شلمنصر الاول وتوكولتي نينورتا الثاني وشلمنصر الثالث .

هـ . يعود الجزء الاكبر من النصوص والقطع – وتبلغ حوالي خمس المجموعة الكاملة – الى شلمنصر الثالث وقد غيرت هذه المادة الضخمة معرفتنا بانواع النصوص المؤيدة في المخاريط الطينية التي تعود لشلمنصر . وسوف تقـدم عروضــاً جديدة تمامــاً لهــا . وننشر نوعين جديدين تماماً من النصوص .

و . تأيد وجود شكل غريب من السيكاتو في نماذج لكتابة تعود لــرجــون الثاني . وقد اطلق عليها البعض اسم « قرميد الارضية » ولكن كما اشار أندريه (MDOG 26, 22) الذي عثر عليها في موقعها الاصــلي مهشمة فانها قطع من « اسطوانة مدورة ذات اربع زوايا » للسيكاتو .

ز . الامثلة الجديدة الكثيرة لنص يعود الى سين – شارا – ايشكون سبق نشره (KAH 2, 129, 133) توفر الآن نصاً كاملاً . وسوف ينشر النص في كتابنا لاول مرة وهو يخص معبد نابو في اشور.

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1) E. C. BM 115690 = Ass 19977 (ARI 1, XXXII, 1)
2) Cf . Andrae, Coloured Ceramics p. 11m , 2 ; WEA pp. 280f .
3) Cf . V. Donbaz, Ninurta-Tukulti-Assur : Zamanina Ait Orta Asur Idari Belgeleri (Ankara , 1976)
4) Andrae , Coloured Ceramics
5) ibid . This volume con tains a full description of theclay cone and its function (pp. 63-76) . Also cf . Andrae, Das Gottenshaus u.d. Urforme-n des Bauens im alten Orient (Berlin , 1930) pp. 78-86 ; C.J. Gadd, Tea-chers and Students in the Oldest Schools (London , 1956) p. 45 ; W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard , catalogue og the Cuneifrom Tablets in the KoRMunjik Collection of theBritish Museum, Second Supplement (London , 1968) , p.x
6) Khorsabad II (Chicago , 1938)
7) F. R. Kraus , " Altmesopotamische Tonnagel mit Keilinschriften "in in Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayrn arirdaw, VII Seri No . 5 (Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi , 1947) , Halil Edhem Hatira Kitabi pp. 71-113 .
8) R. Ellis, Foundation Deposits , Chapters 3 and 5
9) B. Landsberger and K. Balkan , Belleten 14, pp. 252-257
10) Kraus, op. cit. Cf. Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962) , pp. 3-5

بحوث الندوة العلميّة العالميّة الثالثة

١٤ - ٢٠ تشرين الثاني ١٩٨١

موجز لأعمال الصيانة والتنقيب في القاطع الشمالي من اشور

محمد صبحي عبد الله

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

الأحياء الأثري لمدينة اشور

تجسيداً لمباديء الحزب والثورة . كان أهتمام القيادة السياسية وعلى رأسها الرفيق المناضل صدام حسين بأحياء مدينة آشور أحدى المنارات الحضارية التي نشأت في بلاد وادي الرافدين. وقد باشرت المؤسسة العامة للآثار والتراث بعد استكمال الأعمال التحضيرية لمستلزمات العمل الأحيائي لهذه المدينة وركزت أعمالها في .

١ – الصيانة في سور المدينة . وبالذات المنطقة المحصورة بين البوابتيـــن (الغربية وتابير) فقد توصلنا الى حفر وتنظيف الأجزاء المتبقية للسور الخارجي بالقرب من البوابتين . ومن ثم جرت أعمال الصيانة لهذا الجزء من السور . وبنفس القياسات والمادة القديمة (الطين واللبن)

٢ –اعادة التنقيب في معبد عشتار ومن ثم صيانته

بدأ العمل بالحفر والتنقيب عن أسس المعبد الاصلية .وتم استظهار مجموعة من الوحدات المعمارية التي تبلورت في النهاية بالكشف عن اقسامها المتعددة . حيث قامت أعمال الصيانة لأعادة المعبد على ماكان عليه في الأصل .

٣ – الحفر والتنظيف وأعمال الصيانة في معبد(انوادد) .

بعد أستظهار الأسس . وتحديد معالمها وبناء المتهدم منها جاءت أعمال الصيانة لتشمل مدخل المعبد وقاعاته . حيث أخذت أعمال البناء بالصعود في جدران المعبد وبنفس المادة . والقياسات الأصلية . وهكذا كان العمل في بئر المعبد حيث شملته أعمال الصيانة فقد تم تنظيف البئر من التراكمات في داخله . وأعيد بناؤه على غرار ماكان عليه في الفترة الآشورية .

٤ – القصر القديم قصر الآباء

بدأنا بأعمال الحفر والتنظيف بغرف القصر الواضحة معالمها . وأستظهرنا غرفاً اخرى تعود للقصر نفسه . حيث بلغ مجموعها (٢١) بين غرفة وقاعة وساحة وسطية . ثم جاءت أعمال الصيانة بعملية تبقيط الأسس التي أندثرت معالمها بشكل نهائي وأعيد بناءها بنفس مادتها الأصلية ثم أخذت أعمال البناء تتواصل للأرتفاع بالجدران الأصلية . وتم الحصول على مخطط ارضي كامل ...

وهكذا كان العمل في بئر القصر الذي تم أعادة بنائه بعد أجراء أعمال التنظيف والتنقيب .

٥ – الزقورة الكبيرة (زقورة اشور)

بدأنا وفق الخطة المعتمدة بالعمل لأستظهار قاعدة الزقورة . وذلك استعداداً لأجراء أعمال الصيانة . حيث شملت الحفريات جرد الزقورة من الأعلى ومن أضلاعها الشرقية والغربية والجنوبية . وتمت ازالة الأجزاء المتآكلة من اللبن . وحفر خندق بعرض مترين بطول الضلع الجنوبية الشرقية . وبعمق مترين الى ٣ أمتار توصلنا بعدها الى الأرض الطبيعية التي شيدت عليها الزقورة . وهي أرض جبلية غير مستوية . وذلك واضح من اسس الزقورة . وهكذا فعلنا في أضلاع الزقورة الشمالية الشرقية والشمالية الغربية بعدها جاءت أعمال الصيانة والبناء لتشمل قاعدة الزقورة صعوداً الى ارتفاع ثلاثة أمتار ولا تزال أعمـال الصيانة مستـمرة لتحديد معالم القاعدة والطبقة الاولى من الزقورة.

أعمال قطع اللبن.

أن أعمال الصيانة والبناء آنفة الذكر . كانت بحاجة ملحة لانتاج كميات كبيرة من اللبن المستخدم بالعمل فعملت ادارة المشروع على انتاج اللبن . مستغلة بذلك العطلة الصيفية باعتمادها على الطلبة من أهالي المنطقة . وكان انتاجها يقدر بحدود – / ١٠٠ ألف لبنة شهرياً . موازاة لأعمال الصيانة والبناء . كانت أعمال الحفر والتنقيب تأخذ دورها لأكتشاف المزيد من ما تحتويه هذه المدينة . وتركزت هذه العملية في النقاط التالية .

١ – الحفر والتنقيب في اسس المسناة الشمالية للمدينة (مشلالو)

بدأ الحفر والتنقيب في اسس المسناة الشمالية للمدينة (المشلالو) حيث تـم استظهار قسم من أحجار الأسس الأصلية . ومازال العمل مستمراً للـكشف عن كامل الاسس . وذلك بغية اعادة بنائها على ماكانت عليه في الزمن الاشوري.

٢ – التنقيب في تل المجنة (المقبرة الحديثة)

بدأت أعمال الحفر والتنقيب في القسم الجنوبي الشرقي للمقبرة وتم الكشف في الطبقة الأولى عن وحدات عمارية تعود للفترة الآشورية الحديثة . واسس لجدران مرافق سكنية لم تتوضح معالمها بشكلها النهائي . لعدم اكتمال أعمال التنقيب . كذلك تم العثور على لقى أثرية وأوان وجرار فخارية صغيرة الحجم . ومازال العمل مستمراً في هذه المنطقة حتى الوقت الحاضر.

٣- التنقيب في معالم شرفات القصر الجديد (قصر توكلتي ننورتا الأول)

باشرت ادارة المشروع أعمال الحفر والتنقيب في الجهة الجنوبية الغربيـة المطلة على شارع الموكب ،' وكانت البداية بازالة الأتربة والتراكمات عن مساحة من المنطقة بلغت أطوالها ٥٠ × ٥٠ متراً وقد تم العثور على مبان آشورية .دلت عليها اللقى المكتشفة . حيث تم العثور على أوان فخارية وجرار ودمى حيوانية . كان أروع ما فيها هو الـكنز العظيم المتكون من حلي ذهبية وفضية ونحاسية وأخيراً قامت ادارة المشروع باعمال خدمية لاستكمال مستلزمات العمل في المشروع وشملـت ما يلـــي .

بناء غرف للحراسة . والاستعلامات وغرف للسادة العاملين قرب نقاط العمل . كذلك بناء مخازن ومرائب ومحطة تعبئة . وورش للنجارة والحدادة والكهرباء والميكانيك وغـسل وتشحيم للسيارات . واستكمال بناء دور سكن الموظفين وتكملة أعمال التسييج في الموقع وصيانة مقرات وادارة المشروع وتعديل واكساء الطرق الداخلية للموقع . وايصال القوة الـكهربائية للورش والاستعلامات كماقامت ادارة المشروع بالتعاون مع المديرية العامة بنصب قواعد المعمل الميكانيكي لانتاج اللبن الذي مازال العمل مستمراً فيه . كذلك نصب سقائف من الألمنيوم لخزن اللبن المنتج في المشروع وشكـــراً.

نصوص نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر حاكم سوخي ومـاري

الدكتورة بهيجة خليل اسماعيل

ضمن الحملة التنقيبية لاثار حوض سد حديثة ، توصلت فرق التنقيب العراقية والاجنبية ، الى الكشف عن مجموعة قليلة ومحدودة من رقم الطين في عدد من التلول التي اتخذت حقولا لانشطتها التنقيبية ، ومنها ، مستوطن الدوالي الذي يقع على الجانب الشرقي من نهر الفرات ، والقريب من جزيرة قلعة عنه والذي امدنا برقيم طيني واحد غيركامل ، ويعود هذا النص الى فترة العهد البابلي الحديث وهو نص تاريخي يتضمن بعض الحوادث التاريخية الى جانب بعض الاعمـال العمرانية ، وهو نسخة مكررة للنصوص التي تم العثور عليها في سور جرعة ، والتي سأتحدث عنها بالتفصيل بعد قليل .

أما من سور خربة الدينية التي نقبت فيه البعثة الفرنسية فقد تم الحصول على رقيمين طينيين ، وهذان الرقيمان عبارة عن عقدين اقتصاديين يعودان الى العهد الاشوري الوسيط والى زمن الملـك الاشـوري تكـلات بيلصـــر الاول (١١١٥ – ١٠٧٧ ق . م) . ونعتقد بان الاسم القديم لخربة الدينية هي خردا أوخريد والتي تظهر في نصوص توكلتي – نينورتا الثاني واشورناصربال الثاني القرن التاسع ق . م

أما من موقع سور جرعة الكائن على الضفة اليسرى لنهر الفرات ويبعد مسافة ٤٥ كم من جنوب قضاء عنه ، فقد تم الكشف عن ثلاثة رقم طينية بحالة جيدة واثنتي عشرة كسرة وهي نصوص تاريخية بنائية تسرد بعض الحوادث التاريخية ، الى جانب ثبت لاعمال البناء والتجديد في مرافق متعددة من المنطقة كما تضم نص ادبي واحد يمثل رقية اوتعويذة ، وهي بمجموعها تعود الى نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر حاكم اقليم سوخي واقليم ماري . ما عدا نص واحد يعود لوالدة شمش – ريش – اوصر ، الذي وصلنا للاسف بحالة مهشمة مما يتعذر قراءته في الوقت الحاضر .

أما المضمون العام لنصوصنا هذه فتتناول : –

١ – نسب هذا الحاكم حيث يقول :

anaku MAŠ. NĪG. DU. PAPlu GAR KUR suḫi u KUR
mari DUMU ỤTU. SAG. PAP MIN
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NUMUN
daru lipu ruqu ša tuna-missaḫ
DUMU hamurabu LUGAL TĪN. TIR

انا نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر حاكم اقليم سوخي واقليم ماري
ابن شمشي – ريش – اوصر حاكم اقليم سوخي واقليم ماري
حفيد اقيشا – مردوخ حاكم اقليم سوخي واقليم ماري
من نسل اددـ – نادن – زيري حاكم اقليم سوخي واقليم ماري
النبت الثابت من نسل تونا – ميساخ
ابن حمورابـي ملك بابل
ثم يعقب ذلك التضرع الى الالهة فيقول : –

ايتها الالهة شمش – مردوخ ، ادد وابلا ادد انظروا بلطف الى اعمالي .

اما الجانب الاخر من مضمون هذه النصوص ، فيضم ابرز الاعمال الحربية التي قام بها هذا الحاكم ، بما فيه حروبه واحتلاله لعدد من المدن والاقاليم . وما نجم عن تلك الحملات من تحقيق انتصارات عسكرية على الارامين وعلى قبائل luhụwa, saruqu, ḫatalu وغيرهم .

ثم تحدثنا النصوص عن ابرز الاعمال العمرانية لهذا الحاكم وهي : –

١ – جدد بيت اكينو الى الالهين ادد ، وابلا-ادد في مدينة عنـــه .
٢ – جدد معبد E. NAM. ḪE اي معبد البركة الوافـرة (العطاء) للالهين المذكورين في مدينة عنه ايضــاً .
٣ – قام بتشييدات واسعة في المنطقة بعضها مدن والبعض الاخر مخافر للحراسة واقام تحصينات عسكرية على هذا الطريق التجاري ووضع فيها حامية من جنوده ونذكر منها على سبيل المثال : –

DUR – Ninurta – kudurri – usur
دور – نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر

KAR – Apla – Adad
كار – ابيل – ادد

ومما لا ريب فيه ان هدف نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر من اقامـة هذه المنشآت هو حماية مصالح بلاده والمحافظة على موقعها التجـاري العام .

٤- جدد المدينة التي كان قد بناها والده وهي مدينة Gabbari-KAK^{DC}

٥- جدد معبد ادد وميشاروم في مدينة اودادا . ان جميع المدن الانفة الذكر لم يحدد موقعها لحد الان .

٦- انشأ حدائق وغرس فيها اشجار النخيل كما فعل والده من قبله

٧- بنى قصر الحاكم في مدينة رائيلو اوراخيلو . ويشير النص في هذا الخصوص بما يلي . عندما اصبح قصر الحاكم E. NAM. HE – Zēra – ibni حاكم اقليم سوخي متداعيا تركته . ويقع هذا القصر في مدينة رائيلو المقابلة لضفة نهر الفرات . فبنيت قصراً جديداً يقع بالقرب منه طول القصر الجديد ٦٤ ذراع وعرضه ٥ر١٢ ذراع وقمت بتوسيع القصر الجديد اكثر من قصر الحاكم القديم بحوالى ٢٠ ذراع في الطول و ٤ أذرع في العرض . ثم انشأت قصراً آخر يقع بالقرب منه طوله ٤٥ ذراع وعرضه ٩ أذرع .

ويوضح لنا هذا مساحة وأبعاد قصر الحاكم Ē. NAM. ḪE–zēra - ibni حيث كانت ابعاده ٤٤ ذراع طولاً و٥ر٨ ذراع عرضاً ومساحته ٣٧٤ ذراع . وبعدها يتعرض الحاكم في النص الى الثورة التي قام بها أهالي مدينة رائيلو ضد والده حيث يقول :-

لقد قام اهالي رائيلو بثورة ضد والدي . ولكن والدي تمكن من القضاء عليهم وعند اعتلائي السلطة بعد والدي وفي بداية حكمي اظهر والي أهالي رائيلو العداء أيضاً »

واخيراً لايفوتنا أن نذكر بان نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر قام بسلب القوافل المحملة بالبضائع والاتية من سبأ وتيماء حيث جاء في خاتمة النص ما يلي :-
أنا نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر حاكم اقليم ماري واقليم سوخي

عندما كنت في مدينة كارابيل – ادد بلغني عند الظهيرة بالقوافل الاتية من سبأ وتيماء والذين جاءوا من اماكن نائية فلم يمروبي ولم يأت رسلهم الي بل اتخذوا طريقهم بالقرب من منابع المياه . ومن هناك تابعوا سيرهم الى مدينة خندانو . وعندما سمعت بهم ظهراً نهيأت وفي المساء عبرت النهر . وفي اليوم الثاني قبل الظهر وصلت الى مدينة ازلانو وبقيت هناك ثلاثة أيام وفي اليوم الثالث غزوتهم فاخذت مائة من رجالهم اسرى . ومائتي جملاً مع حمولتها . صوف من نوع تاكيلتوم . صوف . حديد . حجر من نوع بابار ديلو وجميع اسلحتهم ومعداتهم أما الغنائم الثقيلة فارسلتها الى سوخي .

ان هذا النص يذكرنا باللقى الاثرية التي سبق وأن عثر عليها في هذه المنطقة ومناطق اخرى من العراق في تل اللحم . اور الوركاء ونفر وغيرها . وهي الاختام وكسر الجرار والاواني التي تحمل كتابة عربية قديمة . ربما تكون من اقلام العربية الجنوبية . كما عثرت البعثة الفرنسيــة في خربة الدينية على كسرة اناء نقشت بكتابة عربية قديمة . واملنا كبير أن يتوفر بعض الباحثين لدراسة هذه الكتابات وتحديد نوع قلمها والمنطقة التي اشتهرت باستخدامها . ومن هذا كله يتضح لنا بان صلات وعلاقات تجارية وثقافية مهمة نشأت بين سكان وادي الرافدين . وبين اجزاء مهمة من الوطن العربي منذ فترات زمنية بعيدة .

أما أهم النتائج التي توصلنا اليها من خلال دراسة هذه النصوص فهي :-

١- من الممكن ان نؤرخ هذه النصوص في بداية النصف الثاني من القرن الثامن ق . م وذلك استنادا الى ذكرسن شولماني في احد النصوص حاكما لمدينة ru - sa - pu أن هذا الحاكم ارخ بعهده ضمن الاسلوب الذي يصطلح عليه بتسمية ليموحكم في زمن ادد نراري الثالث وتكلات بليصر الثالث . وبموجب ذلك فان نصوصنا ترجع الى هذه الفترة الزمنية .

٢- حكم نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر في الاقل سبع سنوات وذلك استنادا إلى أحد النصوص التي يقول فيها « في السنة السابعة من حكمي وصلت الى اواسط اقليم سوخي وتمت كتابة هذا النص أما ولده شمش – ريش – اوصر فقد حكم في الاقل ثلاث عشرة سنة حيث جاء في كتاباته المنشورة من قبل الاستاذ فايسباخ في كتاب WVDOG. المجلد الرابع العمود الرابع السطر الحادي عشر ما يلي : –

« في السنة الثالثة عشرة من حكم شمش – ريش – اوصر حاكم اقليم سوخي واقليم ماري تمت كتابة هذه الوثيقة .

٣- بسبب تكرار اسم رائيلو اوراخيلو في هذه النصوص . ولانها كانت مقرا للحاكم اي – نام – خي – زيرا – ابني . وبقيت ذات شأن كبير بدلالة مواصلة الاهتمام بها . وتوسيع قصر الحاكم فيها . وبناء قصر آخر من قبل نينورتا – كودوري – اوصر . لذلك نرجح ان تكون سورجرعة وهي الموقع الذي قدم لنا هذه النصوص يمثل موقع رائيلو .

٤- يرجح جداً أن خندانو كانت تحتل مركزاً تجارياً يتم فيها تفريغ البضائع . او كانت واسطة لتسويق البضائع الى اماكن اخرى مجاورة قد تكون اشور . سوريا . الاناضول او البحر الابيض المتوسط ويؤكد ذلك حجم المدينة العملاق سواء على طريق التجارة العابرة في الفرات أو طرق القوافل .

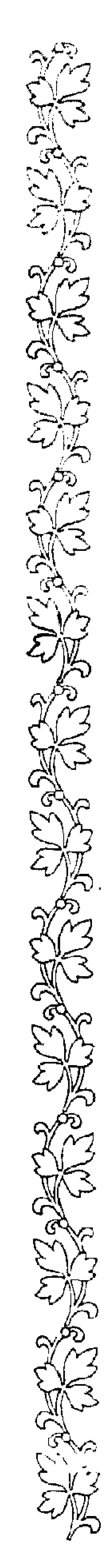
٥- تبرز أهمية المنطقة التي تكشفها نصوص هذا الحاكم في موقعها المشرف على ملاحة الفرات التجارية . وكونها بوابة العراق أمام طرق القوافل التجارية القادمة من شمالي الجزيرة العربية .

ونود أن نشير الى أن هذه النصوص على الرغم من عددها المحدود جداً بسبب محدودية اعمال التنقيب في المنطقة . فانها تكشف عن جوانب هامة من تاريخ واحداث منطقة اواسط الفرات . وربما تحفز المعلومات الاولية التي قدمتها لنا هذه النصوص . علماء الاثار والمنقبين على بذل الجهود المضاعفة لتوسيع دائرة الاعمال التنقيبية في المواقع الاثرية في منطقة حديثة . وخاصة وأن بعض المواقع ستتعرض الى الغمر بعد انجاز مشروع حديثة الاروائي .

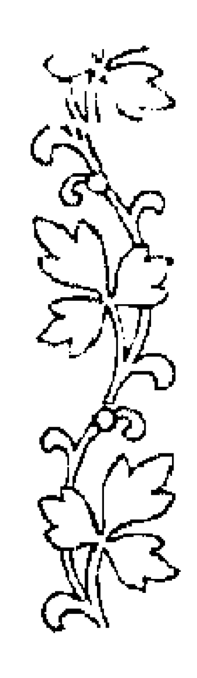
ونختتم الحديث بالتلميح الى أهمية هذه المنطقة في احداث التاريخ الحضاري القديم للشرق الادنى . فهي حلقة الاتصالات الرئيسة بين جنوبي العراق والخليج العربي وبين مراكز شرقي البحر المتوسط . كما أنها تحتل مكانة خاصة على طريق الهجرات القديمة من الجزيرة العربية في طريقها نحو بلاد وادي الرافدين . وبسبب غنى المكتشفات ودلالاتها على أهمية المنطقة . فنرجح كثيراً في حالة توسع أعمال التنقيب فيها . أن تساهم في الكشف عن ابعاد الهجرات القديمة من الجزيرة العربية وخاصة أنها بقيت حلقة الوصل بين سكان البوادي وبين مراكز المدن العراقية المختلفة . وفي ذلك أهمية لاتنكر في دراسة التاريخ العربي القديم .

Sir sallimanni 747 v. cur .

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SUMER



Razliq and Našteban. Nor should we neglect the building activity of both kings, who founded the townfortresses of Altintepe, Karmir – blur, Bastam and Toprakkale.

The Urartaean political rule of the above mentioned southern territories seems however to have come to an end soon after 714. Urartaean epigraphic evidence is in fact totally lacking on both sides of the Central Zagros after that date.

The political situation has changed in comparison with the eighth century. The little available information from the Assyrian side suggests the existence of mostly peaceful relationships between the two states at the time of Asharad-don and Assurbanipal. True dangers for Urartu and Assyria seem now to come rather from the new migrations of peoples crossing the Iranian plateau, like the Cimmerians and the Scythians, as well as from the rising might of Media. The circumstances and the moment when the Urartaean kingdom was submerged still remain obscure. And the Urartaean chronology of the seventh century is controversial.

One of the best known periods of the Urartaean history is therefore the time of Sargon : this period has been till now the last one that enjoys so many data converging from different sources. Further elements are anyhow to be expected from the interpretation of the Assyrian letters, now in process of re – publication.



in the Topzawā stele, were soon interrupted by two political-military catastrophes, which were to be fatal to him. These are the Cimmerian invasion and Sargon's Eighth Campaign (714 B.C.).

The problem of the relative chronology of the two events, as well as their "geography", are controversial. I propose here a solution, but I want to point out that it is obviously difficult to join together in a probable historical reconstruction sources of difficult nature, and which, moreover, concern different events.

The news of a military clash between Urartu and the Cimmerians appear, as it is know, in the letters of the Assyrian information service, which was coordinated by Sennacherib, the *mār šarri*. Some letters to the king (Sargon) refer directly to this event, and they speak of the Urartaean's defeat and losses. Other letters deal with the Urartaean preparations for the expedition against the land of Gimirra. There is, moreover a third group of letters, from Kuyunjik and Nimrud, which hint at Urartu, although in a very vague way, and may also hint at later events. But a couple of them apparently deal with the Urartaean military preparations to contrast the Assyrian advance in 714.

The evidence of ABL 112 is very interesting, as it clearly says that the Cimmerians came "from the land of Mana", that is from the South or South-East, not directly from the North, namely from the Caucasus, as the traditional reconstruction maintains.

As regards the date, I think that this episode took place before the Eighth Campaign, although probably not long before. The basic reasons were exposed by Thureau-Dangin and I think that they are still valid. There is other evidence supporting this relative chronology. In my opinion, the contemporaneity between Urzana, and the Cimmerian event—which we can infer from ND 1107 (= GPA 243), ABL 112, and ABL 197 – is a basic one. In fact, after Sargon's Eighth Campaign, Urzana certainly disappeared from the political scene.

Lastly, as regards the city of Uesi (with a series of graphic variants), the tablets from Kuyunjik clearly say that it was the centre of the Urartaean military operations before the unlucky expedition against the Cimmerians, and also, probably, during Sargon's Eighth Campaign. Uesi corresponds to the important stronghold of Uaiais, "visited" by Sargon before he entered Ḫubuškia (Sg. 8, 298 ff.). Both sources say it was an active centre of "espionage".

If we join together the evidence of Kuyunjik with the "short reconstruction" of the itinerary of the Eighth Campaign, Uesi / Uaiais has most probably to be identified with Qal'eh Ismail Aqa. According to the new reconstruction by L. D. Levine, the "sea" Sargon saw, was Urmia Lake, not Van Lake, as Thureau-Dangin's "classical" reconstruction maintained.

In fact, the land of Aiadi, with "its 30 fortresses situated on the shores of the wavy (?) sea" (Sg. 8, line 286), must be located on the first non marshy sector of shore one meets coming from the South. In this area (streching roughly between Haidarabad and Rashakan) in fact, there are quite frequent remains of Urartaean settlements. Among those fortresses we must look for the "powerful fortresses" of Argištiuna (a clear Assyrian corruption for an Argištihinili, not yet attested in the Urartaean sources as belonging to this region), and Qallania. One must pass beyond three rivers brtween this area and Qal'eh Ismail Aqa: the Qasemlu Čay, the Baranduz Čay, and the Šar or Shahr Cay, which flows at the outskirts of the city of Urmia. These three rivers can be identified with the Alluria, Qallania and Innâ rivers, which Sargon met going from Aiadi to Uaiais.

Before reaching Aiadi Sargon had sacked the land of Armarili, which can be identified (as Levine thinks too), with the Godar Čay valley. Again concerning the identification of Uaiais with Qal'eh Ismail Aqa, I think it may be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, because of the strategic position of the latter: it cuts the plain of Urmia Lake away from the Salmas plain and controlls the easier passages to the North, towards the province of Van, therefore the core of Urartu (see Uaiais as "frontier foot of Urartu", Sg. 8, line 298).

But, most important of all, the Qal'eh dominates the mouth of the natural road that connects the basin of Urmia Lake with the headwaters of the Tigris, West of the Zagros Mountains. The road, in fact, follows upstream the watershed near Sero, as does the modern road from Urmia to Hakkâri. Going down through the Yüksekova valley we reach the upper course of the Greater Zab, where Hubuškia is usually located. Hubuškia – Nairi is Sargon's following stage, and I must lastly point out that he says that Uaiais borders on the lands of Nairi (Sg. 8, line 298).

Moreover, Uaiais is the "most powerful among its fortresses" (line 299): the Qal'eh is in fact the greatest Urartaean fortress in the Iranian Azarbaijan, with the exception of Bastam / Rusai URU. TUR, which was, anyhow, founded later on during Rusa II's time.

Lastly, a detail in Sargon's report of the military operations against Uaiais, can be referred to the Qal'eh. Sargon says (line 302): "I conquered the rear part of this fortress"; he could not conquer it completely. We cannot but think of the lower fortress of the Qal'eh Ismail Aqa, which is more difficult to defend.

Sargon's Eighth Campaign surely did not mark the end of the Urartaean State, as one happens to read in some hasty historical survey, Its destructive effects on Urartu's state organization have been overemphazized. It is by now evident that even after the death of Rusa I Urartu survived during the seventh century, and still ruled the territories of the Armenian plateau. It is true, however, that during the reigns of Argišti II and Rusa II (end of the eighth and first quarter of the seventh century) Urartu's political interest is shifting towards other directions. It is sufficient to mention Argišti II's alliance with Mutallu of Kummuh, and his expedition to the East, as testified by the rock inscriptions of

Rusa's first intervention took place in 719 (Sargon's third year), against the Mannaean prince Metatti of Zikirtu . In 719 (Sargon's sixth year), Rusa brings on his side Bagdatti of Uišdiš and Metatti of Zikirtu, and impels them to rebel against Sargon. For that year Rusa is mentioned also in the stele of Najafehabad, West of Hamadan, published by Lou Levine. Moreover, we learn from Sargon's Annals about the killing of Aza, Sargon's vassal, by Rusa's partisans; about Sargon's punitive reaction against Bagdatti, and about his replacement with Ullusunu . But also the following year (715) an armed intervention by Rusa is registered in that area, which through Daiukku returns to the Urartaean sphere of influence. The contrasts with Assyria for the protectorate over Mannaean territories went on in the following years and prepared the direct clash between Assyria and Urartu . It took place, as is well known, during Sargon's Eight Campaign in 714.

Before passing to some considerations related to the Eight Campaign, I want to say something about the other document, which tells us something about Rusa I's southern policy. It is the famous bilingual Assyrian – Urartaean stele of Topzawa, which is still in situ, in the district of Rowanduz. The text has been known for more than one century; it was located in Musasir, a small state that played an interesting role in the Assyrian – Urartaean conflict, at the end of the eighth century. R.M. Boehmer's research discovered just in that area some archaeological sites, which probably belonged to the reign of Musasir.

A partial duplicate of Topzawa stele was recently found 7 km . East of Kelisin Pass in the Zagros Mountains. It allows us to integrate and correct the uncertain readings of the text in several passages. The topographical importance of its finding comes from the fact that it clearly shows which was the main access route of the Urartaeans towards Musasir : that is the " Azerbijanian" one passing through the Godar Cay Valley . This is the route Rusa followed – like his ancestors Išpuini and Menua – in order to go and re – establish the Urartaean protectorate over Musasir.

In fact, the text of the bilingual tells us of the defeat of Urzana, who had behaved like an enemy against Rusa, preventing him from entering Haldi's sanctuary. The king of Musasir, Urzana, escapes to Assyria ; so we can infer that Sargon supported him . But he is taken prisoner on Mount Andarutu; this is Mount Andarutta, that the report on Sargon's Eighth Campaign (Sg. 8, line 425) puts at the border with Assyria. Urzana is put again on the throne of Musasir, but he clearly is a vassal now. The Urartaean king stops for fifteen days to celebrate some rites in the city – sanctuary, and thanks the gods, who have granted him "days of joy" . His reign is now at the height of it's power : he has conquered new territories in Transcaucasia, at the expense of the tribes living beyond Sevan Lake . In the South, moreover, he ruled a large part of the Mannaean territory, and also Musasir, even reaching the valley of the Lesser Habur River . This last region of Urartaean influence was the Ukkeans' country, which , as some letters from Kuyunjik say, lies at the border of, or within the Urartaean protectorate.

As regards the Assyrian sources, I remember that in the archive of Kuyunjik, two or three letters written by Urzana were found; from them it is clear that the king of Musasir gave intelligence of Urartu to the Assyrians . The letter ABL 409 is particular interesting in this connection . It is addressed to the *nagir ekalli*, who asked for some information about the movements of the army of the Urartaean king . Urzana reports that the Urartaean governors of Uesi, and of the border land of the Ukkeans, are making some cult practices in the temple (almost certainly Haldi's temple), and that also the Urartaean king and other governors of his, will soon arrive. The most interesting part is the final one,which I quote in Deller's translation : "(As regards) what you wrote to me: without the permission of the Assyrian king,no one may take the liberty of making cult practices . (Urzana says :) When the king of Assyria came,did I prevent him from doing this ? He did what he wanted . How can I prevent him (namely the Urartaean king Rusa), now? ".

This is clearly the position of the king of a weak buffer – state, who tries to keep good relations with both his powerful neighbours, and who is therefore compelled to play a double game. Really, Urzana prevented the Urartaean king Rusa from making the cult practices in Haldi's temple . This is written in the bilingual stele of Topzawa, that is now more completely readable thanks to the duplicate . I quote : "Urzana shut the gate of the temple in front of me, and he fled to Assyria".

The problem is to fix the relative chronology of the two documents mentioned above. It is likely that Urzana submitted to the Assyrian pressures, after writing the letter, and committed that act of insubordination against Rusa, which pushed the Urartaean king to a reaction, as is written in the text of Topzawa.

Later on, he was against compelled to accept the Urartaean protectorate . So, he probably behaved with Assyria in such a way as to justify the verbal and actual reaction, which we know from the tale of the Eighth Campaign .

In fact, Urzana is called by Sargon " criminal and evildoer" (Sg. 8, line 309). Moreover, Sargon lists among the causes of the attack against Musasir, the fact that Urzana did not go to pay homage to him during the campaign by bringing him gifts and tributes. This recalls the contents of another letter by Urzana to the Assyrian king, ABL 768 He says he cannot pay his tribute of cattle, that ice has blocked the roads, and that he is waiting for spring . The fragmentary text ends with some whishes for Sargon's military victories . Therefore, this letter is probably a few months older than the Eighth Campaign, which took place during the summer. We know how it ended up : Musasir was sacked it's people and Urzana's family were deported ; Urzana may have run away, but this episode marked his political death .

But also the "days of joy" for which Rusa thanks the gods

It is well known, that the Assyrian sources help us in reconstructing some phases of the history of the kingdom of Urartu. The Assyrian texts offer some synchronisms which allow us to give an absolute setting to the Urartaean chronology, albeit with approximate values. The succession of the Urartaean kings may be deduced from the constant indication of the patronymic, in the local sources. Therefore, it is well established from the second half of the ninth century, until the first half of the seventh century B. C.
Thanks to the gradual deciphering of the Urartaean language we can quite well understand the monumental royal inscriptions : these were mostly found in the centre of the kingdom at Van, and in its surrounding area .Some of them however, were also found far away, in the regions reached by the Urartaean military conquests : from the Euphrates to the West, to Mount Savalan to the East, to lake Sevan to the North, and to the area of Rowanduz to the South.

One of the greatest problems the historian has to face, is the connection between the data of the Assyrian sources, and the data of the written Urartaean sources. Most of the military expeditions, which are described in the Urartaean texts, were directed against geographical areas, which were quite far from the interests and from the political horizon of Assyria. This is the case with the deeds in Transcaucasia. So, it is quite natural that there is no mention of these events in the Assyrian texts.

On the other hand, during the whole lenght of the kingdom of Urartu, several Assyrian military campaigns were directed against Urartu. They are either recorded in the Royal Annals, or they are rapidly mentioned in the lists of the eponyms. Moreover, the Urartaean sources too sometimes mention victories obtained against Assyria This is particulary the case with Argisti I's and Sarduri IIs Annals, in the eighth century. Well, we don't have one mention of these events in the documentation of the opposing side. So, for instance, we know the Assyrian victory of 743 in Commagene, against a coalition led by Sarduri II of Urartu, only from Tiglatpileser III's Annals, while nothing appears in the contemporary Urartaean sources. Sarduri II himself offers another example: he attributes to himself a victory over the Assyrian king Assurnerari V (753 – 745), while the Assyrian sources say nothing about this event. We can sometimes explain this circumstances by the incompleteness of one of the written traditions. But the basic reason is obviously the universal tendency to praise one's own victories, and to be silent, on the other hand, about one's own defeats.

We have known most of the written sources about Urartu in the two languages for a very long time. Yet, they were not enough to trace a coherent picture of the Urartaean history.

The archaeological researches have been particulary intense, mostly in the last twenty years, all over the area of the kingdom of Urartu. They have gradually contributed to widening our knowledge. In particular the surveys in the eastern territories of the kingdom played an important role. At the same time, there was a general revival of interest among scholars for the historical geography of the Near East. We can recall here all the research linked with the program of the "Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients". So, we can again deal with many problems, which - we may say - have been held dorment for quite a long time, and we can bring foreword some new data, and suggest some solutions.

I want to present here, in brief, some results of my recent research about a particular period in which it is perhaps possible to try to connect different data : that is, the data of the Assyrian and of the Urartaean cuneiform documets, on the one hand, and the data of the archaeological – geographical research, on the other hand[1]. The area with which I am dealing, is the area, which saw the clash between the two states of Assyria and Urartu. It lies on both sides of the Zagros Mountains. The period is that of Sargon of Assyria, and of Rusa I of Urartu.

Unfortunately, unlike his predecessors, Rusa I left us few documents, and, among them, there is not an annalistic text, which one could connect with the Assyrian absolute chronology. Only two documents of this king give us some news about the southern policy of Urartu in that period. Their location itself, however, points to the two main directions of the southern expansion of the Urartaeans, since the end of the ninth century : that is, the mountainous districts to the West, and to the East of the Zagros Range.

The first one is the inscription found out of its original place on the Tepe of Mahmud Abad, along the road between Urmia and Ushnu. Unfortunately, the first part of the text is missing; probably in this part there were precious indications for the reconstruction of the historical geography of that region. The remaining part is of a religious nature, and it allows us to think that the inscription comes from an important centre. We cannot but think of Qal'eh Ismail Aqa, that, as we shall see later on, probably played a very important role in Rusa I's time.

One sentence in this text is particularly interesting : "When the kings (namely the Urartaean kings) prepare a military expedition, the following sacrifice has to be made". We know that the area West of Urmia Lake, owing to its geographical position, was probably the starting point of Rusa's military expeditions to the South, against the Mannaeans' land. This is the South – East area of the armed confrontation with Assyria. About this we have quite detailed news on the Assyrian side, in the annals, and in Sargon's "display inscription".

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1) The following topics have been exposed in greater detail in the book *Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia, Ricerche storiche ed archeologiche nell' Azerbaigian iraniano*, ed. by P. E. Pecorella and M. Salvini , Rome 1982. References and sources are to be found in it. See furthermore, on the same subject : P. E. Pecorella and M. Salvini, *Researches in the region between the Zagros Mountains and Urmia Lake*, " Persica" X (in press).

ASSYRIAN AND URARTAEAN WRITTEN SOURCES FOR URARTAEAN HISTORY

BY :
MIRJO SALVINI

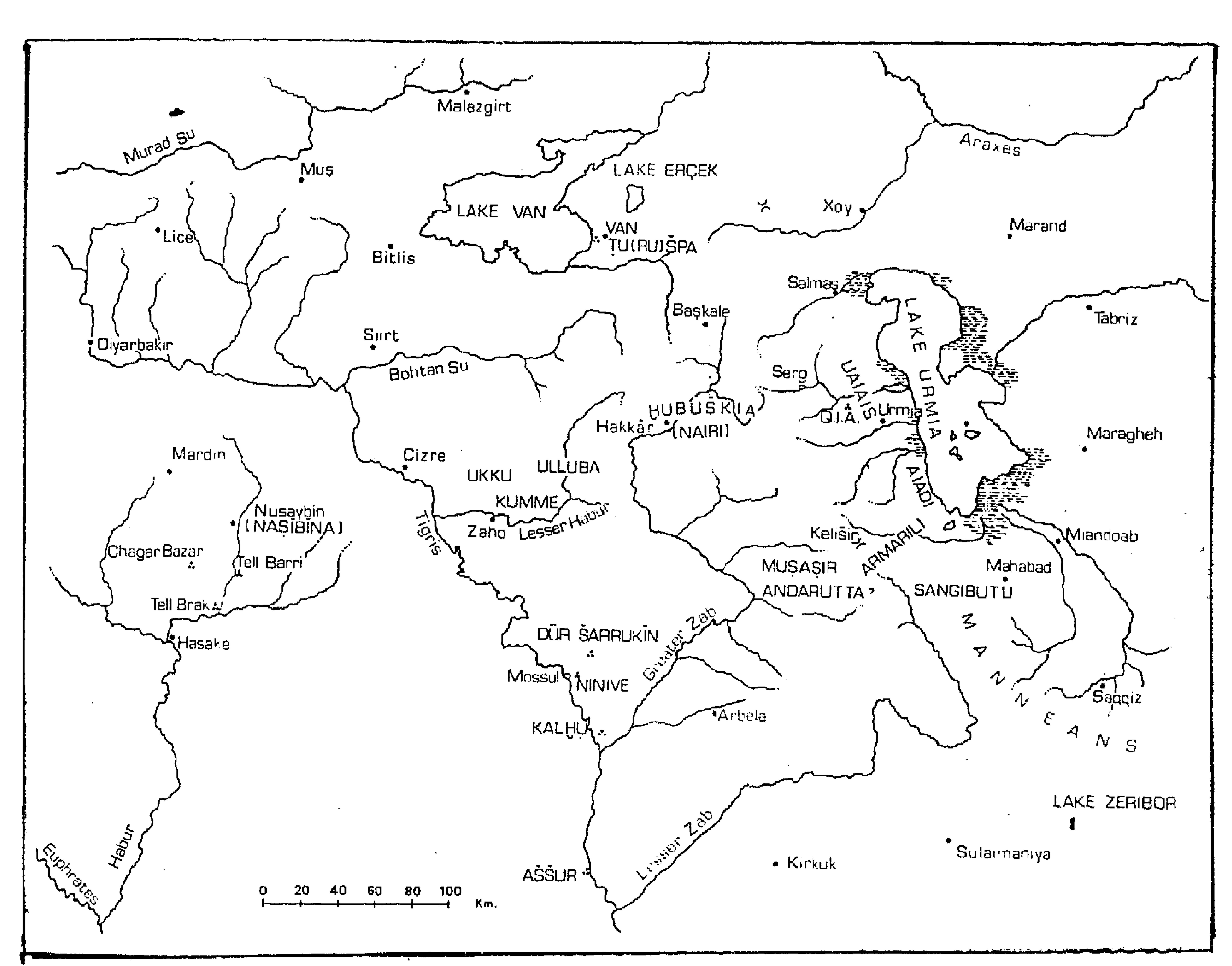


Fig. 1 : Urartu and surrounding areas at the time of Rusa I and Sargon. (Drawn by Mr. Roberto Valeri)

of this form (Wartke 1980, p. 230, fig. 10). However, such earrings cannot be identified on the Assyrian reliefs, with the possible exception of the earring being worn by a god on a Khorsabad fresco (Madhloom 1970, pl. LXI:3). Further, the occurrence of such earrings at Kish (Langdon 1924, pl. XXV : 1) and Babylon (Maxwell–Hyslop 1971, pp. 244–5, pl. 226), suggests that they should generally be dated, at least in southern Mesopotamia, to the post–Assyrian period This dating is corroborated by the grave–goods associated with the Ur earrings. Some of the pottery types, for example, such as the small glazed jar with lug handles from PG 82 (Woolley's type 215), and the larger glazed jar with ribbed neck and lug handles from PG 86 (Woolley's type 224), must almost certainly be post–Assyrian. We are forced to conclude, therefore, that while this earring type may occur during the Late Assyrian period at Ashur, at Ur it is associated with coffins that are Late Babylonian or Achaemenid in date.

There remains one problem which we have touched on but which deserves further consideration. This is the question of when an artefact can be called Assyrian. All that we have really done, of course, is point to some types of earring and finger-ring that are known to have been current in Assyria. But might not the same types have been current in Babylonia (and therefore be of Babylonian manufacture) which, after all, shared to a large extent a common cultural heritage with Assyria ? There is no easy answer to this question, especially with the absence of contemporary Babylonian monuments (such as the Assyrian erliefs) on which typical jewellery forms would be depicted. However, it is surely significant that these pieces come from Ur, a site which is known to have had close contacts with Assyria. It is therefore my tentative conclusion, in the light of the evidence presently available, that the earrings and finger-rings discussed here are of Assyrian manufacture as well as of Assyrian date.

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Fig. 9 Gold earring U. 6681, scale c. 3:2. Ur dig photograph.

where the gadroons end in lion's masks (Mallowan 1966, II, fig.357). Only three pottery vessels were associated with the coffins, a single glazed jar with PG 1 (Woolley's type 99) and two glazed jars with PG 2 (both Woolley's type 126). Although Woolley lists only one pot in the latter coffin (1962, p. 68), the original presence of two is clear from the Ur Field Notes and the Ur Catalogue. The dating of such glazed vessels in southern Mesopotamia is a bit problematic, but on the basis of the comparative evidence from Nippur (e.g. McCown and Haines 1967, pl. 98 : 8) there is no difficulty in fitting at least the jars from pG2 in to the Late Assyrian period. The conclusion must be, then, that both coffins were buried in the Late Assyrian period, possibly even as early as the eighth century, although I would not care to support this early date too strongly. As well as the three earrings discussed above a fourth gold earring from PG I, of plain lunate type (fig. 11; Woolley 1962, pl. 24), must also be of Late Assyrian date.

Given that the bronze coffins are of Assyrian date, one is bound, to wonder whether some of the terracotta coffins



Fig. 10 Detail from winged bull BM 118809.

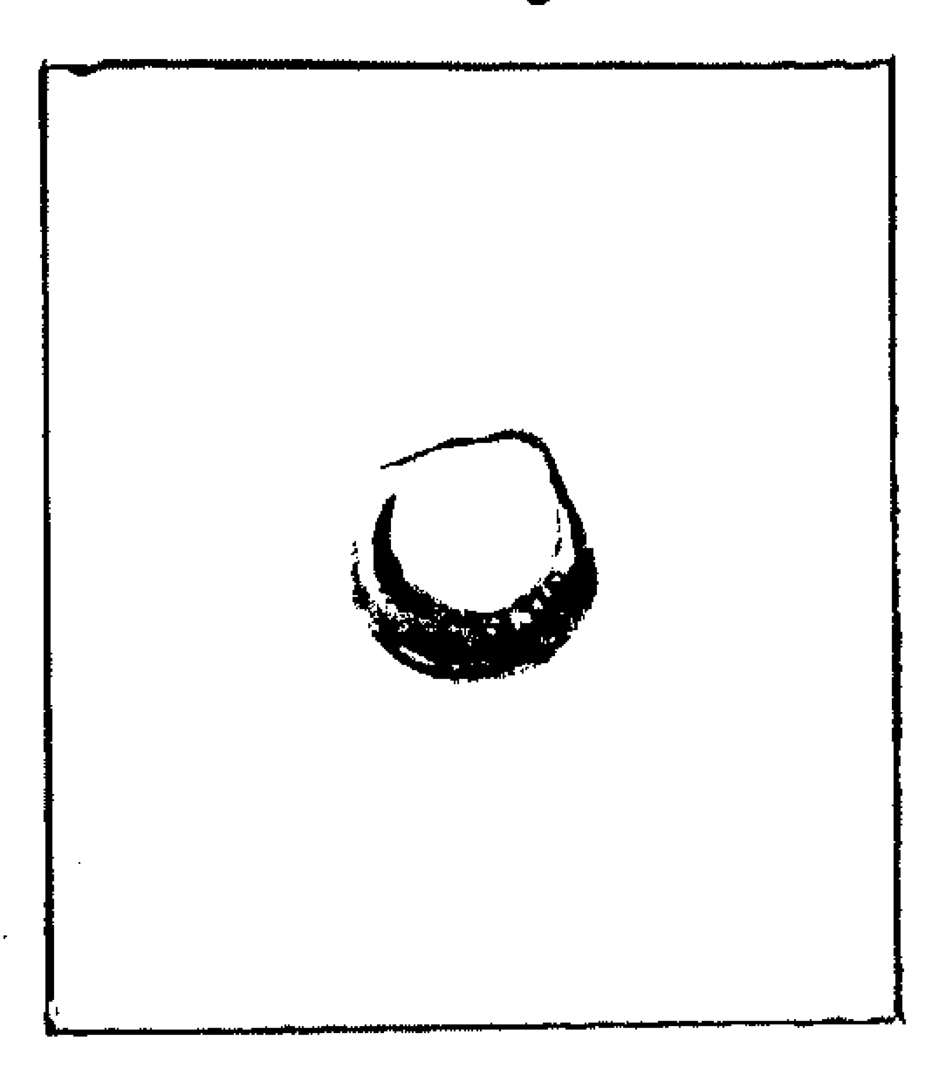


Fig. 11 Gold earring U. 6677 = BM 1927-5-7, 308, scale 1:1.

of similar shape, all classified by Woolley as Achaemenid, might not also be Assyrian. With this in mind, let us consider the types of earring from the terracotta coffins. The associations of those earrings with clusters of granulation along the bottom of the hoop (e.g. Woolley 1962, pl. 34 : U. 14422a), and those with little knobs all around the circumference (e. g. Woolley1962, pl. 34 : U. 7591), seem to be exclusively post-Assyrian. The position is much less clear, however, with a series of silver earrings with pendants in the shape of half-opened flowers (Blütengenhänge) (e.g. Woolley 1962, pl. 34: U. 17030). Five of these earrings were founds, distributed between three graves (Persian graves 82, 86, 105). At Ashur, similar earrings both in silver and bronze were found in graves that are without exception attributed to the Late Assyrian period (Haller 1954, grave 970, tombs 41, 53, 64, pl. 38c; Jakob-Rost 1962 nos. 13-14) . Further, a stone mould from Ashur had a matrix for making earrings

material possibly deriving from Assyria should occasion no surprise, as during the 7th century Ur enjoyed close and cordial relations with Assyria (Brinkman 1965; 1969). This was especially true under the governorship of Sin - balatsu - iqbi, who showed more respect to Ashurbanipal than he did to his nominal overlord, Šamas -šum-ukin, king of Babylonia. After the rebellion of 652–648 B.C. Ur may have been under direct Assyrian control, but this point is not yet definitely established. Given all this, can we find more examples of Assyrian-style earrings or finger-rings at Ur ?

Let us begin our enquiry with the two bronze coffins referred to by Woolley as Persian graves 1 and 2 respectively (1962, p. 68). In his preliminary description of the find (1926, p. 379), Woolley attributed these burials to the period 700–650 B.C. By the time of his final publication, however, he had changed his mind and believed them to date from the Achaemenid period, apparently on analogy with the terracotta coffins of similar shape (1962, p. 56). It is now clear that Woolley's original dating was much closer the mark. First, Strommenger has shown (1964) that terracotta coffins of the appropriate shape ("Hockersärge") appear at Ashur as early as the Middle Assyrian period, and became quite common in the Late Assyrian period. She concludes that the form spread to southern Mesopotamia towards the end of the Late Assyrian period. One example from Babylon is dated to the 8th–7th centuries (1964, p. 166, Abb. 3:7).

Secondly, we have the intrinsic evidence from the coffins themselves. On the upright stays in the middle of the sides of each coffin there are incised designs showing mountain goats standing on rosettes. Similar goats, usually kneeling on either side of a palmette, are a typically Assyrian feature, and the particular variant which occurs here is represented on a glazed brick panel from Khorsabad dating from the reign of Sargon (Botta 1849–50, II, pl. 155). A bronze coffin of comparable shape reputedly from Ziwiye in north-western Iran again has central stays decorated with a combination of goats and rosettes, but here there is additional decoration on the ledge around the top of the coffin. This shows court officials and tributaries. Wilkinson at first concluded (1960, p. 220) that the Ziwiye coffin had been manufactured in the seventh century, but he has now (1975, p. 9) revised this dating and believes that " the style would seem to be consistent with that of the last half of the eighth century B.C." A fourth bronze coffin of this type, rounded at one end and squared-off at the other, was found at Zincirli, but this example is undecorated (von Luschan 1911, p. 304; 1943, pp 118–9, pl. 37). It comes from Building L, and predates the destruction probably to be attributed to Esarhaddon. Clearly, then, the Ur coffins were manufactured during the Late Assyrian period, but at what date were they buried ?

Here the find-spot is obviously of crucial importance. Woolley's description of this in his final publication (1962, p. 68), where he says the coffins were found " in a vault in the SW wall of the Nin-gal temple", is misleading. His original report, however, (1926, p. 379), is quite specific : "Cut across the ruins of the south-west wall of the Kuri-Galzu edition of the Gig-Par-Ku lay two brick vaults, rather unusually rough, in which were copper coffins " . This provenance is confirmed by the entry on the relevant Ur dig-card (U 6754)- " Found lying W by E close to the Temenos wall at S corner of KP". The exact place is not marked on any of the published plans but it would appear to be in the vicinity of the building under the pavements of which were found the " papsukkal " figures (Woolley 1965, pls. 52–53). On the basis of the brick-sizes in this building, Woolley attributes it to Sinbalatsu- iqbi (1965, p. 35). The only later building activity noted on this site was the rebuilding of the temenos wall by Nebuchadnezzar (Woolley,1926, p. 378). Clearly, then, the coffins could have been, and probably were buried during the Late Assyrian period.

The next question is whether this dating can be supported by the contents of the coffins. Barnett (1956, p. 115) believed that the grave-goods should be dated to the neo-Babylonian period, but it is my contention that they are in fact of Assyrian date. Let us first examine the three gold earrings from PG 2 (figs. 8–9; Woolley 1962, pl. 24), which I believe

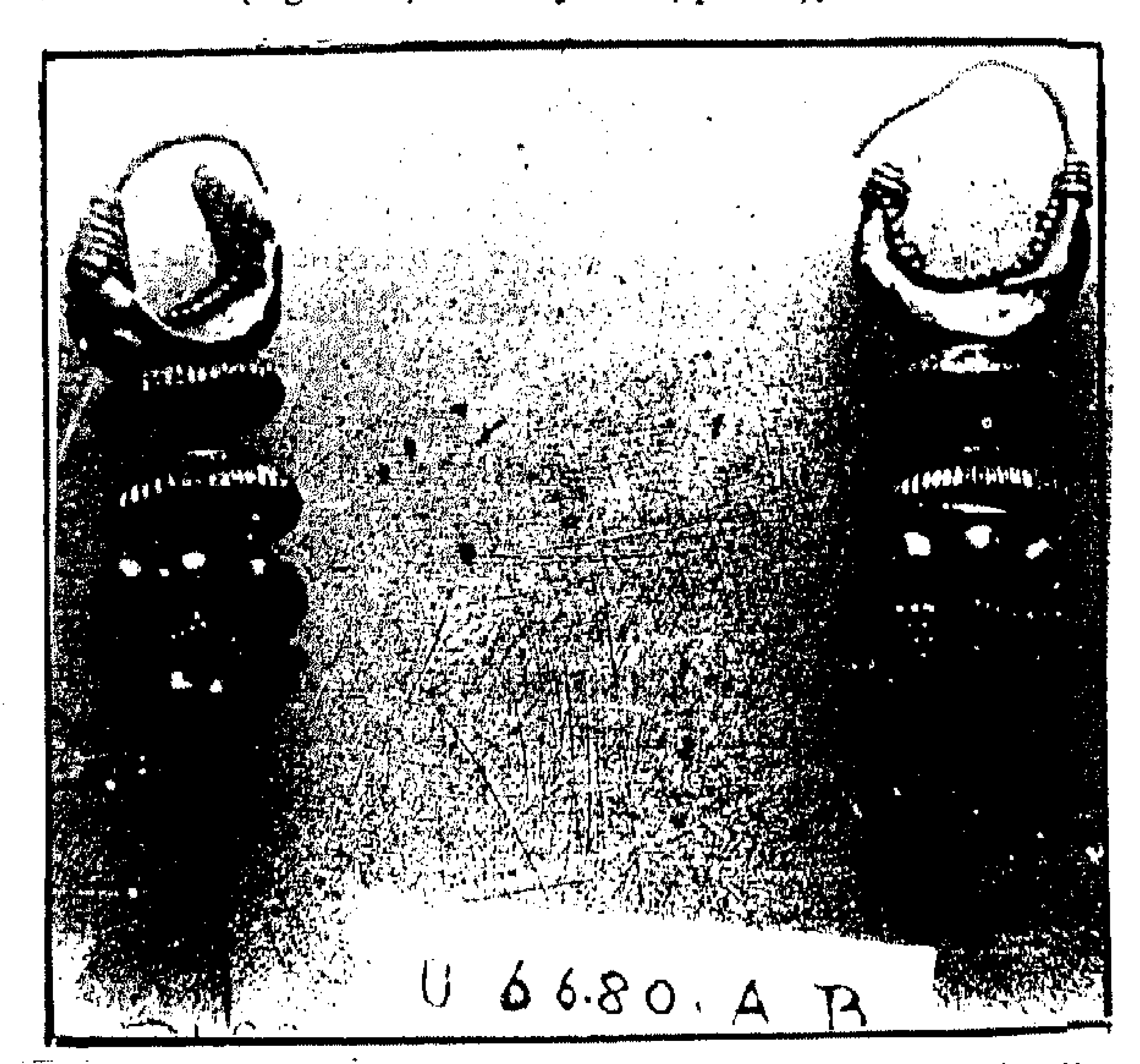


Fig. 8 Gold earrings U. 6680A – B, scale c. 3:2. Ur dig photograph.

find quite a close parallel on a winged bull of Sargon (fig. 10; Madhloom 1970, pl. LXVIII:30). There is the same disc-shape at the top with incised decoration, and the bulbous lower part in the form of a flower. Also, on the relief the wire bindings at the sides of the body are clearly shown. Most of the other grave-goods from these coffins, such as bronze fibulae, a bone comb a wooden bowl and a bronze mirror connot be very precisely dated, but there is one notable exception. This a bronze bowl with flared rim and pronounced gadroons, which finds its best parallels in the Late Assyrian period; it may be compared with a silver bowl from Nimrud

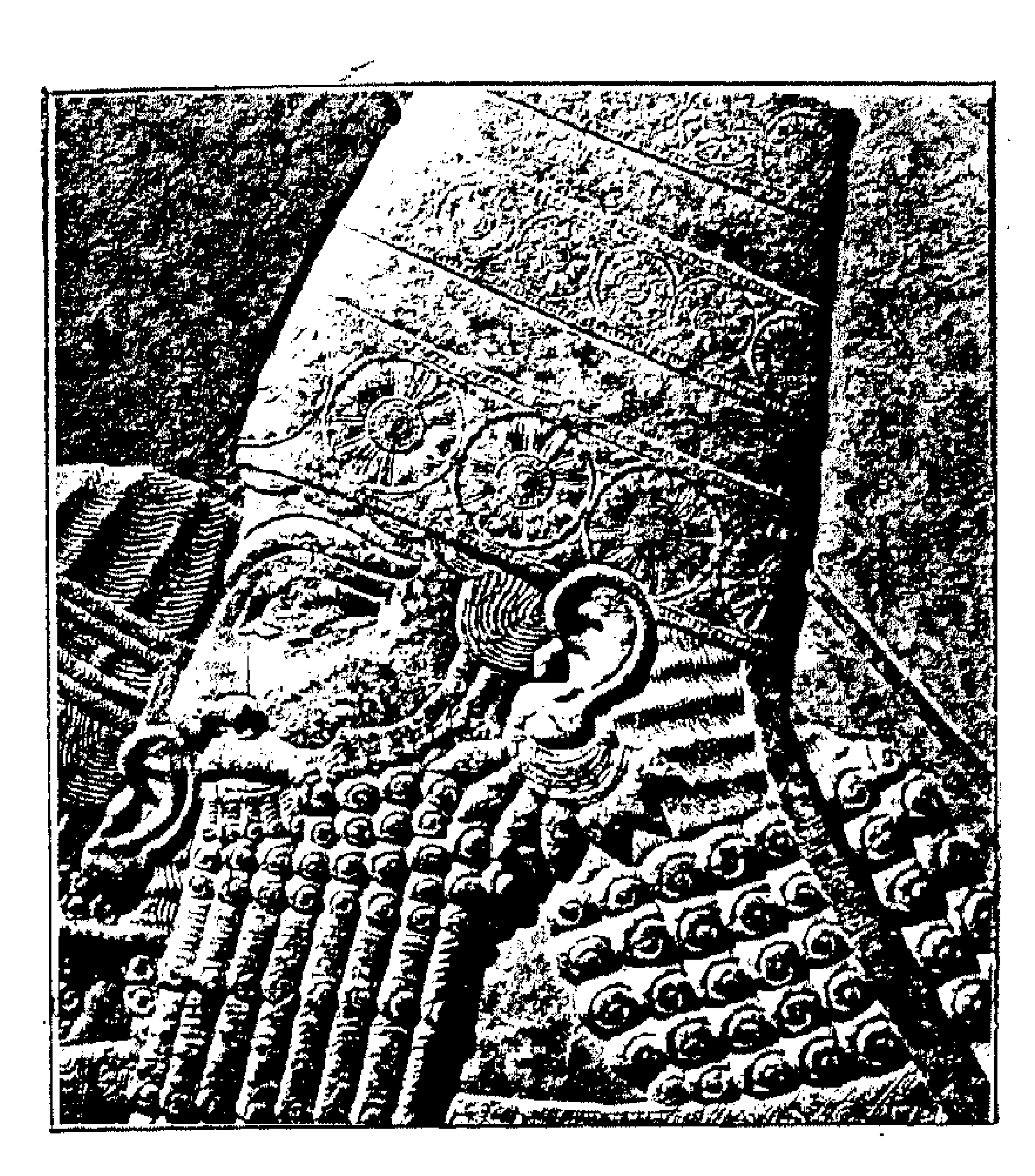


Fig. 4 Detail from Ashurbanipal relief BM 124867.

the same wire bindings and disc – shaped caps at the top. They are lacking floral attachments on the bottom, but again they are finely decorated with granulation. In one case the granulation takes a linear form, and in the other it is arranged in triangles. Now it is often assumed that these earrings are 5th century in date; but it seems to me that 5th century earrings are generally more elaborate and lack the wire bindings on either side of the body. We may cite as examples the gold earrings from Nymphaeum in the Crimea (Higgins 1961, pl. 24G; Rostovtzeff 1922, pl. XVI:2), those in the de Clercq collection from Amrit (de Ridder 1911, p. 122, pl. II: 682, 684) and the silver earrings associated with a hoard from the Hauran area of the Jordanian–Syrian border (Kraay and Moorey 1969, pp. 194–7, pl. XXII: 125–9). The presence of

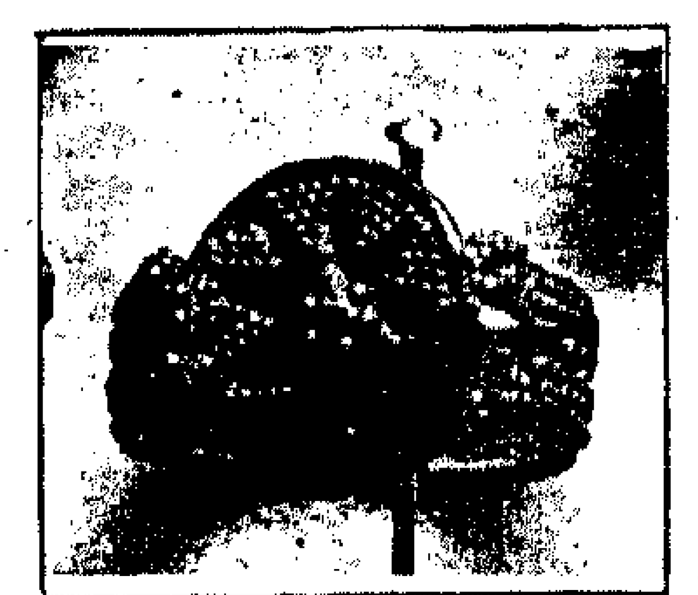
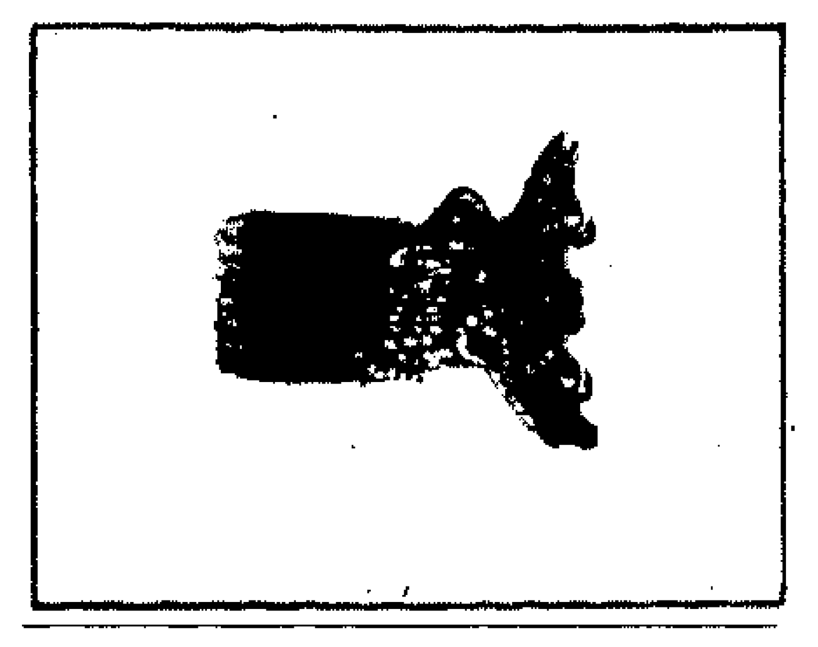
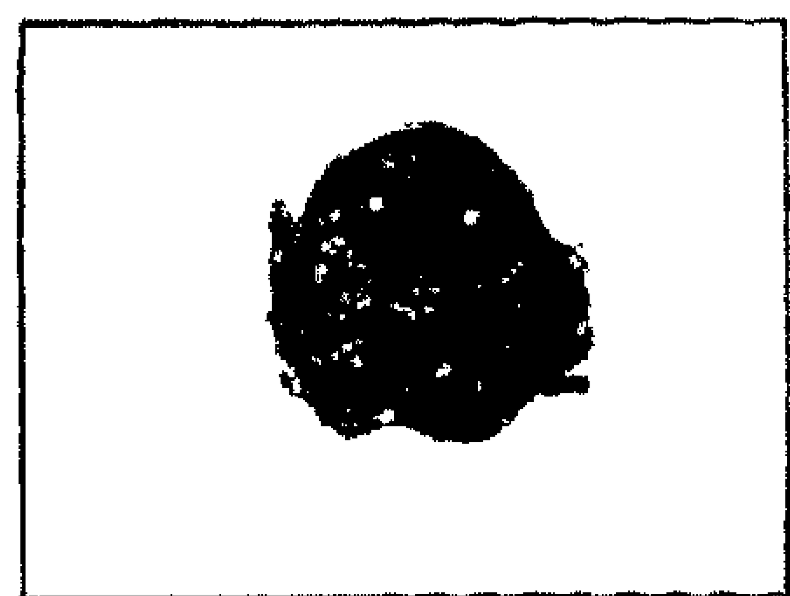


Fig. 5 Gold earring U. 466, scale c. 3:2. Ur dig photograph.

triangle granulation on one of our earrings need not alarm us as it also occurs for example on an earring from Zincirli (von Luschan 1943, pl. 45i), probably dating from the 8th or 7th centuries B.C., and on another from Karmir Blur (Maxwell–Hyslop 1971, pl. 158, top), the latter being an especially close parallel. Karmir Blur was not destroyed until the early 6th century BC, but much of the material from there is known to be earlier. Another earring, very similar but for three elaborate pendants, was allegedly found at Ziwiye in 1949 (Ghirshman 1979, pl. XXII:4). Earrings with triangle granulation on their bodies do not seem to occur on Assyrian reliefs, but there are certainly instances of triangle granulation in other contexts such as on earring pendants.

Also amongst this hoard were two gold finger–rings, one complete and the other only partially preserved but clearly similar (figs. 1 : centre, 5; Woolley 1962, pl. 22). A silver earring now in the British Museum, unfortunately of unkown provenance, is illustrated here to give an idea of the type (figs. 6–7). It is distinctive, comprising a hoop made up





Figs. 6 – 7 Silver earring BM 119965, scale 1:1.

of strands of wire with granules set in the channels between the individual strands and an oval bezel with triangles of granulation around the edge and a cluster of larger granules in the centre. Two examples of such earrings are known to me, one from Nimrud (unpublished) and the other from Ashur. Both are of silver and seem to be from secure Late Assyrian contexts. The Nimrud example comes from Room T2 in Fort Shalmaneser and the Ashur example from grave 989 (Haller 1954, p. 92, pl. 19g). In addition, there are five such earrings, all in silver, in the " Neue Palast "hoard. This is presumably Late Assyrian, in spite of the fact that the silver bracelet is very similar to one from Al Mina coming from level 4 at that site which is dated c. 520–430 B.C. (Woolley 1938, pp. 145, 167, fig. 23).

Of course it might be argued that all this jewellery is Late Babylonian in date, and I must admit it would be difficult absolutely to refute this. Nevertheless, in the absence of Late Babylonian parallels I think we are entitled to claim an Assyrian date for them. It is true that, if Woolley's description of the find–spot is accurate, the hoard was probably buried during the Achaemenid period, perhaps even during the reign of Cyrus. However, it could have been a votive deposit, perhaps buried when the temple was rebuilt, and as such it might represent treasure belonging to the temple and acquired over many years. We know that the Temple of E–nun–maḫ certainly existed long before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, with the site having been more or less continually occupied from the Ur III period onwards. Indeed there is even some dubious evidence, in the form of stray inscribed bricks (of Sin–balatsu–iqbi), of building activity here during the Late Assyrian period (Woolley 1923, p.324). There are, then, no cogent reasons for regarding any of the items in the hoard as Late Babylonian rather than Late Assyrian on account of the provenance. In any case, the presence at Ur of 8th or 7th

shaped earrings, that do not appear at all. Of course the new discoveries at Ashur have gone some way towards redressing the balance, but nevertheless the corpus of surviving pieces is still small. Consequently, any additions to it would be most welcome and it is my intention here to suggest that some earrings and finger – rings from Ur are Late Assyrian in date and may even be Late Assyrian in manufacture.

Let us turn now to the jewellery from Ur. I want to ... consider first some items from the hoard of jewellery and sundry other things found in the Temple of E – nun – maḫ. It was found in 1922 after the discovery of a well – preserved, but uninscribed pavement in Room 5 that Woolley attributed to Cyrus. In order to ascertain what was under the pavement, Woolley ordered his workmen to lift just twelve of the bricks in the west corner of the room. In his own words, " immediately below the bricks there was found in the earth packing a large collection of jewellery " (Woolley 1962, p. 29). At a depth of 65 cm. below the Achaemenid pavement was another dated by inscribed bricks to Nebuchadnezzar, and it is quite clear from Woolley's preliminary report (1923, p. 330) that the hoard was sandwiched between these two pavements.

Amongst the material in this hoard were gold earrings with wire bindings at the sides, granulation work on the body and lapis lazuli inlay on the sides (figs. 1: bottom, 2; Woolley 1962 pl. 22). The seven silver pegs at the base were for holding



Fig. 1 Gold jewellery from E–nun–maḫ hoard, scale c. 3:2 Ur dig photograph .

decorative attachments that are now missing – perhaps they were of some perishable material. The close parallel between this earring type and some of those shown on the Assyrian reliefs was recognized by Moortgat as long ago in 1927 in his article on Assyrian jewellery (Moortgat 1927, p. 202).

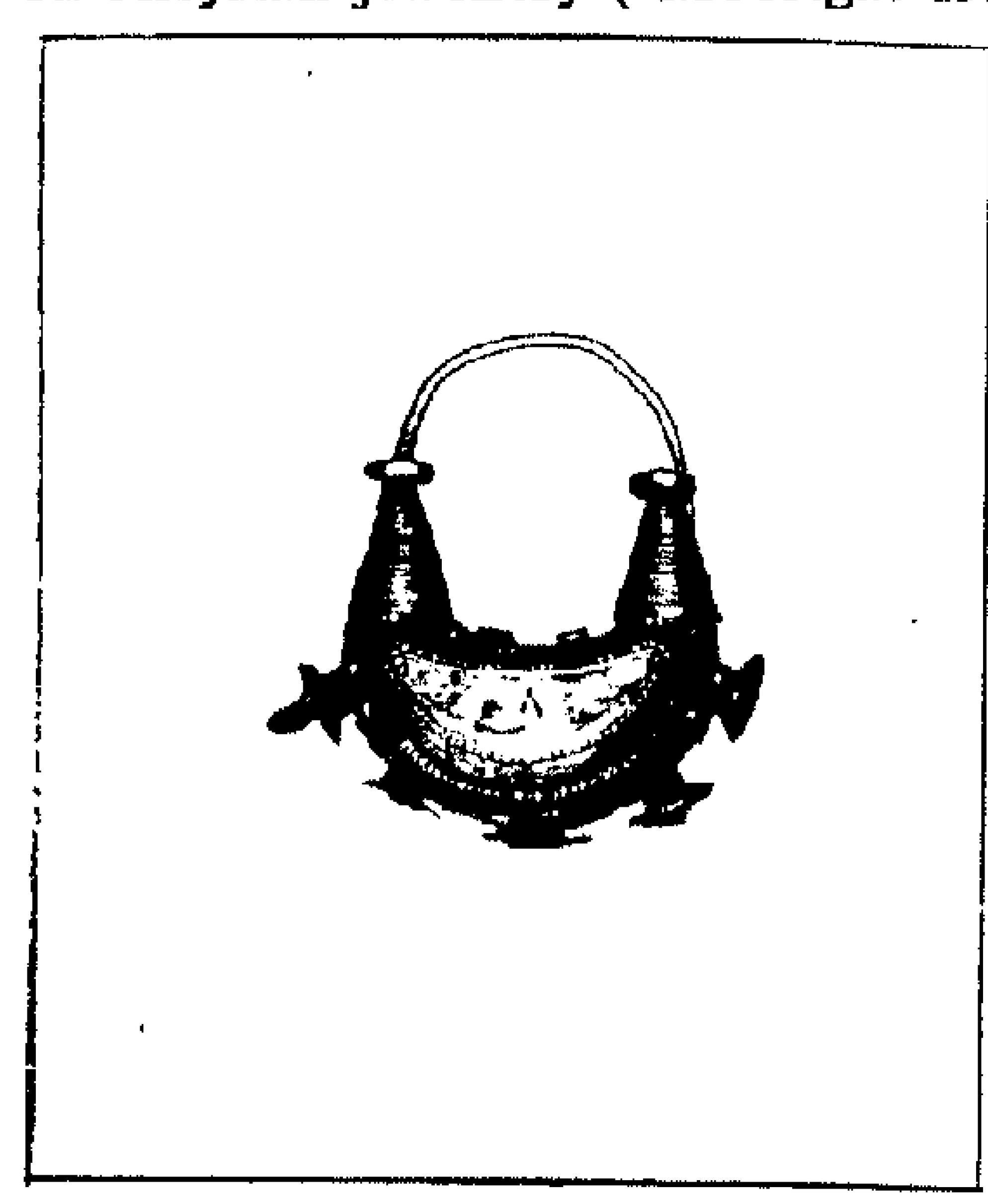


Fig. 2 Gold earring U. 460B = BM 116565, scale 1:1.

Thus on reliefs of Ashurbanipal we can see the king wearing earrings with seven floral attachments, some times with lotus

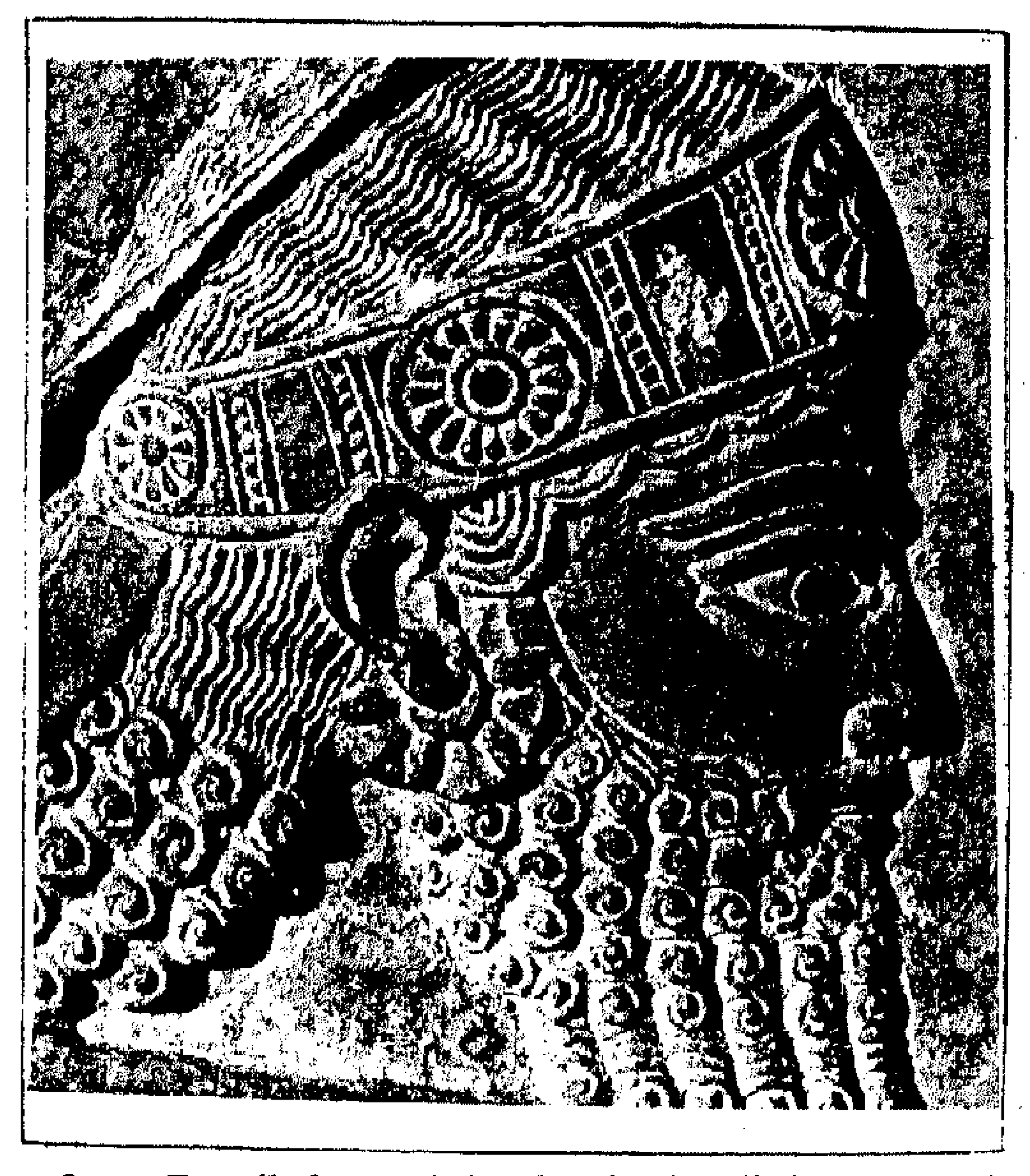


Fig. 3 Detail from Ashurbanipal relief BM 124876 .

flowers and buds alternating (fig. 3) and elsewhere with buds only (fig. 4). The last parallel is especially close, showing as it does the rows of granulation.

If, then, we accept this pair of earrings as Late Assyrian, I think we are bound to do the same for two more earrings from the same hoard (fig. 1, centre left and right; Woolley 1962 pl. 22). Both are similarly boat or leech – shaped, and have

LATE ASSYRIAN JEWELLERY FROM UR

BY :
JOHN CURTIS

Before the recent discovery by the Iraqi S.O.A.H. of a hoard of jewellery in a pottery vase below a floor in Room 63 of the " Neue Palast " at Ashur, the existing corpus of Late Assyrian jewellery was comparatively small . To take earrings and finger–rings, for we shall be concentrating on these in this paper, it is curious that examples of some of the most distinctive earrings shown on the Assyrian reliefs are known only from outside Assyria. Thus from Tell Halaf we have examples in gold of one of the most characteristic Assyrian forms the triplearmed earrings (Hrouda 1962, pl. 33 : 61 – 3), while from Zincirli are good examples of earrings with mushroom–shaped pendants (von Luschan 1943, pls. 44q, 45g). From Assyria itself the largest collection of earrings and finger – rings is, as one might expect, from the graves and tombs at Ashur. The contents of these have been catalogued by Haller (1954) but although large numbers of items are listed the majority of them are described only in the most cursory terms and only a few of the choicest pieces are illustrated. Finger–rings,for instance,which incidentally are not shown on the reliefs at all, were found in many of the graves. Haller lists over 100 examples from graves and tombs which he classifies as Late Assyrian, but only three of them are published (Haller 1954, pls. 19g, 38d) . With earrings the position is a little happier in that although Haller again lists large numbers of examples–here more than 150– he illustrates a higher proportion of them (pls. 17k, 19g, 20a, 37d, 38c –d), and also Dr Jakob–Rost has published those pieces which are now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in East Berlin (Jakob–Rost 1962). From Nimrud the amount of precious jewellery is very small, probably because in contrast to Ashur only a few Late Assyrian graves were found and excavated. The few gold earrings that have been found at Nimrud, mostly simple crescentic or annular types, were published by myself and Mrs Maxwell–Hyslop (Curtis and Maxwell–Hyslop 1971) . Apart from these there is a single silver earring and the well – known bronze earring with rock crystal pendant (Mallowan 1966, I, p. 65, fig. 28) of a type very familiar from the Assyrian reliefs. Lastly, from Nimrud, we have a number of simple bronze types, most of them of the plain crescentic variety. Finger–rings are particularly scarce from Nimrud, there being only one, in silver, that can be identified as such with any degree of confidence. We shall be returning to this later .

The other major Assyrian sites. Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, have produced very meagre collections. From Khorsabad there are only crescentic bronze earrings sometimes with conical pendants attached (Loud and Altman 1938, pl. 59 :n 133 – 5, 154 - 6). Finger – rings number just tow gold examples, now in the Louvre, from the excavations of Place in the 19th century. Both are plain gold hoops, one with a channel around the outside for a silver inlay . At Kouyunjik, so far as I know , no finger – rings have been found. As for earrings, four silver examples of penannular type are known to me plus an annular bronze earring with a terminal in the form of a goat's head. To complete this round – up it just remains to mention Tell al Rimah where some bronze finger – rings, so far as I know all plain, have been found in graves (Oates 1967, p. 92).

This, then, is more or less the totel of finger – rings and earrings from sites in Assyria . The picture may be expanded a little by the evidence from jewellery moulds, but these are often difficult to date with any precision and many of the forms may be traditional types of jewellery (perhaps in lead) intended for use by bedouin and villagers. Moulds that are ascribed to the Late Assyrian period with matrices for making earrings are know from Kouyunjik (Layard 1853, p. 597, bottom), Nimrud (Layard 1853, p. 597, centre right) and Ashur (Wartke 1980, nos. 6, 8, 11).

By contrast, a wide range of jewellery forms is shown on the Assyrian reliefs, particularly earrings (e. g. Madhloom 1970, pls LXVIII - LXIX). Further , we should remember that on the reliefs only the earrings of a small and privileged élite are being shown – there was doubtless a whole range of simpler forms, even excluding the ordinary lunate or boat-

shall see in Phase III, before it was resumed with greater vigour under Ashurbanipal in Phase IV .Phase II, then, ends in awesome silence.

The reign of Esarhaddon (680 – 669 B. C.) is the period of Phase III " Brief Respite ". Esarhaddon's chief aim in foreign policy was the conquest of Egypt . He therefore sought peace on the Babylonian and Elamite front.

This short phase is characterized by an uneasy peace interrupted once according to our sources by an Elamite invasion which was quickly repelled.

The final phase, Phase IV " Destruction ", covers the reign of Ashurbanipal (668 –627 B. C.). There is no clear foreign policy evident in this reign for much of the period was taken up with one crisis after another and there was no time to develop a policy Elam was very much involved in some of the major crises.

At the beginning of his reign Ashurbanipal was preoccupied with trouble in Egypt and while he was leading a campaign there, the Elamites took advantage. Once again they overran Babylonia and laid siege to Babylon (667). Ashurbanipal eventually despatched troops to the south and the invaders fled back across the border.

In subsequent years Assyro-Elamite relations became more complicated as Elamite rulers in disfavour sought refuge in the Assyrian court. The complications were compounded by the intrigues of Shamash – shuma – ukin, Ashurbanipal's brother on the Babylonian throne.

Elam, was an ally of Shamash-shuma-ukin and in the early days of the war Ummanigash of Elam sent a contingent to assist the Babylonian ruler, but the Elamite troops were defeated by the Assyrians.

As the rebellion progressed Elam sought good relations with Assyria and a treaty was concluded between the two rulers which continued until 649 when Indabigash in turn was overthrown by another usurper.

Friendship towards Elam was a temporary expedient during the latter days of the Shamash-shuma-ukin rebellion but with the rebellion crushed in 648 Assyria could dispense with the expedient and launch a campaign against Elam. The purpose of the campaign in 646 was to win back the buffer states between Elam and Assyria, to seek revenge for Elam's earlier role as an ally of Shamash-shuma-ukin, and to replace the reigning usurper with Tammaritu II who had been living in exile at Ashurbanipal's court. The campaign was a success and Tammaritu was put back on the throne albeit for a very short period after which he was once again deposed by a usurper.

Elam had consumed a considerable quantity of Assyrian time and effort with no benefit to Assyria and even the attempts to control Elam through a puppet king had been frustrated; it is not surprising that Ashurbanipal now felt compelled to take drastic steps. The Assyrian monarch called for a massive effort, an effort that would virtually crush Elam once and for all. The Assyrian forces thundered through the border regions and the usurper fled the capital before the Assyrians even came near Susa. Ashurbanipal personally took up residence in the palace in the Elamite capital while his soldiers destroyed temples and the ziggurat, desecrated the sacred groves and royal tombs, seized cult statues and royal statues, emptied the royal treasury and carried off numbers of people and valuable booty and animals to Assyria. The devastation even included the spreading of salt over the fields and Ashurbanipal boasted that henceforth no human cry could be heard throughout Elam for the land had reverted to wilderness. The might of Elam was destroyed, for however sceptical one might be of the details of the Assyrian rampage,in subsequent history, Elam appears rarely and modestly until the Khuzestan plain is finally occupied by the ancient Persians.

After this survey of the four phases of Assyria's foreign policy in relation to Elam during the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. it is hoped that the reason for the actions which Assyria took during these periods is relatively clear. Unlike Assyria's policy towards Egypt, Assyria had no intention initially of conquering and looting Elam. Rather this idea and its subsequent fulfillment grew out of an entirely different aim, that of actively incorporating Babylonia within the Assyrian state. It is only when it became apparent that this latter aim required the destruction of Elam that the Assyrian kings, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal, carried out major invasions of that state.

In the short term the policy was successful, at least in the reign of Ashurbanipal. However it was short-sighted in the same way that Sennacherib's Babylonian policy was short-sighted; total destruction of a state, be it Babylonia or Elam, simply opened the way for new problems. In the case of Babylonia it engendered a bitter resentment and thirst for vengeance which ultimately erupted in the Chaldean uprising of the late seventh century B. C. and the conquest of Assyria by Babylonia. In the case of Elam it left a vacuum of power in the khuzestan plain which was rapidly filled by the ancient Persians who would in turn conquer both Babylonia and Assyria.

the topic of Assyro-Babylonian relations requires an investigation all to itself.

Phase I " Encroachment and Intrigue " covers the period from the accession of Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744 – 705 B. C.) .The Assyrian Empire was reborn under Tiglath-pileser and firmly refounded by Sargon II .

Tiglath-pileser's foreign policy concentrated upon the destruction of Assyria's chief enemy , Urartu, and Elam and her neighbour, Babylonia, had no role to play in that policy aim . Nevertheless, disturbances in Babylonia and the need to press against Urartu and her potential allies to the south-east, brought Assyrian troops to the Elamite border in this reign . Tiglath-pileser campaigned to the River Ulaya (modern Qarun) twice (745 and 744 B. C.) and on a third campaign (737 B. C.) he actually captured some Babylonian fortresses on the Elamite border

The Elamites obviously felt threatened by these repeated Assyrian military manoeuvres on their border and in the reign of Sargon II Elamite intrigue in Babylonia began . The Elamites supported a *coup* in Babylon which brought to the throne Marodach-baladan II, the leader of the Chaldean tribe Bit-Yakin .

Elamite support was not altruistic for not only were the Elamites defending their own interest in supporting this insurrection close to Assyria, they were actually paid bribes by the Babylonians to assist . Elamite participation was active and the Assyrian garrison at Der was attacked in 720 by an Elamite army led by king Humbanigash. The sources for this battle have conflicting accounts of the events and results but it would appear that the Babylonian army did not arrive in time to support the Elamites; nevertheless the Elamite king was able to claim a victory and Merodach – baladan

In 710 Sargon II launched his major offensive against Merodach-baladan and his ally Shutur-nahhunte of Elam .

Sargon captured a chief city in Gambulu, and made it the capital of the newly-formed province of Gambulu with a governor . Thus the Elamites were faced with a properly organized Assyrian province and garrison right on their borders .

But Sargon went farther than simply establishing a buffer province . He crossed over the boundary and captured a number of Elamite fortresses, carrying hostilities for the first time into Elamite territory . He then captured Babylon, forcing Merodach-baladan to flee to Elam, and the Assyrian was crowned king in Babylon .

Summing up Phase I and the evidence it provides for Assyria's foreign policy in relation to Elam,it is clear that intially the Assyrian monarch had no designs upon Elam . But Assyria's encroachment towards Elamite territory an encroachment dictated by her policy towards Urartu and her dealings with Babylonia , engendered fear in Elam resulting in Elamite intrigue in Babylonia , The Elamites supported the idea of an independent Babylonia under the leadership of Merodach-baladan, a ruler who was staunchly anti-Assyrian. and their support developed into direct military intervention in the Babylonian plain .

Thus Elam, Babylonia's chief ally ,gradually came to play a role in Assyrian foreign policy and this role was magnified in the next phase as the Babylonian question came to demand urgent attention by Assyrian policy – makers.

Phase II " Invasion " covers the reign of Sennacherib (704 – 681 B. C.) The foreign policy of Sennacherib seems to have had as its main goal the subjugation of the West and the conquest of Egypt, but this aim was abandoned early as a crisis erupted in Assyria's relations with Babylonia . The Babylonian question soon became the paramount problem of Sennacherib and Elam, which continued as Babylonia's staunch ally , was an integral part of this problem .

After two early Assyrian campaigns into Babylonia in which the Elamites had little involvement, the major confrontation bagan in 694 . Anti-Assyrian leaders in Babylonia had for a long time been using the marshes along the Gulf and Elamite territory as a refuge when Assyrian pressure became too great. Sennacherib decided to destroy this escape route by attacking Elam from the sea using ships built by Phoenicians and transported down the rivers to the Gulf. It was a brilliant idea but it almost floundered when, according to our sources,the phoenician sailors and Assyrian troops were overwhelmed by a storm and enormous weves when they reached the shore. It seems to me that what actually happened is that the sailors ,who had never seen a proper tide before (the Mediterranean is virtually tideless), were totally mystified and frightened by this phenomenon in the Gulf. Be that as it may evenually they were able to sail across and won a pitched battle at the mouth of the River Ulaya. But Sennacherib had been outwitted by the Elamites.

While the Assyrian had been busy with his naval expedition the Elamites had invaded Babylonia in the north through the Diyala valley and occupied Sippar . It was a brilliant stroke on the part of the Elamites and caught Sennacherib completely off guard .To add to the Assyrian's humiliation his own son, the crown prince Ashur-nadin-shumi, was captured and carried off to Elam Thus the war against Elam turned into a vendetta ; Sennacherib now sought vengeance against the Elamites for the loss of his son .

With single-minded purpose he invaded Elam (693 B. C.) and, before the arrival of winter compelled him to withdraw,campaigned successfully forcing the king of Elam Kudur-nahundu, to flee his capital .

Summing up Phase II with a view to understanding Assyria's foreign policy towards Elam, the position of Elam has been magnified to that of a major target in the eyes of Assyrian military planners . Once Assyria's war with Elam was transformed into a vendetta, massive invasion and destruction became the goal . Sennacherib seems to have been satisfied that his invasion of 693 achieved this, particularly since it was followed shortly after by the devastation of Babylon (689) , but the war really only had a brief respite, as we

ASSYRIA'S FORIGN POLICY IN RELATION TO ELAM IN THE EIGHTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES B.C.

BY
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The question of Assyria's foreign policy towards Elam in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. has, like all areas of the foreign policy of the Assyrian state, been neglected by modern historians. There have, of course, been discussions of the wars between Assyria and Elam but little or no attention has been paid to the reasons behind the hostilities. My concern here is to examine the causes behind the events and to determine, if possible, what the intentions and aims of the Assyrian planners were on the Elamite frontier. This examination will involve consideration of Assyria's foreign policy as a whole, in order to provide the context for an understanding of Assyria's attitude toward Elam, for Assyria's policy on any one front cannot be studied in isolation.

On previous occasions I have discussed Assyria's foreign policy in other respects. An earlier study dealt with the entire foreign policy of Assyria in the ninth century[1] and yet another paper concentrated upon Assyria's foreign policy in relation to Egypt in the eighth and seventh centuries.[2] I shall not repeat what is stated in those articles but simply summarize the basic principles established there.

In the past the whole question of Assyria's foreign policy and the motivation behind her campaigns has been badly neglected but in recent years discussion on this matter has evolved.[3] My view, is that there was an overall policy which dictated that Assyrian campaigns be launched in given directions provided there was not an emergency which demanded the presence of the army in a trouble spot. The motivation for the Assyrian military campaign consisted of a number of interwoven factors which for convenience we can divide into three categories: defence; the acquisition of booty and corvée and intangible elements (royal egotism, religion, nationalism, and the idea of imperialism). But regardless of motivation there was, I feel certain, a grand plan behind the direction in which the campaigns went each year,The existence of such an overall strategy can never be proven, barring the discovery of a totally unexpected type of document, but the only alternative sitc conclude that year after year this gigantic force was sent out in any direction that happened to catch the king's fancy.

Having stated the principles upon which the following investigation is based, I wish to outline briefly the organization of the remainder of this paper. It is divided into four parts which I call phases. Phase I is entitled "Encroachment and Intrigue". Phase II "Invasion". Phase III "Brief Respite". Phase IV "Destruction". The discussion of the four phases is arranged in chronological order and will be concerned not with the details of how Elam was conquered but with the overall pattern of historical events in order to enquire why they developed this way. This survey follows my treatment in the Cambridge Ancient History (revised edition) where full documentation will appear.

Before proceeding to a discussion of Phase I, one further preliminary point must be made. It is impossible to discuss Assyria's relations with Elam without discussing Assyria's relations with Babylonia for as shall see immediately the two are closely intertwined. Nevertheless it is our concern in this investigation to concentrate upon Assyro-Elamite affairs and Babylonia when mentioned will be treated only briefly. for

1) A. K. Grayson, "Studies in Neo-Assyrian History. The Ninth Century B. C.", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XXXIII (Leiden, 1976), PP. 134-45.

2) A. K. Grayson, "Assyria's Foreign Policy in Relation to Egypt in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B. C.", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* II (Toronto, 1981), PP. 85 - 88.

3) W. von Soden, "Die Assyrer und der Krieg", *Iraq* 25, (1963), PP. 131 - 144; L. D. Levine, "East-West Trade in the Late Iron Age : A View from the Zagros" Colloques Internationaux du CNRS 567 (1976), PP. 171 - 186.

The cone bearer and the tree together are not illustrated on reliefs after Assurnasirpal II. The cone bearer in the Tell Barsib frescoes dating to Tiglath Pileser III is alone at a doorway leading to a bathroom suite.[19] In the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad there are several cone bearers pointing at doorw-



Fig. 21 *idem* no. 603

ays (fig. 18), but never at the palmette tree which is placed by itself in a corner (fig. 19) ; at Nineveh the only cone bearer is beside the gateway bull at the Nergal gate in the northern town wall.

The cone bearer also occurs on late Assyrian cylinder seals from the 9th century BC. It may be beside a tree (fig. 20). in other cases beside a god (fig . 21) . In one seal (no.597) where the cone bearer is a fish cloak *apkallu* there is no tree in the scene at all;

Considering the evidence of the clav figurines and the texts associated with them , together with the various illustra-

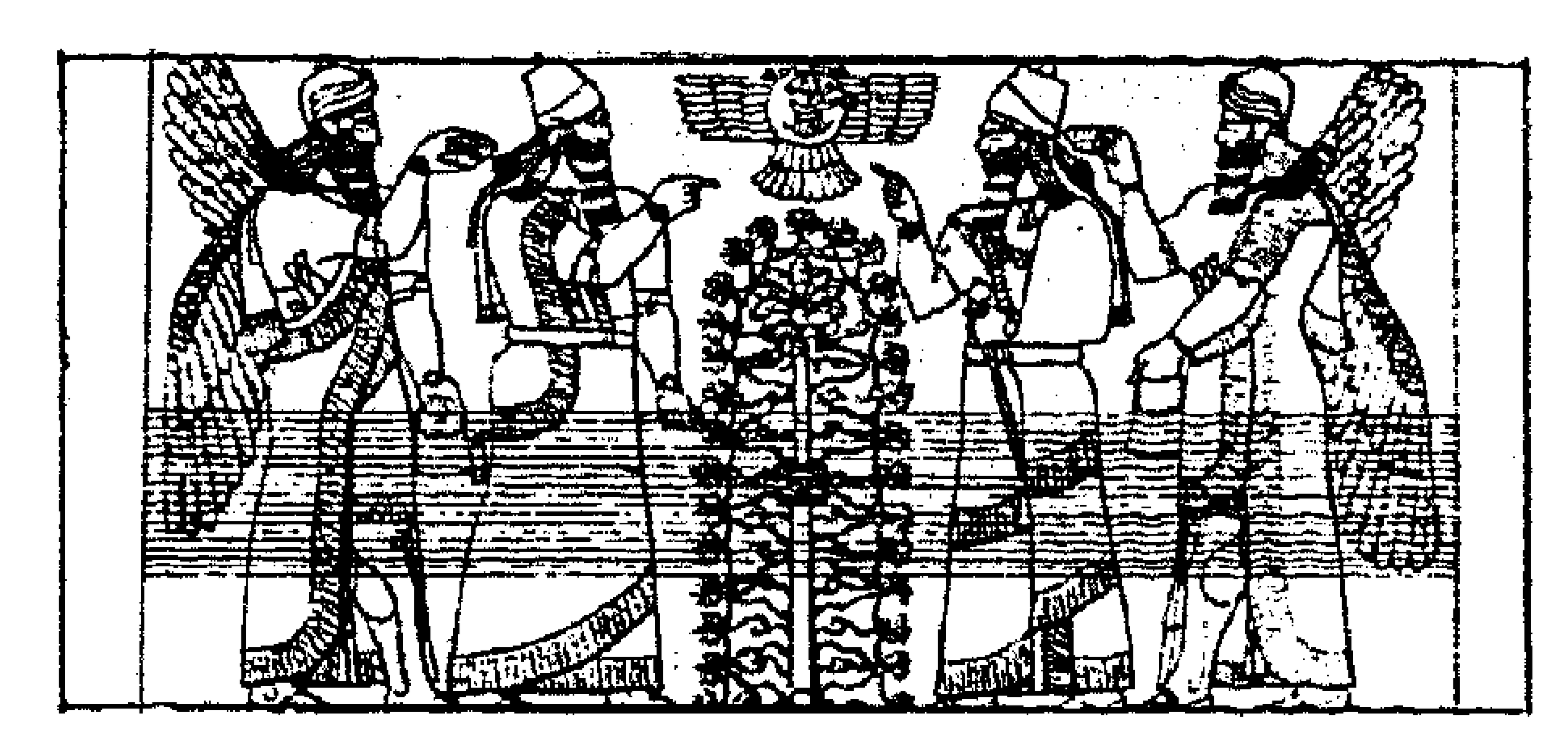


Fig. 22 J. Meuszynski op *cit.*, tafel 1, no . 2

tions, I belive that the cone bearer is an independent apotropaic figure on the walls of the palace whose function is, as the text says, " to remove the foot of evil from the house".The palmette tree is a separate magical element. The fact that on many reliefs the cone overlaps the tree to a varying extent or not at all is due, I suggest, to the amount of space the sculptor or draughtsman had at his disposal. It is to be noted that on the throne room relief (fig . 22) the king's mace overlaps the tree for the same reason. The reason why the two genii or gods face one palmette, while turning their backs on another, is that they must be shown in profile on account of the difficulty of drawing them full face in low relief. They are repeated each side of the palmette for decorative reasons as the king is duplicated on the throne room relief .



at Tell Barsib [10] is covered with seeds. There are several theories about its identity; the first put forward by Professor Taylor, FRS, in the year 1880,was that it is the male date flower bud or spathe, arabic *tal'a*, stripped of its outer cover to show the young male date fower (fig. 12) and that the action of the griffin men beside the palmette symbolised the fertilisation of the female flower in a process commonly done in Babylonia and called in Akkabian *rukkubu;* this theory is supported by Meissner, Labat, Hrouda, Porada and Strommenger[11] Moortgat envisages an aspergillum with holy water.[12] My Iraqi colleagues will be the best experts to comment on this theory and pronounce whether the cone in any way resembles the cone shown on the reliefs and whether the bucket that could be of metal might beused to carry pollen. The objections to this theory have been set down by Cyril Gadd and J. B.Stearns.[13] The cone is not always pointed at the tree, but also at the king (fig. 13) or his attendants (fig. 14) at doorways and at nothing in particular(fig.15) . Another explanation of the cone is that it is a fir cone (Brandes, Bleibtrau).[14] The type of fir tree growing nearest to Assyria is the *pinus brutiai*, arabic *sanaubar*, which can be seen growing at Zawita beyond Dohuk on the road to Amadiya (fig. 16). Its female cone does indeed some what resemble the object on the reliefs. Fir cones are used in the *aqlu* rituals for counteracting the effects of witchcraft "fir cones release me that are full of seeds"; " the small fir cones of the priestesses, come and break the bonds of my witch".[15] The *mullilu* man be just what its name says · Moortgat implies; an aspergillum or sprinkler of terracotta or metal with pierced holes; the objection to this is that the half circles covering the cone do not look like holes, and no object of this kind has been found in late Assyrian excavations so far as I know. This is not the first time a figure with a bucket and presumably a sprinkler is illustrated, for a human with these objects is often shown on cylinder seals of the Old Babylonian period (fig. 17) . He appears as an entirely independent figur and bears no recognisable relationship to any other figure in the scene.There are few references in Akkadian texts to the ritual use of *banduddu* and mulllilu,[16] but in aeach case they involve water. In the Mari ritual water is brought by the *luhsu* priest for libations. In a birth ineincantation water is poured on the labouring cow from a *banduddu*. The Akitu of Anu at Uruk mentions a *banduddu* in a broken contecontext but associated with water. As an object *mulillu* has only one certain occurrence in a ritual use ; tthe first tablet of *bit*

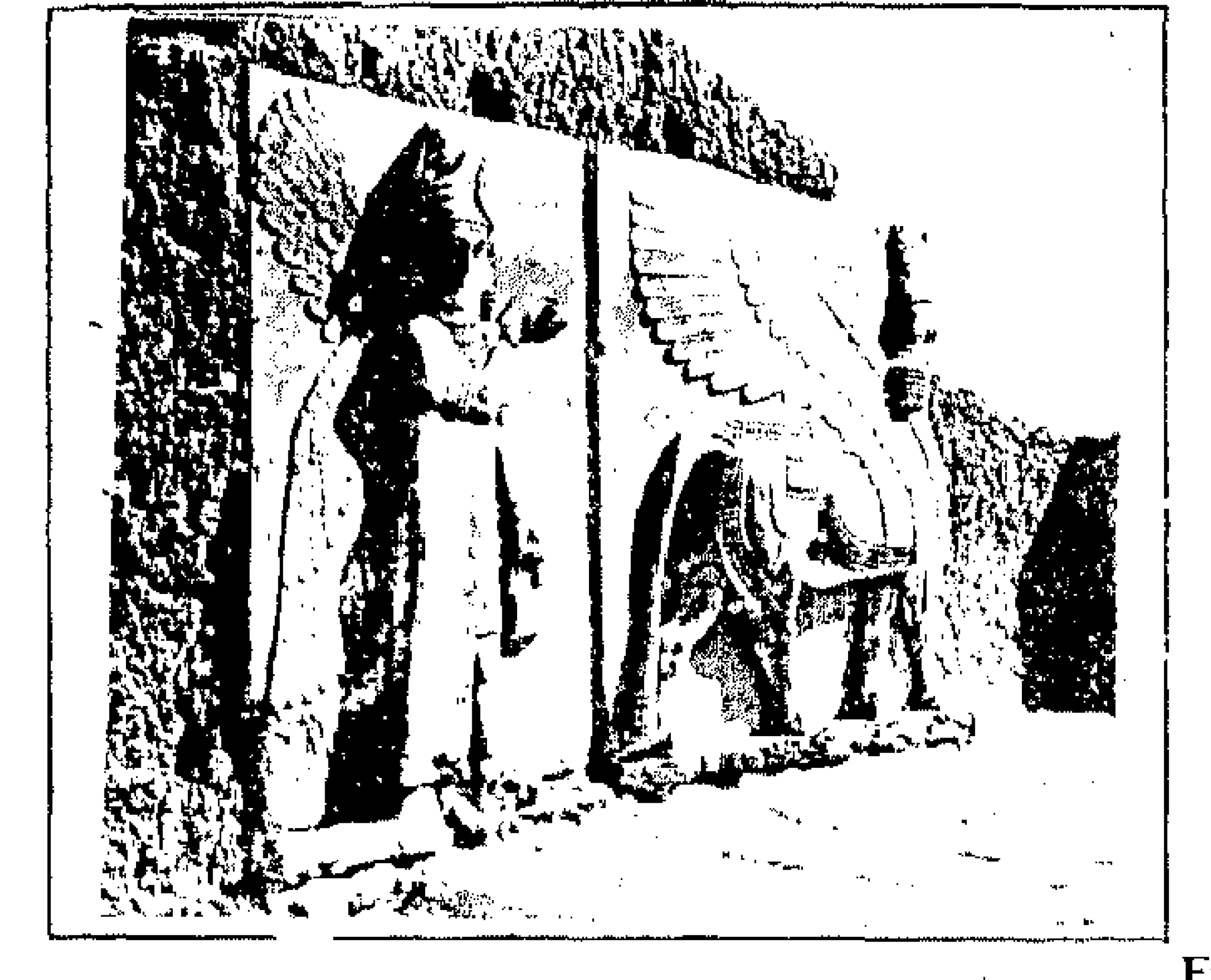


Fig. 18 G. Loud ,op . cit ., pl . 46 , 2

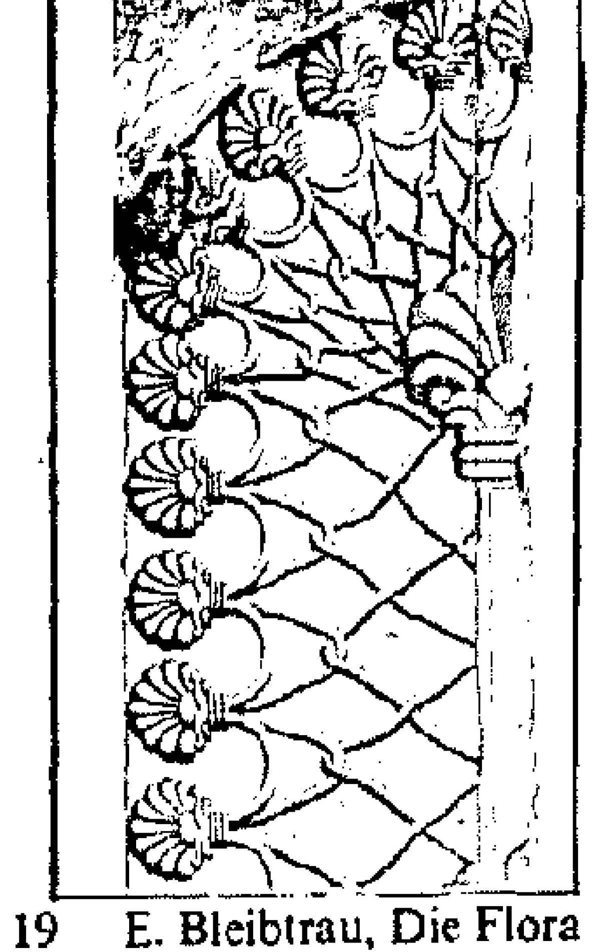


Fig. 19 E. Bleibtrau, Die Flora der assyrischen Flachbildkunst, pl . 42

rimki two *mulillu* are placed in water in a holy water basin.[17]

A further objection to the theory that the tree is being fertilised or purified is that according to the incantation texts I have quoted , the palm itself is a source of magic power. Cyril Gadd[18] thought that the genii were taking power from the tree and transferring it to the king and his weapons, but this does not explain the position of cone bearers at doorways or in the Khorsabad frescoe .

Fig. 16 . E. Guest , Flora of Iraq, vol . 1 , Baghdad 1966, p. 83 , pl. 26

and *mullilu,* [16] but in each case they involve water, In the Mari ritual water is brought by the *luhsu* priest for libations. In a birth incantation water is poured on the labouring cow from a *banduddu.* The Akitu of Anu at Uruk mentions a *banduddu* in a broken context but associated with water. As an object *mulillu* has only one certain occurrence in a ritual use ; the

13. C. Gadd, The Assyrian Sculptures, British Museum, 1934, p. 51 ff. J. B. Stearns, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
14. E. Bleibtrau, Die Flora der Neuassyrische Flachbildkunst. Wein 1980, W. Z. K. M. S. II, p. 16. M. Brandes, Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Bruxelles, 1969, p. 150.
15. G. Meier, *maqlu, op . cit*, I, 24, and VI, 29 – 31
16. Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, vol. 2, p. 79f; vol 10, 11, p. 189.
17. H. Zimmern, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der babylonische Religion, no. 26, V . 37 – 39.
18. C. Gadd, *op. cit.*
19. F. Thureau Dangin, Til Barsib. p. 57, plan B, XXIV – XXVI.

By the nature of the pattern, the supernatural figures alternately face towards or away from the palmette. The griffin men and the gods point a cone shaped object with one hand and hold a small bucket with the other. This attitude with cone and bucket is similar to apotropaic clay figurines (fig. 11) found at special points under the floor of palaces at Nimrud and the priest's house at Assur . [8] Tablets found at Assur give us the ritual for making these figurines and reveal their purpose, " to remove the foot of evil from the house " [9] . The bucket is called a *banduddu* and the cone *mullilu* which simply means " purifier " and is no help in identifying the object or explaining the action . Unfortunately the cone used by the figurines is not shown in any detail, but is simply an oval shaped object, while the cone of the reliefs and the frescoe

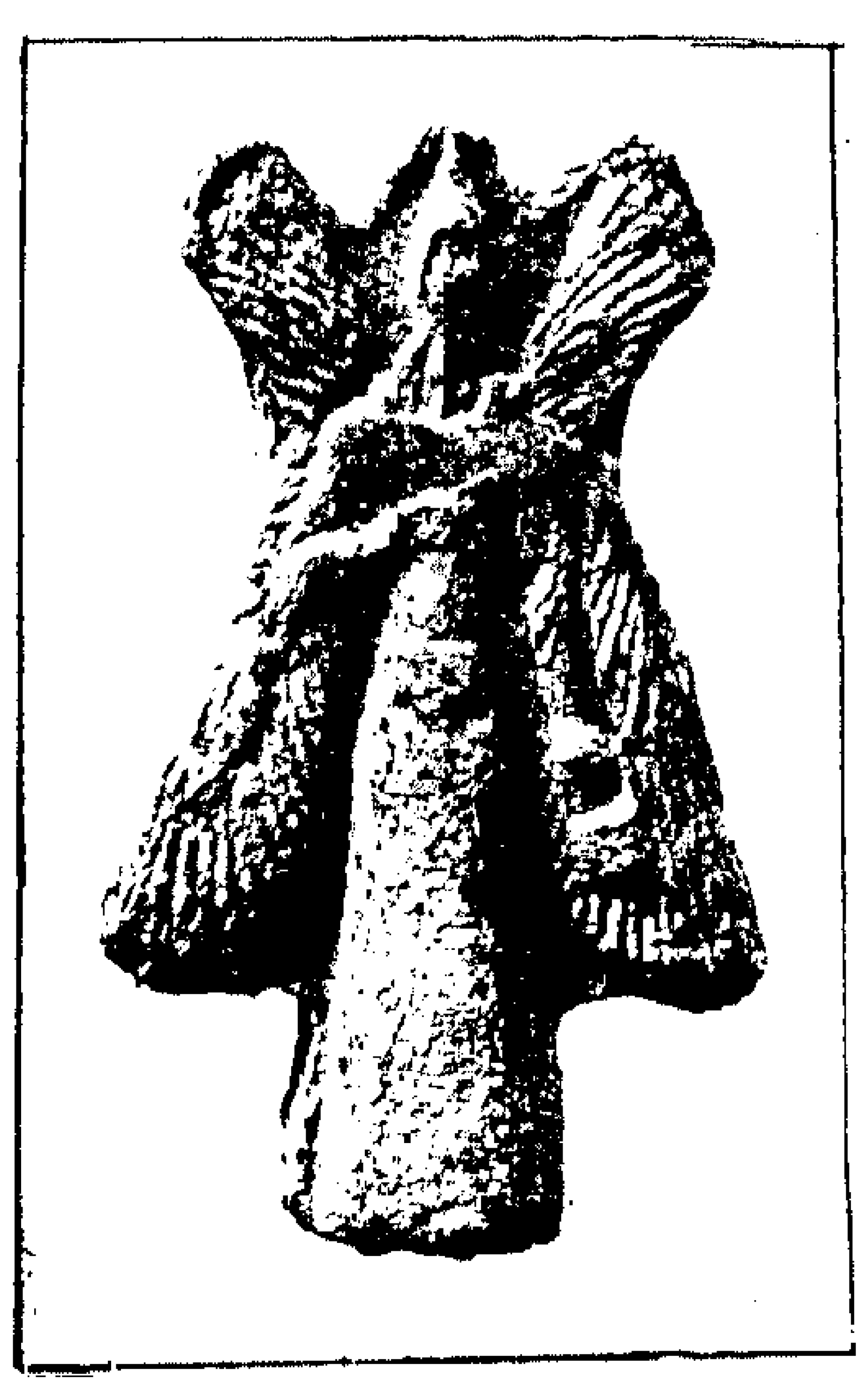


Fig. 11 M. Mallowan , Nimrud and its Remains I, p. 226 , fig . 191

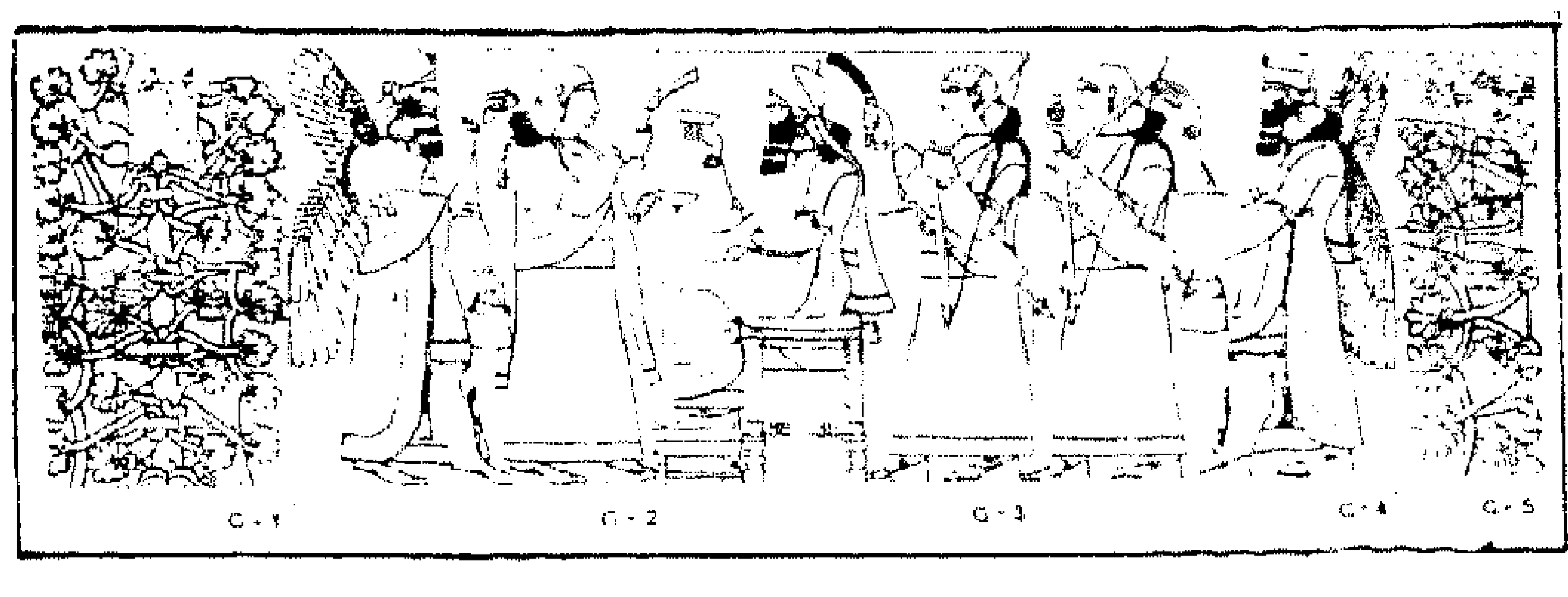


Fig. 13 J. Meuszynski , Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und Anordnung im Nordwestpalast von Kalhu . Mainz , 1981, tafel 8 , no . 1

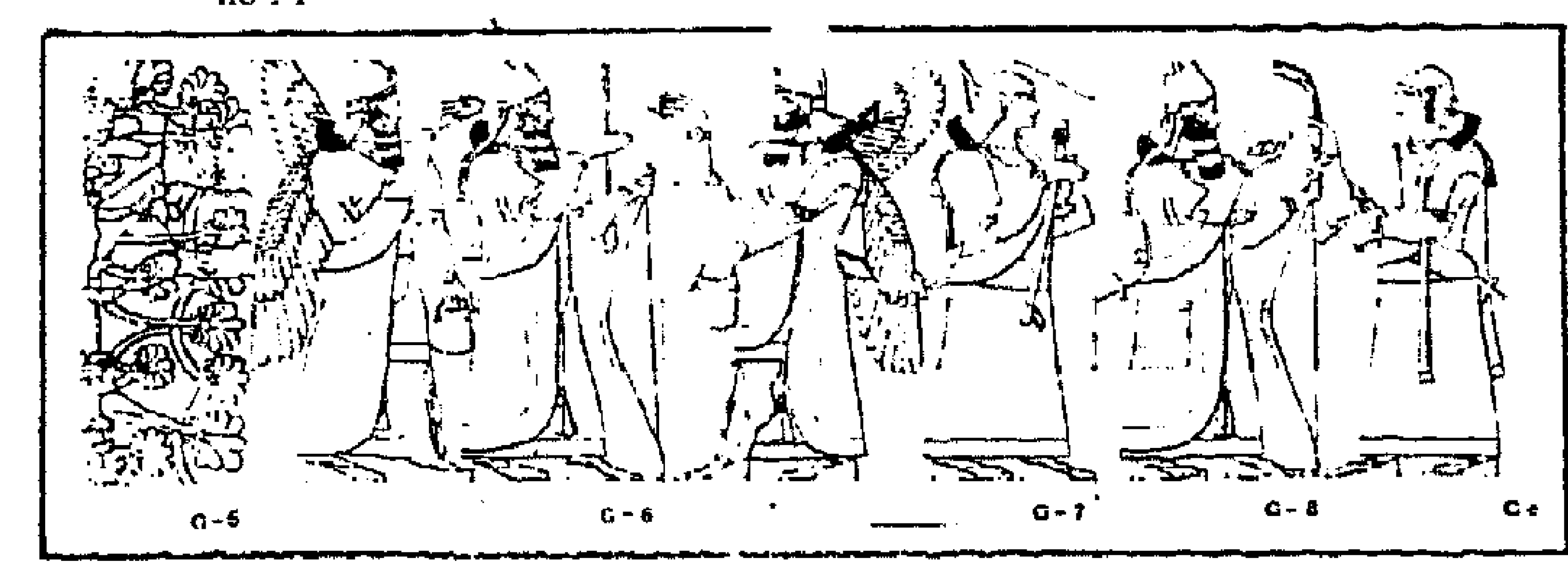


Fig. 14 *ibid.*, tafel 8, no. 2

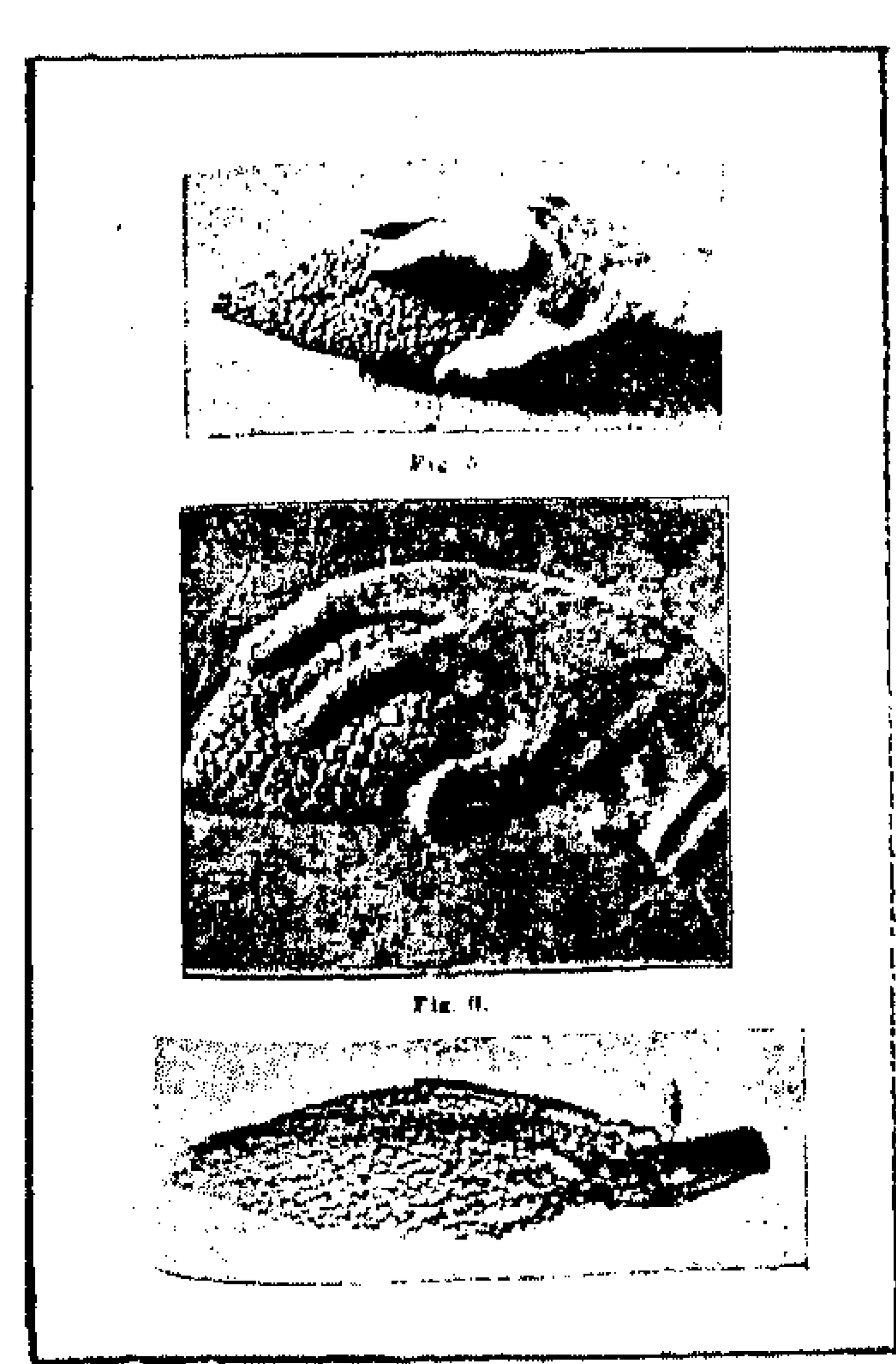


Fig. 12 H. Taylor , Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology vol. XII (1890), 383 , pl . II

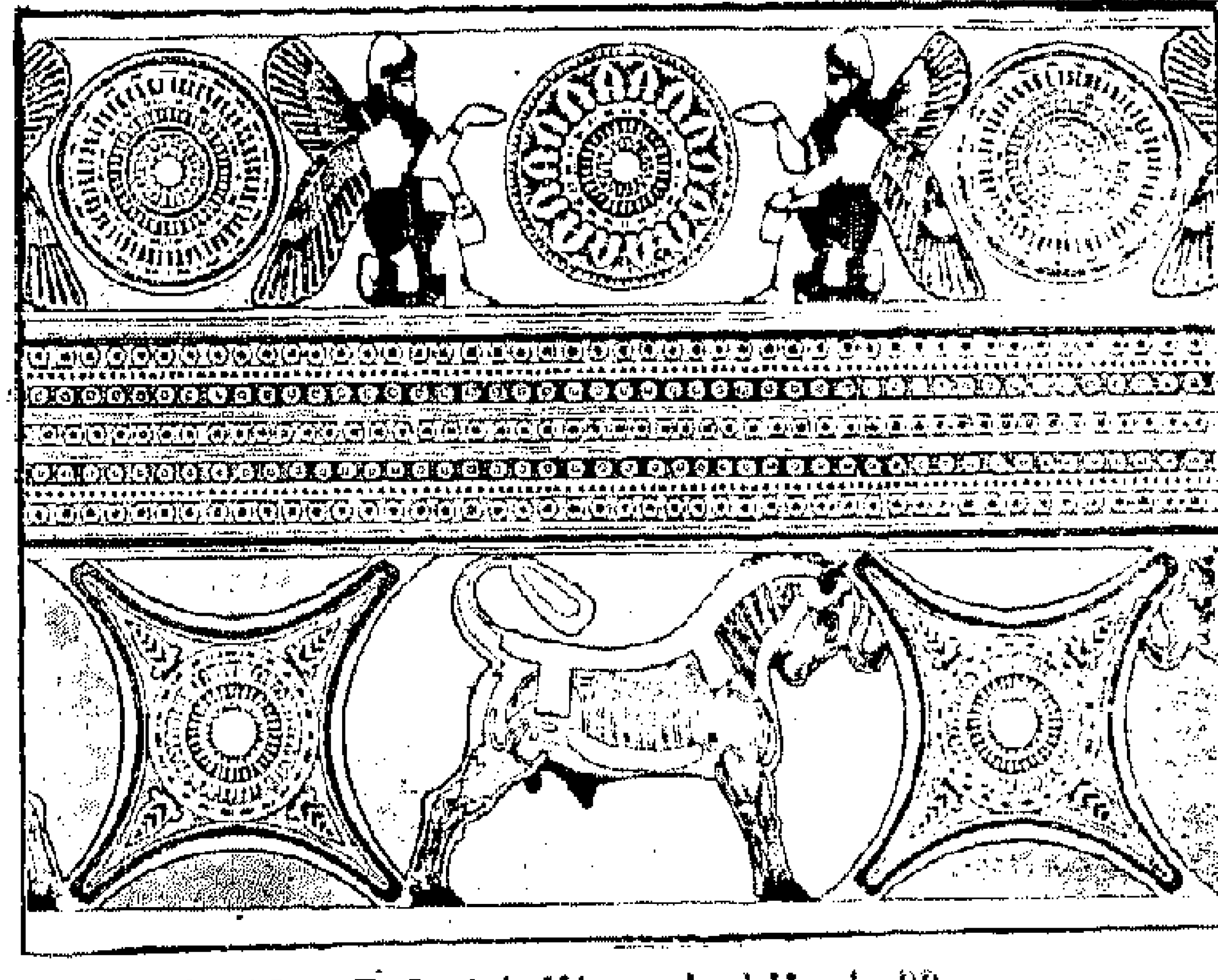


Fig. 15 G. Loud, Khorsabad II, pl . 88

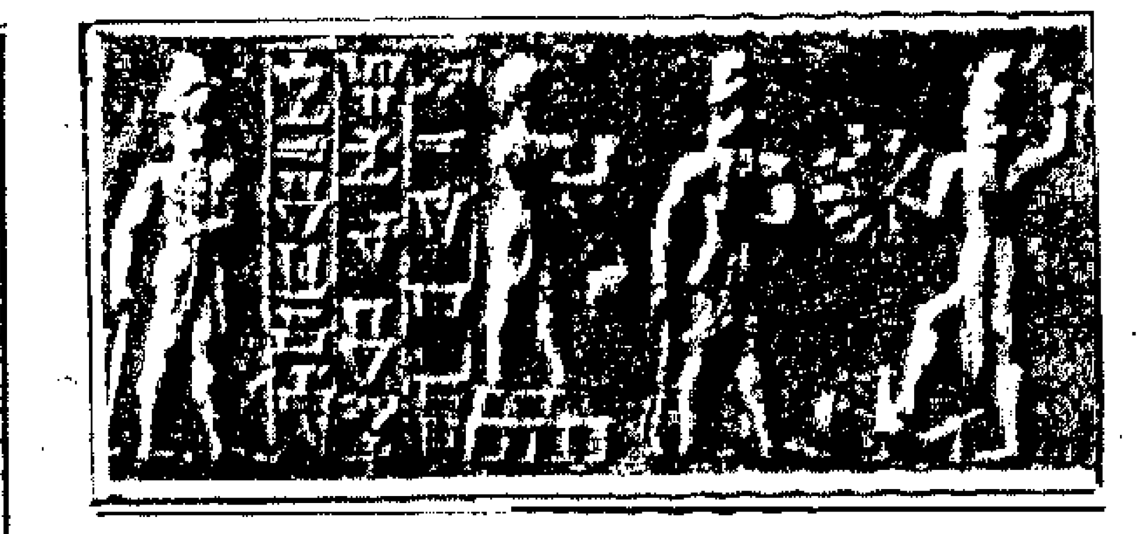


Fig. 17 H. Frankfort, op. *cit* ., pl . 28 a, BM 11068



Fig. 20 A. Moortgat, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegal, Berlin 1940, pl. 54. no. 606

8. E. Klengel - Brandt, Forschungen und Bericht der Staatliche Museen Berlin, Bd. 10 (1968); Mallowan, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 85 ff.
9. O. Gurney, Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology 22 (1935) 31 ff, and KAR 134, 31, p. 50.
10. F. Thureau Dangin Til Barsib, pl. 47, p.57
11. Meissner, Babylonian und Assyrien I, Heidelberg 1920, p. 205 Labat, B. Hrouda, Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes, Bonn, 1965, p. 77.
E. Porada, The Great King of Assyria, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1945, p. 31 ff.
E. Strommenger, The Art of Mesopotamia, London 1964, p. 440.
12. A. Moortgat, The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia, London 1969, p. 132.

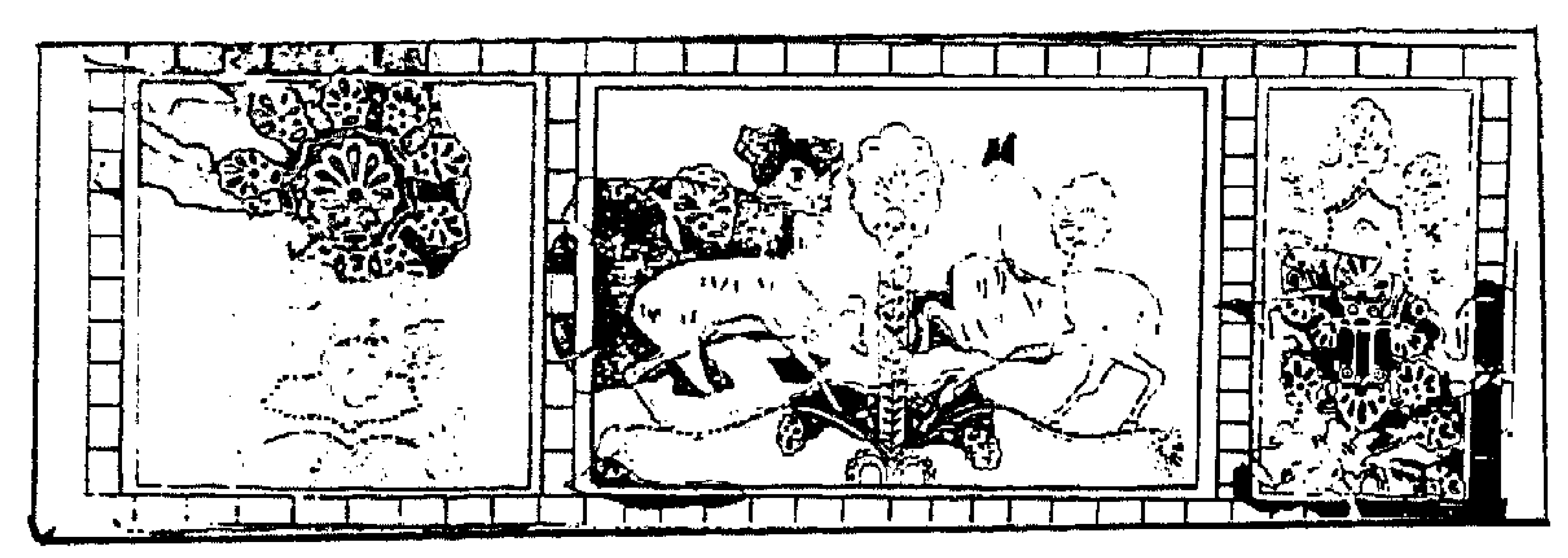


Fig. 6 W. Andrae, Coloured Ceramics from Assur, London 1925, pl. 2.



Fig. 7 L. Woolley, Alalakh, pl. 103, p. 350.



Fig. 8 History of the Hellenic World, Prehistory and Protohistory, Ekdotike Athenon S. A. Athens, 1970, pp. 208 – 209.

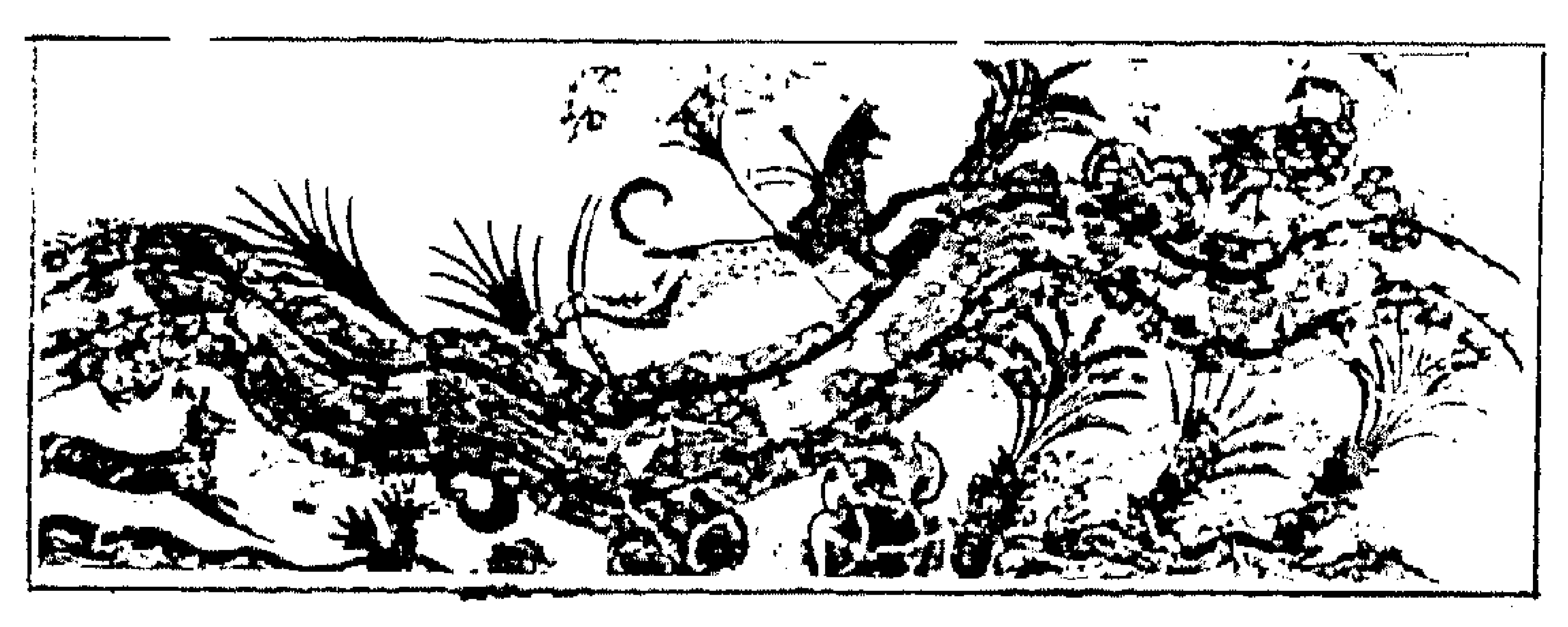


Fig. 9 op, cit., pp. 228 – 229



Fig. 10 J. B. Stearns, The Reliefs from the North West Palace of Assurnasirpal II, pl. 70

In Assyrian art this palmette was given the rsemblance to a date palm by a triangular pattern on the trunk shown on the Kar Tukulti Ninurta frescoe. Although the date palm is not fertile in Assyria, the influence of Babylonian religious and ritual texts would ensure its importance there. The palm and its various parts is often used in incantation texts, to counteract witchcraft, [4] relieve patients suffering from attacks of sickness demons. [5] or release from sin. [6] All these texts except the last are copies of Babylonian original.

The reliefs in the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud give us the most elaborate form of the tree (fig. 10), although a direct descendant of the palmette of the time of Tukulti Ninurta I. It is carved on slabs throughout the palace. In the main reception rooms, B, G, and H, it is fitted into the corners of the room over two slabs. In other rooms it alternates with griffin headed figures, room F, or gods, rooms L and N. [7]



4 G. Meier, Die Beschworungssammlung Maqlu, *Afo* Beiheft 2, Graz, 1937, tf I, 22.

5. M. Geller, A Middle Assyrian Tablet of UDUG. HUL 12, *Iraq*42, I (1980), lines 63 – 71, pp. 29, 35.

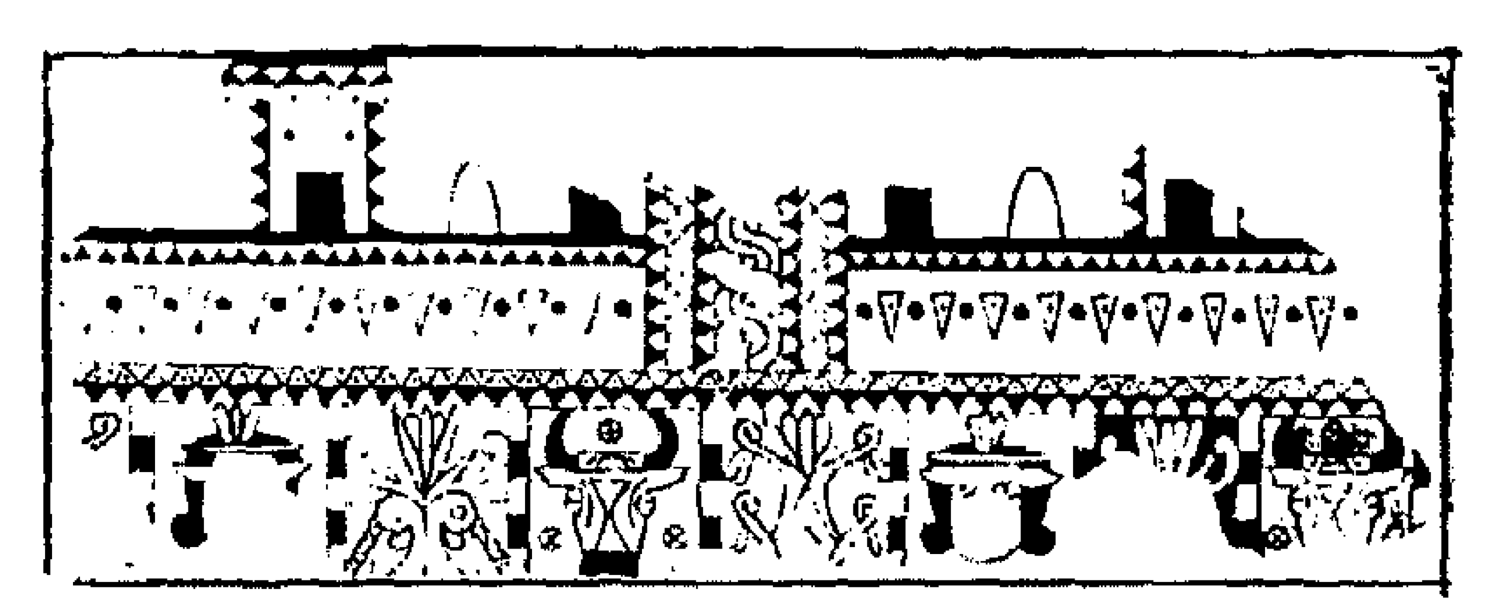
6. J. Laessoe, Studies on the Assyrian Ritual bit rimki 58, 91.

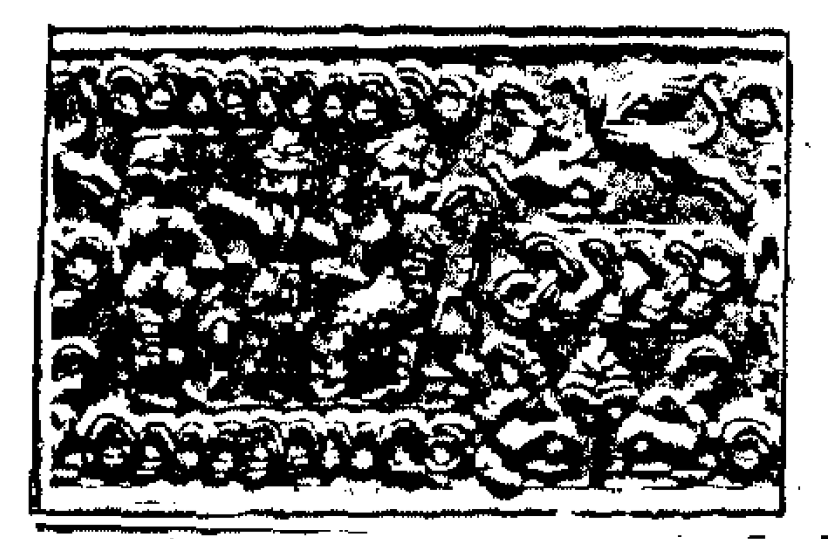
7. J. Meuszynski, Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und ihrer Anordnung im NW Palast von Kalhu; Tafel 7, 14, 17.

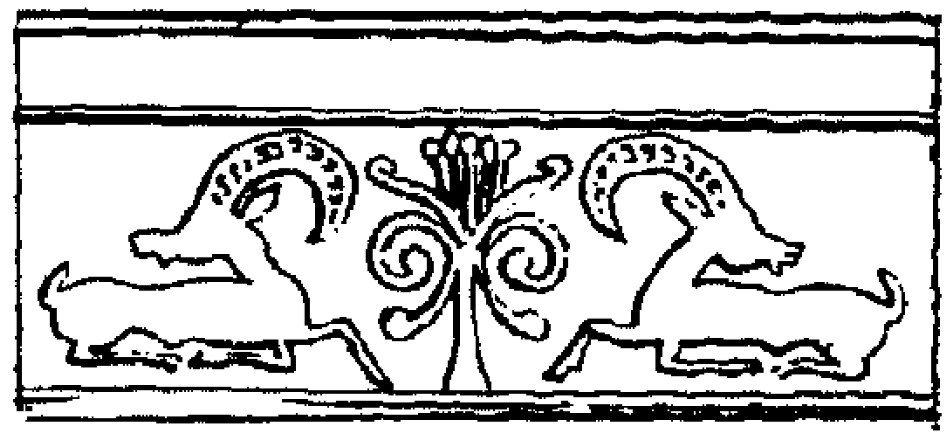
THE ASSYRIAN TREE

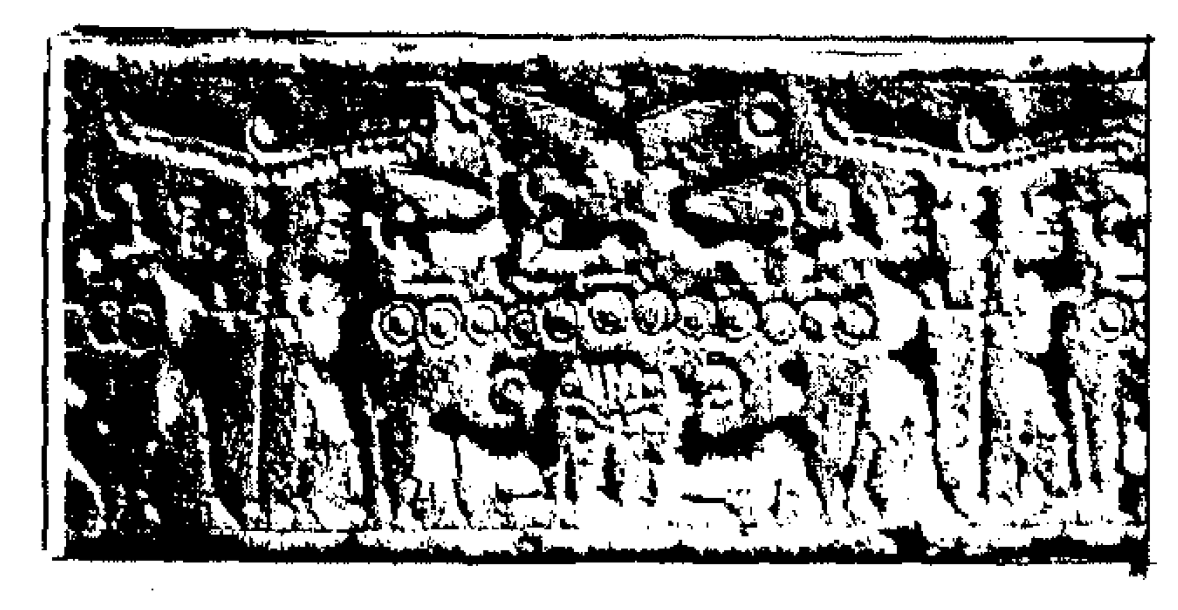
BY:
BARBARA MALLOWAN

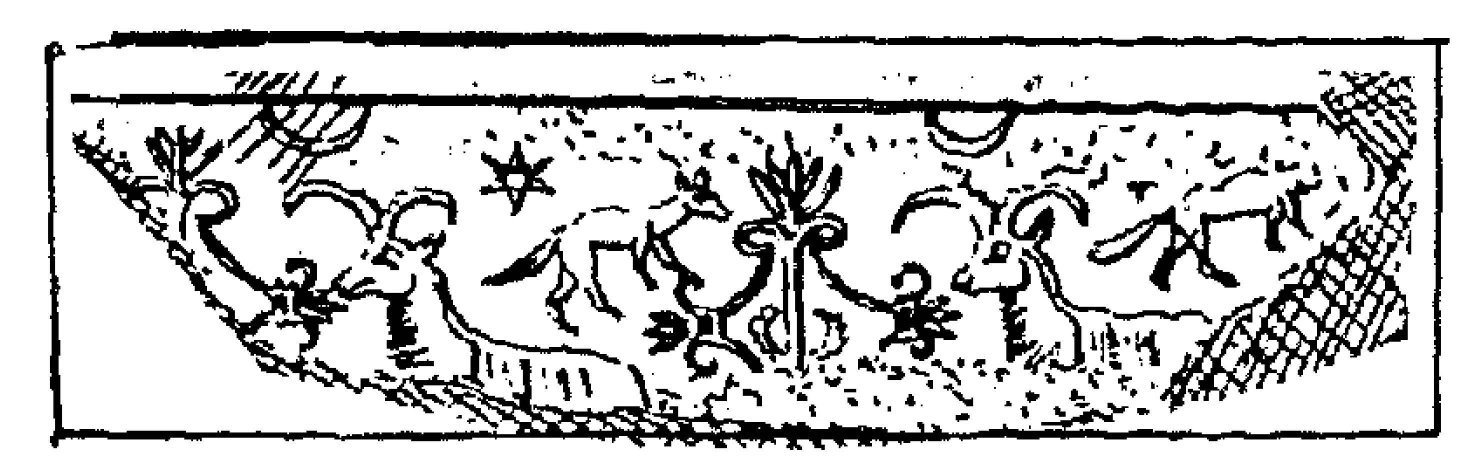
Some time after 1500 BC there appears in the art of the Mitanni empire in Syria and Assyria a plant ornament known as the " palmette " (fig. 1).This is a misnomer because it is developed from Egyptian plant forms, particularly the papyrus reed. [1] These two seals (fig. 2), one dating to the 18 th–17 th centuries BC and the other to the 15 th – 14 th centuries BC (fig . 3), illustrate the change from a naturalistic picture of a palm to the new composite palmette . It appears in seal impressions on Assur tablets dated to the 14 th century BC (fig. 4), which also illustrate the beginning of the typically Assyrian form with linked palmettes (fig. 5). This is developed further on the frescoes in the palace of KarTukulti Ninurta (fig. 6) where the nimbus of small palmettes is linked together by bands, chequered black and white. This is exactly the treatment of the bands linking plant designs on the Mittanian or Nuzi type pottery found in Syria at Tell Atchana (fig. 7) which shows strong influence from Cretan and Mycenian art. Leonard Woolley, the excavator, describes the design as showing clumps of lotus lily in streams of water. A look at a frescoe from Knossos and one from Akrotiri dating to the 16 th century, gives some support this idea (figs.8–9).
Both Walter Andrae and Edith Porada have suggested this explanation for the linking bands of the Kar Tukulti Ninurta frescoe. [2] An inventary text from Kar Tukulti Ninurta suggests that these bands were called by the designers *riksu* " bands " [3].


Fig. 1 R. F. Starr, Nuzi , II, pl . 128 H


Fig. 2 H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, London, 1939 , pl . 41 f


Fig . 4 T. Beran . Assyrische Glyptik des 14 Jhtrt, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 47 (1957), abb . 72


Fig . 3 op. *cit.*, pl . 42 o


Fig. 5 Beran, op. *cit* ., abb . 29

explanation for the linking bands of the KarTukulti Ninurta

1. W. Stevenson Smith, Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt, p. 116, fig.48. Pelican History of Art, London, 1958.
   B. Hrouda, Zur Herkunft desAssyrischen Lebensbaumes, Baghderd Mitteilungen Bd, 3, 1964, 42 ff.
2. W. Andrae, Coloured Ceramics from Assur, London 1925, P. 5, note I.
   E. Porada, The Great King of Assyria, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1945, 32.
3. F. Köcher, Ein Inventartext aus Kar – Tukulti – Ninurta, *Archiv für Orientforschung* Bd. 18, 2 (1958), p. 300 note 2. In the same text *qimmate SAG. MES alamute* foliage at the top of the palm, col. I, 11. Chicago Assyrian Dictionary vol, 1 , p. 333, might describe the palmette.

RESEARCHES OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

HELD FROM 14TH . TO 20TH . NOV . 1981

aneser III (858–824 B.C.) whose texts account for about one fifth of the entire corpus. Copies of some of the inscriptions have been published by Meserschmidt and Schroeder in *KAH* while others have appeared only in transliteration in Ebeling, Meissner and Weidner, *IAK*.

A significant number of the inscriptions has never been published and will be presented in our book with copy and full edition for the first time. This publication will also include the results of our collations of the previously known texts which has necessitated in some instances the preparation of a completely new copy and edition. The fact that earlier scholars had no access to the Istanbul collection but worked from excavation photographs or rough copies led to many misunderstandings and misinterpretations which have now been corrected.

Briefly, the following significant texts and discoveries have appeared from our research:

a) A join made by Meissner from excavation photographs has proved to be false. This concerns Enlil-nasir I and I drew attention to the impossibility of joining the fragments in *ARI* 1. p. 154.

b) Exemplars of the 'standard introduction' and 'standard conclusion' of Adad-narari I as reconstructed by Weidner in *IAK* indicate that these conflated texts are highly hypothetical, a problem to be fully investigated by the *RIM*

c) There are thirty-eight new exemplars of the 'standard text' of Shalmaneser I and these indicate that Weidner's edition is reliable.

d) The first royal inscription of Ashur -dan III (772-755B.C.) has been discovered. It describes work on the *kisalmah* of Ehursagkurkurra, the same structure repaired by Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta II, and Shalmaneser III.

e) The largest portion of the texts and fragments, about one fifth of the entire collection, belongs to Shalmaneser III and this wealth of material has completely changed our knowledge of the text types attested on Shalmaneser's clay cones. Totally new editions of these will be presented and two entirely new text types published.

f) A curious variant of the *sikkatu*-form is attested in the exemplars of an inscription of Sargon II. Some have called them 'roof tiles' but as Andrae (MDOG 26,22), who found them *in situ* in fragments, pointed out they are pieces of the 'rounded four-cornered shaft' of the *sikkatu* .

g) Many new exemplars of a text of Sin-sharra-ishkun which was previously published (*KAH*2, 129,133) now provide a complete text and the inscription will be edited in our volume for the first time. It concerns the Nabu temple at Ashur.



The term "(clay) cone" is an inadequate translation of the Assyrian word *sikkatu* (*zikkatu, ziqqatu*). the name of the object which commonly occurs in the inscribed texts. Some scholars use the terms " knob" or " boss" (occasionally "nail" or " peg") and in old publications fragments of clay cones were often described as pieces of vases or jar rims since the form of the clay cone was not generally recognized. It is a hollow, oblong conical object of clay, Which is tapered almost to a point at one end while at the other end there is a large semispherical head. Within the limits of this description there is quite a diversity of shape and a useful diagram of the forms, arranged in chronological order, has been published by Andrae. [4]

A companion to the clay cone is the clay plate. The tapered shaft of the cone was inserted into a hole in the centre of the plate and the combined object was placed into the upper portions of the interior wall of a room with the plate flat against the wall and the head of the cone protruding . The visible portions were often enamelled and the colour is still present on a few of the cones and plates on display in Istanbul. Rich illustrations of beautifully preserved specimens in East Berlin are found in the fine volume by Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (Berlin, 1923) [5] and an illustration of their function appears in the reconstructions of the interior of rooms at Khorsabad as published by Loud. [6] The decoration of the walls included not only the clay cones and plates, unglazed or polychrome, but also crenelles, friezes and enamelled bricks and the combined effect must have been splendid.

The clay cone was a feature of Sumerian and Babylonian architecture and this is where the Assyrian counterpart, at least in inspiration, had its origin. Much more has been written about this Phenomenon in the southern culture and Kraus, in particular, has explored the origin of the clay cone,tracing it back to procedures accompanying property sales. [7] More recently Ellis has studied the form and function of the object in relation to foundation deposits in Babylonia and he briefly mentions the Assyrian counterpart. [8] clay cones are well attested in the third millennium in Babylonia and in the old Babylonian period but after that the numbers diminish and eventually there is only the odd archaic survival such as at Ur during the reign of Ashurbanipal.

The appearance of the clay cone in Assyria follows the well - known pattern of Babylonian cultural influences on the northern civilization and it first emerges in Assyria about the middle of the second millennium, the period when it was disappearing in Babylonia , Once established it continued as aviable feature until the last days of the Assyrian empire, the latest exemplars being of Sin - sharra - ishkun. There is a real link between the two civilizations in regard to the clay cones for, as Landsberger and Balkan have demonstrated from a study of descriptions of building activities in royal inscriptions, the installation of the clay cones in the building was accompanied in both Babylonia and Assyria by a dedication ceremony at the completion of construction. [9]

The form of the inscriptions on the clay cones of the south has been thoroughly analyzed by kraus and Hallo, the latter scholar including them under the general category " building inscriptions " [10] In Assyria. apart from annalistic texts, virtually all types of royal inscriptions — viz. display texts, commemorative labels, and dedicatory texts — are attested, which is what one would expect on analogy with the southern custom: The relative small size of the object precluded lengthy inscriptions and thus annalistic narratives were excluded perforce.

3. The Inscriptions on the Clay Cones From Ashur Now in Istanbul

While all the clay cones from Babylonia now in the Istanbul museum were catalogued by Kraus in the aforementioned article, the Assyrian objects have,until now, never been fully published. In recent years the entire Ashur collection of which the clay cones form a significant part, has been baked, cleaned, and renumbered by the museum staff so thatit is now in the best possible condition for study.The collection of clay cones consists altogether of approximately three hundred and fifty items ranging in size from fully preserved exemplars to tiny pieces. The authors have worked on this material periodically over a decade and we believe that no further significant progress can be made with respect to joins and decipherment without physically bringing together this group and the East Berlin group.

The inscriptions on these objects concern construction work on a variety of structures in Ashur , walls, gates, temples and palaces. Chronologically, the collection spans the history of the city Ashur from the middle of the second millennium to its destruction in the seventh century B.C., a period of almost one thousand years. Some periods and reigns are better represented than others and particularly noteworthy is Shalm-

4) Andrae, Coloured Ceramics

5) ibid . This volume contains a full description of the clay cone and its function (pp. 63 - 76) . Also cf . Andrae, Das Gotteshaus u. d. Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient (Berlin, 1930) pp. 78 _ 86; C. J. Gadd, Teachers and Students in the Oldest Schools (London , 1956) p. 45; W.G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Second Supplement (London, 1968), p. x.

6) Khorsabad II (Chicago, 1938.)

7) F. R. Kraus, " Altmesopotamische Tonnägel mit Keilinschriften " in Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarinden., VII Seri No . 5 (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi , 1947) , Halil Edhem Hatira Kitabi pp . 71 - 113

8) R. Ellis, Foundation Deposits , Chapters 3 and 5

9) B. Landsberger and K. Balkan, Belleten 14, pp. 252 - 257

10) Kraus , op. cit. Cf . Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962) , pp. 3-5

British Museum where one finds the occasional item with an Ashur excavation number.[2] Fortunately the excavators made copies, photographs, casts and squeezes of the inscriptions as they were unearthed and these have proved invaluable in the subsequent efforts to publish the texts.

As the texts were initially uncovered Andrae described them in his frequent reports from the site, the reports appearing in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient – Gesellschaft*, volumes 21 (1904) to 54 (1914). But Andrae was primarliy an architect, not a philologist, so that the descriptoins of the inscriptions in his reports are of very limited value to the text editor. Fortunately Andrae was able to consult Delitzsch from time to time in Germany and Delitzsch visited the expedition in the summer of 1905. It was intended that all the royal inscriptions should be presented in full in one publication and the first volume of this work, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur: Historischen Inhalts*, appeared in 1911. Considering that the excavations had only begun a few years previously and were actually still in progress, this was a respectably early date of publication. However, this initial effort had suffered problems and delays as described by Delitzsch in the preface.

The work of preparing the texts had been undertaken by Delitzsch with the assistance of Messerschmidt. They prepared their copies of the cuneiform texts on the basis of thecopies, casts, squeezes and photographs made by Andrae in the field and on the basis of copies and collations done by Delitzsch during his stay at Ashur in the summer of 1905. Messerschmidtwas prevented from doing the necessary collations with the originals in Istanbul by a fatal illness and his uncorrected copies were published posthumously by Delitzsch as *KAH* 1.

Only one further volume, *KAH* 2, in this series appeared and that was eleven years later (1922). The publication of this tome had been delayed by the First World War and the ensuing politico – economic problems in post – war Germany By this time the original plan to publish all the royal inscriptions in full had been abandoned, "wegen der Ungunst der Zeit" as Weber stated in the preface, and only texts of "Bedeutung" were included. The copies were prepared by Schroeder on the basis of the originals in the case of those objects in Berlin but in the case of objects elsewhere on the basis of photographs or preliminary copies by others, notably Messerschmidt and Andrae. This was not a satisfactory basis for preparing definitive copies but even worse happened. Before his work was done Schroeder left the service of the Prussian Academy and was unable to complete his collations before the publication of his copies in *KAH* 2. Thus the celebrated volumes of royal inscriptions from Ashur, *KAH* 1 and 2, are neither complete in scope nor reliable in detail, the serious deficiencies being not the fault of the individual scholars but of the times and circumstances in which they lived.

No further attempt was made to publish complete cpoies of the royal inscriptions from Ashur but in the mid – 1920's Weidner, in collaboration with Böhl and Meissner, began a series (*Altorientalische Bibliothek*) which was to publish editions of all cuneiform texts. The one volume of this series which appeared , *Die Inschriften der Altassyrischen Könige* (Leipzig, 1926), (edited by Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner), contained the earliest Assyrian royal inscriptions (down to Shalmaneser I). Unpublished texts from Ashur were included on the basis of copies prepared by Weidner from excavation photographs and previously published texts were collated by Weidner, as far as possible with photographs and casts, Even this book, as useful as it is , has serious drawbacks in that no copies were published and none of the originals in Istanbul were examined with the result that there are serious misunderstandings and misreadings.

Weidner published the Ashur inscriptions of some later reigns in a number of articles in *Archiv für Orient forschung* and in his monograph *Die Inschriften Tukulti – Ninurtas I. Und Seiner Nachfolger* (Graz, 1959). By 1959 he could collate the originals in neither Istanbul nor Berlin and he worked exclusively with his own notes, the excavation photographs and some copies by Messerschmide and Köcher . During this same period of time a number of royal inscriptions were published in one form or another in the excavation reports of the Ashur expedition, the most important from the point of view of inscribed material being Andrae's *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (Leipzig, 1913).

Before concluding this history of the attempt to publish the royal inscriptions of Ashur one fact must be emphasized. The scholars whose names are connected with this ill – fated enterprise were highly competent and dedicated Assyriologists who did the best they could under extremely unfavourable circumstances. It was not their fault that only the longest or most interesting texts were published and that even these were often presented without consulting the originals, thus leading to misreadings and misunderstandings. These faults are particularly evident in the texts now stored in Istanbul for the various editors never did examine these in the original[3].

2. The Form and Function of the Clay Cone

Clay cones are certainly the most exotic of the variety of objects upon which Assyrian royal inscriptions were inscribed . Unlike bricks, statues, reliefs, steles and even clay tablets, the form and function of which are immediately recognizable, the clay cones do not fit any pattern familiar to our modern minds. Not until the early part of this century did the function of the clay cone become known with the discoveryof some of them *in situ* in the old Palace at Ashur and a similar find in the palace at Khorsabad some years later verified the solution to the old question.

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1) E. g. BM 115690 = Ass 19977 (ARI 1, XXXII,1)

2) Cf . Andrae, Coloured Ceramics p. 11, n. 2; WEA pp. 280f .

3) Cf. V. Donbaz, Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur : Zamanina Ait Orta Asur Idari Belgeleri (Ankara, 1976)

ASSYRIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY CONES FOUND AT ASHUR

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More than half a century has passed since the German excavations at Ashur were concluded and while the archaeological reports have now been fully published, much of the inscribed material, of which the clay cones form an important part, has either not been published at all or published in an unsatisfactory manner. The blame for this circumstance does not rest upon the eminent scholars charged with the publication of the texts, as we shall see; rather it was outside events which adversely affecred the attempts to make public the results of the excavation. The majority of the finds from Ashur are now stored in two locations, the Vorderasiatisches Museum in East Berlin and the Arkeoloji Müzeleri in Istanbul. The authorities of the Istanbul Museum have been concerned for many years about the publication of the Ashur material and in 1969, Mrs. Muazzez Ciğ, then curator of the Tablet Arçivi, commissioned Mr. Veysel Donbaz (who became co-curator with Fatima Yildiz of the collection when Mrs. Cig retired) and myself with the publication of the clay cones from Ashur as a beginning of a project to present in print all the texts from Ashur.

The copying and editing of the clay cones is now completed and in this report on the results of our research it is fitting to note the gratitude of Veysel Donbaz and myself for the support and co-operation which enabled us to do this work. To the officials of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri thanks are due for assigning us this material for publication and for courteously providing me with the necessary facilities on my research visits to Istanbul in 1969 and 1977. The financial burden of those two trips was borne by the Canada Council to which we express our sincere thanks. For the opportunity to be present here today and present this final report on our research I am indebted to the generosity of the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage Republic of Iraq, and the University of Toronto.

On this occasion I would like to draw attention to an international project, based at the University of Toronto which is preparing standard editions of all royal inscriptions from ancient Mesopotamia. The project, entitled *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia* (RIM), will publish every text available in transliteration and translation accompanied by commentary, introduction and bibliography. All inscriptions will be collated and new texts eagerly sought. It is anticipated that the task will take about twenty years. Funding is currently being provided by the University of Toronto and other sources for long-term support are being explored.

In this paper I wish to discuss the following:

1. The History of the Royal Inscriptions Excavated at Ashur Since Their Discovery
2. The Form and Function of the Clay Cone
3. The Inscriptions on the Clay Cones From Ashur Now in Istanbul

1. The History of the Royal Inscriptions Excavated at Ashur Since Their Discovery

The publication of the royal inscriptions discovered at Ashur from the beginning has been plagued with difficulties so great that they almost ruined the attempts of the scholars associated with the material to publish them. The sultan, Abdul Hamid II, granted Walther Andrae a firman to excavate the site of ancient Ashur which was at a tell called Qalat Sherqat. Curiously, this tell was the personal property of the sultan. The excavations were sponsored by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and were conducted during the years 1905-12. The finds were photographed as they appeared, a fortunate circumstance in light of what followed. The objects were divided into two lots, one for the Sublime port and one for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Unfortunately not all of the shipments reached their destination for with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 German vessels were fair game for the British Royal Navy and a freighter from Hamburg carrying a shipment from Ashur sought refuge in Lisbon where its cargo was seized and ultimately disappeared.[1] By some means other objects excavated at Ashur found their way into the

the west and 80 – 100 m. from the north limits of the main 100 m. square a3.

In view of this work accomplished by Andrae and his co-workers, one might expect that at least in one of the final publications a general plan of Assur should have been published, showing *both* the contour lines, fixed points and the grid (including the 20 m. quadrants) *and* the architectural results of the excavations. This should be at a scale at which one can easily check every provenance mentioned in the final publications. To avoid complications, one would restrict oneself to the architectural remains of the time of Sennacherib, which could reasonably be taken as representative of the entire layout.

Surprisingly, though, such a plan does not exist.

What then do the published plans of Assur consist of ? And how do they relate to one another ? Two groups can be distinguished :

1. General plans.
2. Detailed plans.

1. : Since the appearence of the preliminary reports in MDOG general plans of the city, entire or in excerpts, have been repeatedly published. A comparison shows that the architectural remains are indicated only schematically on these plans, and mostly only represent the stage reached at the time in the excavations. There is only one single general plan of Assur which shows all the results of the excavation up till 1913(A.A.Haller, Gräber und Grüfte). The drawbacks of these plans are obvious: scale too big, location of the architecture too schematic and inexact (not to mention the completeness), and only the 100 m. grid drawn in. Under these circumstances single finds or groups of finds cannot be located with any accuracy.

2. : There are two kinds of detailed plans. One has brick-by-brick drawings, mostly at scale 1 : 200, which include spot-heights and largely reproduce the original field plans. The other kind are schematic representations of the various stages of the buildings, derived from the brick-by-brick plans.

As an example of the brick-by-brick plans I have here the area of the "Obere Tor", north of the Tabira Gate. To represent the schematic detailed plans I have chosen the plan of the "Grosse Haus", which lay West of the Tabira Gate and partially overlay the earlier "Binnentor" of the "Binnenwall".

A common feature of both plans is that the grid lines are lacking, and the vertical axis of the plan does not coincide with north. It is therefore impossible, on the basis of the publications alone, to tie the detailed plans into the general plans.

This becomes yet more serious when one establishes that by no means all of the architectural discoveries were published in detailed plans . This goes, for example, for the "Grosse Haus" we have just mentioned, next to which further house complexes were located on the north-west, as one may discover from the text of the publication; only the southern part of these was published as a detailed plan. All the rest is missing, and it is simply not possible to give even a reasonably reliable reconstruction of what lay in this gap between the "Grosse Haus" and the "Obere Tor", because, as we have said, the grid, with its corresponding quadrant designations, is not shown.

From what has been said, two requirements can be defined:

1. Publication of all architectural discoveries in brick-by-brick detailed plans, orientated to the North and with a grid; at a scale of 1 : 100 or 1 : 200, but in any case consistently.

2. Composition of a general plan, preferably at a scale of 1:500 with contour lines, fixed points, grid (including the 20 m. quadrants) and schematic, but as complete as possible representation of the architecture, at about the time of Sennacherib, as earlier suggested.

The first requirement is hardly likely to be achieved in the foreseeable future for reasons of time and money. The second is another matter. The archive of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft does in fact have at its disposal documentation drafts which would make the preparation of a general plan possible within a relatively short time. In part this is none other than the contour plan of Assur mentioned at the beginning, of which an excerpt has been shown, which shows the contour lines and fixed points. But there does also exist an unpublished general plan which shows the complete architectural remains schematically but also accurately, as far as I have been able to determine by spot checks.

This plan is divided into 100 m. squares, within which a further division into rectangles was evidently made, although this does not appear to have any direct connection with the grid proper. The significance of these rectangles only became clear to me when I established their size from the scale: they represent an area of 34 by 22 meters (that is 34 by 22 cm at 1:100). And the latter was the size of the drawing sheets of the Assur expedition. This is therefore a general plan on which the exact position of each drawing sheet was indicated. Admittedly a rather idiosyncratic procedure, but without question of the greatest value for our purposes, for we can now mark the 20 m. quadrants on the general plan and even on the drawing sheets themselves. For they too, like the detailed plans of the final publications, do not show the grid, some are not even accurately aligned to the north. In this way the gap between the "Grosse Haus" and the " Obere Tor" can now be filled. Even the general plan shows continuous building remains here, and their details can simply be taken straight from the drawing sheets of the Assur expedition. And the same can be done in all other similar cases.

HOW TO RECONSTRUCT A GENERAL PLAN OF ASSUR – SOME PROPOSALS AS SEEN FROM ASSUR – NORTHWEST

BY :

DIETRIEH SÜRENHAGEN

A few years ago the work at Assur was begun again by Dr. Tariq Madhloom on behalf of the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, at a site which last witnessed archaeological excavations as many as 66 years ago.

We all know how difficult it is to begin afresh in an old excavation, and we can already see that Dr.Madhloom is well able to undertake this task. But to do this successfully there are of course certain preconditions, and one of these is to have as complete an idea as possible of the results of the preveous work – in this case, the results achieved by W. Andrae and his staff between 1903 and 1913. As far as I am aware, there is not a single older excavation of which the results are really published in their entirety-on the contrary, in many cases the depressing inadequacy of the documentation often strikes one. That this is not the case for Assur is above all to the credit of Andrae, who devoted himself with a praiseworthy sense of urgency and commitment to his publication responsibilities, and at a time when circumstances made such work unusually difficult. That is something we should bear in mind , if here and there imperfections are apparent which today would attract negative criticism. Instead, we should try to make good any gaps, as far as this is possible on the basis of the available excavation records.

And this brings me to the subject of my talk, in which I shall try to fill in one the gaps in documentation , or rather, to indicate a way to approach this. I hope in this way to make a small contribution myself towards further prefitable work at Assur.

Let us begin with a short look back at the survey work at Assur during Andrae's time.

The survey of the site of Assur took place mainly in winter 1903/4, and was undertaken by W.Andrae, J. Jordan and E. Herzfeld. The procedure was very simple, according to the technical stage of contemporary survey instruments. One can hardly assume that a theodolite was available, nor a levelling-instrument of the type used today . Nevertheless, the three most important facts could be established:

– Direction of North, by Compass
– Distance, by tachymeter and tape-measure
– Height, by a socalled 'Buthemschon sche Libelle'

The contour plan of Assur which was prepared in this way although never published in this form, and from which the "Assur Northwest" section is shown here, clearly demonstrates the procedures used. First a polygon was laid-out in the lower area outside the ruins. Based on this, the distances from the fixed points to specific points within the ruins were established by triangulation, until the network was close enough to allow the measurement of detailed distances by means of tape-measures. This is how the contour plan of Assur, the basis of all later published general site plans, was created.

The next step was to install a uniform grid orientated to the North, within which excavation was to take place. Andrae decided on a grid divided into squares with sides of 100 meters. These squares were designated by a, b, c,... in the west-east axis direction and 1, 2, 3, ... in north-south axis direction. In the course of the excavation an extension of the grid further to the west was needed, and the resultant additional squares received the designations aa, bb, cc, ... along the east-west axis. Such subsequent designations, which in principle contradict the system originally selected, have inevitably to be adopted, when the grid was not conceived as a system of co-ordinates, consisting of an infinite number of points, but as a system of finite distances. In this case there are only restricted possibilities for extending the grid while remaining consistant with the system of designation. Nevertheless, this procedure seems to have enjoyed much popularity and is found in use today on many excavations.

In order to archieve greater accuracy in survey, each 100 m. squares was divided into 25 quadrants of 20 metres each side. These were given the designations A-E along the west-east axis, and Roman I-V in the north-south axis. Thus the complete designation of a quadrant would be, e.g ., " aB 3V", that is, it is a square of 20 m. sides, lying from 20 – 40 m. from

protect it, because he could appreciate the Phoenician products and handicraft, as we can judge from many documents[37]. Besides, his last campaign against Cimmerians in 705 B.C.[38] has to be pointed out : it seems that Phoenician cities, if not all western Asia, owed their immunity from invasion to this campaign in which he lost his life.

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(37) R.D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of Nimrud Ivories* [London, 1957], pp.133ff; glass vessels, probably Phoenician, have been found in Assyria: on one of them is inscribed the name of Sargon (A.Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1908], pp.47, 102; British Museum, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* [London, 1908], pp. 110-111); a letter of an official giving a report on several permanently resident Sidonians in Nineveh should probably be ascribed to the last years of Sargon (L.Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of Assyrian empire*, vol.1 [Ann Arbor, 1939], n°175; *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, D,58b).

(38) *CAH*, vol.3, p.59.



It could be a Phoenician or a Cilician fleet, since Cilicia had been turned into an Assyrian province in 715 or 713 B. C.[24]. In any case, it would not be surprising that Phoenician cities, politically independent and sometimes rivals, had accepted to help the Assyrians in their expedition against Cyprian cities (even if some of them were Phoenician).

The submission of Cyprian kings by Sargon has to be pointed out as an important event in the history of Phoenecia. Naturally, the Cyprian cities kept their local kings; it is even not certain that Assyrian troops were quartered in the island. because Sargon had to send his troops on boats when some diffculty occurred . But Cyprian cities had to pay heavy tributes and most of the ports of the mainland with which they conducted a prosperous trade were now under Assyrian rule or strictly controlled by the Assyrians . However, the main victim was undoubtedly the city of Tyre .

The documents dealing with the relations between Sargon and this city are not quite clear ,It is mainly since Damascus had been turned into an Assyrian province that Tyre had become the most powerful of Phoenician cities., Besides its own territory, the territories of Sidon and Kition were integral parts of the Tyrian empire ; Tyre needed the base of Kition in Cyprus to ensure the sea-routes towards its colonies . It was by that time a tributary kingdom, whose king Luli (Eloulaios) reigned approximately from 729 to 701 (or more probably 699 / 695) B . C.[30]. Most probably Luli was one of the sarrani sa a_ hi tam_tim mentioned in the Annals, who payed tribute to Sargon [31]. From a Nimrud Letter (XII) [32], we learn that an Assyrian governor (Qurdi _ assur _ lamur) was settled with a special police unit (Itu'a troops) somewhere in the territory of Tyre, probably in Ushu in order to control the trade of cedars. But this letter is more probably to be ascribed to the reign of Tiglath _ Pileser III than to the first half of the reign of Sargon II [33]. When Sargon established control over Kition, Luli could not accept it and probably he acted immediately (i. e. after 709 B . C .) in order to reconquer Kition . We may suppose consequently that the corrupt text of Josephus dealt with Luli's action : "Upon the revolt of the Kitieis;, he put out to sea and restored them by his side"[35] . Because of Luli's action in Cyprus, Sargon invaded Phoenicia . All the Phoenician cities surrendered to him , except for the island of Tyre. With the other Phoenician fleets, Sargon engaged a battle against Luli and lost it; he then retired, placing guards at the river and the aqueducts to prevent Tyrians from drawing water: indeed this five _ year siege was not a true blockade because Tyrians had wells and cisterns and probably could go and fetch water with their boats with their boats which do not seem to have been blocked. This event is only mentioned on four cylinders found in Khorsabad and probably dated from 706 B.C. precisely the latest inscriptions from Sargon's reign[36]; the Annals cannot mention this event because they do not deal with the last years of his reign. The failure of Sargon's campaign against Tyre explains the punitive expedition of Sennacherib against Luli in 701 B. C., Which is related in Sannacherib's texts. This new hypothesis seems to be the most logical one since it is supported by all the fragmentary available documents dealing with these events.

In short, the crushing of the revolt of Ṣimirra has not changed its status,but seems to have reduced its prosperity. The submission of seven Cyprian kings means that from that time the Phoenician cities had to trade under Assyrian control .The Tyrians bore less and less this control, till about the end of the 8th century they probably revolted in reconquering Kition, which led first to the unsuccessful expedition of Sargon, then to the victorious campaign of Sennacherib and to the division of Tyrian empire. However, as long as the Phoenician cities accepted his rule, Sargon had no reason to trouble Phoenician trade ;on the contrary he tried to

(22) Winckler, op. cit., 180, ll. 28 _ 35 (Cyprus stele). About the meaning of *nagu*, cf. A. Cavigneaux. "*nagu / nagitu*", *RA* 76 (1982), 190.

(23) D.G. Lyon, keilschrifttexte Sargon's konigs von Assyrien (Leipzig, 1883 42, l. 28; Winckler, op. cit., 82, l. 17; 126, l. 145; 148, l. 42 _ 43; 180,l. 29 _ 30; F. H. Weissbach. "Zu den Inschriften der Sale im Palaste Sargon n's II von Assyrien", *ZDMG* 72 (1918), 178, l. 17; Lie, op. cit., 68, l. 458; C. J. Gadd, " Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II form Nimrud", *Iraq* 16 (1954), 192, l. 25.

24 Lie, *op.cit.*, pp.68, n.1; 70, 1.464; Luckenbill, *op.cit.*, p.22, 44 (Annals, Room II, 35; V,5). For the comment of this text, cf. Elayi-Cavigneaux.

(25) Winckler, op. cit., 82 _ 84, l. 17 _ 18 .(Display Inscription); 180, l. 28 _ 35 (Cyprus stelev).

(26) *ARAB* II, 2, s4 (*Annals*).

(27) See for the datation Elayi anf Cavigneaux, loc. cit., 63 _ 66.

(28) On the role of Mediterranean sea in the Assyrian Empire, cf. J. Elayi, " Terminologie sde al Mer Mediterranee dans les Annales assyriennes". *OA* 23 (1984), 75 _ 82.

(29) Elayi and Cavigneaux, loc. cit., 68.

(30) J. Elayi, "Les relations netre les cites pheniciennes et l' Empire assyrien assyrien sous le regne de Sennacherib. (to be published in *Semitica*).

(31) See above note (2).

(32) H. W. Saggs, " TheNimrud letters, 1952 – Part II", *Iraq* 17 (1955) : According to Saggs (*loc. cit.* : 126 ff.), the twelve letters are ascribed to the period between the last half of the reign of Tiglath _ Pileser III J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome, 1974), 390 _ 393.

(33) Saggs, *loc. cit.* : 130 - 131 (Letter XIII); H. W. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952 _ Part VI", *Iraq* 25 (1963) : 76 ff. (Letter LXIX). II. p. Garelli, " Nouvean coup d' oeil sur Musur", in *Melanges A. Dupont _ Sommer* (paris, 1971), 43 _ 45, proposes to ascribe Letter XII to 738/ 734. Letter XIII, which is concerned with Tyre and a Sidonuan cutting a watercoures, is probably to be ascribed to the same period as Letter XII.

34 Josephus, *Ant. J.* IX, 283-287 (Quoting Alexander Polyhistor, who quotes Menander, who translates the Annals of Tyre). For a discussion of the different theories on this subject, cf, Elayi, Cavigneaux, *loc. cit.* : 66 - 67 (In short, the five - years unsuccessful siege of Tyre told by Josephus cannot be ascribed to Shalmaneser V's rule because he reigned

(35) Winckler, op. cit., vol. 2, pl. 43; *ARAB* I, 61, S118.

(36) J. Elayi, "Les relations entre les cites pheniciennes et l. Empire assyrien sous le regne de Sennacherib" (to be published in *Semitica*).

(37) Certain Nimrud ivories, made by Phoenicians for the Assyrian royal court at Calah, are dated to the reigns of Shalmaneser V and Sargon =

cities are shortly mentioned in the Sargon's texts; anyway, all the available documents will be considered.

The first ones deal with the revolt of Simirra. In the second year of his reign (720 B. C.), Sargon had to face a coalition formed by the king of Hamath, Iaubi'di, with Simirra and several other cities, and supported by Egypt [6]. Simirra was a Phoenician city located on the seacoast, south of the island of Arvad, and now identified with Tell kazel [7]. Unlike its neighbour Arvad, Simirra had been turned into an Assyrian province by Tiglath _ Pileser III in 734 B. C. The borders of this province were probably in the east the mountains of Sana (Zawie) and Djebel Akar, and perhaps in the south the territory of Byblos[8]. Shalmaneser (who ascended later the throne under the name Shalmaneser V) was appointed as a governor of Simirra: it is possible that there was more than one Assyrian governor in this province, as it is suggested from Tiglath-Pileser. III's records : " ... Hatarikka, ... Byb (los), ... Simirra, Arqa, Zimarra, ... Uznu, (Siannu), Ri'raba Ri'sisu, ... the towns ... of the upper sea, I brought under my rule. Six officers of mine I installed as governors over them.[9] The inscriptions give us no information as to the circumstances under which the province Simirra joined in the rebellion; maybe it envied the independence of its neighbours of Arvad. We do not know if the Assyrian governor of Simirra had actually been guilty of conspiracy but if this be so, its summary punishent would almost certainly have been recorded, so that we may suppose that the erbellion was confined to the subject population. The scribes always point to Iaubi'di,s responsibility as the instigator of this coalition : Ia _u_ bi_ '_ di ... ^{URU} ar _ pad _ da ^{URU} si _ mir _ ra it _ ti _ ia us _ bal _ kit, "Iaubi' di ... had caused the cities of Arpadda, Simirra, ... to revolt against me"[11]. Sargon met the allies at Karkar [12] where an overwhelming victory led to the capture of Iaubi'di and the subjection of Hamath, which was turned into an Assyrian province ; he then marched on the rebellious cities which he said to have treated with severity [13]. Simirra was still the capital of Northern Phoenicia under Sennacherib since its governor Nadin _ ahhe is mentioned as eponym for the year 688 [14], but it was no more a powerful city so that most probably it was incorporated in the territory of Arvad under Achaemenid rule [15]. Till now, the excavations of Tell Kazel [16] have not enriched our knowledge of this city.

The second action of Sargon against Phoenician cities was the submission of seven kings of Iatnana (i. e. Cyprus). For one century or more, the Phoenicians had established some settlements in Cyprus, such as kition, Lapethos and Narnaka [15]. We cannot know certainly if there were Phoenicians among the kings submitted by Sargon, but there is no reason to doubt it. It has sometimes been stated that Kition had not a king because it was a colony of Tyre and thus could not belong to this list ; but an inscription from the 4th century B. C. shows that kition had both a local king and a Tyrian governor[16]. Besides, the Cyprus stele of Sargon, found in 1845 and now in Berlin, was erected at Kition or in its vicinity, according to most of the scholars[17]. Sargon was the first Assyrian king to submit Cyprian kings, according to the stele: " (And seven kings) of Ia', the coastland of Iadnana (^{KUR} ia _' na _gi _ e sa ^{KUR} ia _ ad _na _na)..., the name of whose land, [since] the far _ off days of the moongod's time, not one of the kings, my fathers, who lived before my day, had heard ..." [22]. It does not seem to be a stereotyped formula because no previous Assyrian king mentions such a fact. It is impossible to specify the first time Sargon imposed tribute upon the Cyprian kings. This event is frequently mentioned in the Assyrian records but shortly [23], except in the Annals which are unfortunately damaged at this point : the text, dealing with an expedition against Cyprus, seems to refer to a tribute previously sent to Sargon by the Cyprian kings [20]. According to the Display Inscription and to the Cyprus stele, the Cyprian kings surrendered because they were afraid of Sargon's conquests in Chaldea and Hàtti _ lans[21]; as these conquests took place about the beginning of his reign[22], nothing can be inferred for the datation. In any case, it is obvious that Sargon wanted to control the Phoenician trade whose main roads connected Phoenician cities of the mainland with those of Cyprus. From the abovementioned passage of the Annals, we learn that Sargon undertook an expedition against a Cyprian king (or city ?) who refused to pay tribute ; this expedition may be ascribed to 709 B. C. and the stele to 709, 708 or 707 about the time of the punitive expedition or subsequently[23]. In the Cyprian affairs, Sargon had to use a fleet, at least for shipping his troops during the expedition of 709 : for the first time in the history of Assyria, an Assyrian king used a fleet for a military purpose.

(11) H. Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons (Leipzig, 1889) I, 102, 11. 33 _ 34 (Display Inscription) ; Lie, op. cit., 6, 1-25 ; D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (= ARAB) (Chicago, 1924) II, 70, S 70 (Assur charter).
(Chicago, 1924) II, 70 (Assur charter).

(12) J. Rengerm "Zur Lokalisierung von karkar", *Afo* 23 (1970), 73 _ 78.

(13) *ARAB*, 2?.S 55; Winckler, op, op. cit., 102, 1. 35.

(14) *RLA*, s.v. *Eponymen*.

(15) Rey _ Coquais, *op. cit.*, 101 _ 104; J. Elayi, "Studies in phoenician Geography in the persian Period", *JNES* 41 (1982), 89 _ 90.

(16) See above note (8).

(17) The two expressions may be found in the texts: ^{KUR} *ad _ na _ na* and ^{KUR} *la _ ad _ na _ na*, the last one being more frequent: S. peropla, *Neo_ Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen _ Vluyn. 1970), s. v.: cf. Elayi and Cavigneaux, loc. cit., 61, n. 23 et 64, n. 45.

18 O. Masson-M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Pheniciens (a Chypre* (Geneve. 1972); J. Teixidor, 'Early Phoenician Presence in Cyprus: Analysis of Epigraphical Material', in *The Archaeology of Cyprus, Recent Developments* (New Jersey, 1975), pp. 121-128.

(19) P. E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive* (Paris, 1849 _ 1850 IV, pl. 108; the kings' list is very lacunary: [...] *sida* (?) [...] *qura* (?) [...] _ *Assur* [...]; the last nam including the divine name ^{d} *Assur* is probably not a phoenician name.

20 Masson-Sznycer, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-75; A. Dupont-Sommer, 'Les Pheniciens a Chypre', *RDAC* (1974): 86-87.

21 E.Schrader, *Die Sargonstele des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1882), p.4; Luckenbill, *op. cit.* pp.100-103; G. Hill, *A history of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1940), p. 104; *CAH*, vol. 3. p.56.

THE PHOENICIAN CITIES AND THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE IN THE TIME OF SARGON II *

BY :
DR. JOSETTE ELAYI

Phoenicia was not by the time of Sargon II a geographicalnorapoliticalentity,butauxtaposition of quasi _ autonomous and cosmopolitan coastal city _ states, wiyth thesamecivilization,interestsandpoliticalorganization[1]. However Sargon's scribes do not usually distinguish between the coastal and inland cities. When they mention sarrani sa a _ hi tam _ tim[2], " the kings i of the sea _ shore", they do not distinguish between the Phoenician and other kings.

Sargon II ascended the throne in 721 B. C. at Ashur wherehe resided at the beginning of his reign. he then transferred his seat to kalḫu and Nineveh and finally to Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad), that is farther and farther to the north, probably because of his absorption in the problems of his northern and eastern frontiers: but he kept personal interest in the old capital of Ashur. Here we are concerned with Sargon's policy in Phoenician cities [1].

Phoenicia was not by that time a geographical nor a political entity, but a juxtaposition of quasi _ autonomous and cosmopolitan coastal city _ states, with the same civilization, interests and political organization. However Sargon's scribes have not distinguished between the coastal and inland cities except in one text mentioning "the kings of the seacoast"[2] ; in most of the Assyrian recorda. the Phoenicians are regarded as " Hâtti", a term which designated peoples of Western Mediterranean. From the first campaign of Tiglath-Pileser I about 1100 B. C. to the accession of Tiglath _ Pileser III to the throne in 745, the Phoenician cities kept autonomous by paying occasionally tributes to the Assyrian kings (for instance Tiglath _ Pileser I, Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, or Adad _ nirari III)[3] But Tiglath _ Pileser III began a new policy of territorial annexation: the Phoenician cities were incorporated in a province governer by one or several Assyrian governors, except for tne main cities which seem to have kept their own rulers (certainly Tyre and probably Byblos and Arvad [4]). On his accession, Sargon's intention was to conquer far and wide. Immediately he had to face in every direction powers of a might equal to its own; these powers intrigued with the tributary kingdoms of the Assyrian borders and represented a constant danger for the Assyrian governors of the neighbourhood. Therefore Sargon tried to submit independent powers and to turn tributary kingdoms into Assyrian provinces. He had little trouble in the western border, as compared with what he experienced on his troublesome northern and eastrn borders[5], so that most of his military efforts were devoted to these borders. The only serious problem in the western border concerned the intrigues of Egypt whose influence was strong upon the coast of Western Mediterranean, chiefly upon Phoenician cities.

Because of their smaller importance in his policy, the relations between the Assyrian empire and the Phoenician

* This paper is an expansion of one read to the Second International Symposium on Babylon. Assur and Himrin. Baghdad. 1 _ 6 October 1979.

(1) On Phoenician cities under the reign of Ashurbanipal. cf. J. Elayi. "Les cite's phe'niciennes et l'Empire assyrien a' l'e'poque d'Assurbanipal". RA 75 (1983). 45 _ 58 ; under Achaemenid rule, cf. Id., "The Phoenician Cities in the Persian Period". JANES 12 (1980). 13 _ 28.

(2) A. G. Lie. The Inscriptions of Sargon II. king of Assyria (Parias, 1929). 22. 1·124.

(3) CAHIII, 43 _ 60.

(4) H. J. Katzenstein. The History of Tyre (Jerusalem. 1973), 129 ff.

(5) For Sargon's campaigns in Cilicia, cf. J. Elayi and A. Cavigneaux, " Sargon II et les Ioniens", OrAn 18 (1978), 59 _ 75.

(6) On the role of Egypt, cf. J. E. Reade, "Sargon's Campaigns of 720, 716, and 715 B. C. : Evidence from the Sculptures ", JNES 35 (1976). 101.

(7) Lie, op. cit., 6,11·23 _ 25 ; CAHIII, 56 _ 57.

(9) According to E. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (Leipzig, 1920). 56 _ 57. See also K. Kessler, Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens (Wiesbaden, 1980), 180 _ 181

(10) P. Rost. Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat _ Pilesers III (Leipzig, 1893), 78, 11·1 _ 5. A text discovered in Nineveh mentions grants made by Simirra: J. N. Postgate, Neo _ Assyrian royal Grants and Decrees (Roma, 1969), 108, col. I, 1. 25.

height of 2 m. There is a large wall in the middle of this court 9 m long and 2·35 m wide, with its eastern wall and part of the northern wall missing including the stone foundations , because of Andrae's excavations . This wall was also preserved . The function of this wall was probably to support the stairway leading to the upper structures. There might have been another stairway on the opposite side to facilitate fast movement. It is also noted that there are remains of rows of mudbricks at the northeastern corner of the above room that were possibly the stepe of the above stairway. The presence of this wall that supported the stairway can also be noted at Nimrud, namely at the Throne Court of Ashurnaserpal II (883 – 859 B. C.)

Preservation also covered the outside face of the eastern wall of the structures marked 1 and 2 using baked bricks and clay . It is worth mentioning that the accesses of the side rooms overlooking the entrance of the gate were sealed in a later period, perhaps in the Hellenistic period using gypsium plaster and stones . we believe that such reinforcement was for security reasons .

We continue to preserve the remaining structures .

PRESERVATION OF TABIRA (KURKURI) GATE

BY:

KADHIM MOHAMED KATI,

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Preservation work is essential in excavation, particularly at the major sites, in order to preserve what had been unearthed of the structures that will be more exposed to the climatic conditions and natural elements, which will mainly affect the plaster and mudbrick walls

The gate is called Kurkuri Gate, which means the gate of metallurgy workers, but there is no obvious reason for such a name. It leads from the west to the internal part of the city. It is built on sandstone land providing it with solidity. The gate has been exposed to various natural elements including rain, wind and torrential streams, leaving deep fractures, especially at the area extending from the entrance of the gate to the end of the mestaba towars the outside part of the city, as well as the bulging of some of the walls of its structures and the absence of the stone foundations of many of them because of destruction by people. Andrae has left us some writings and sketches, but the trenches left not only at the gate but throughout the city as a result of his excavation caused water from rain and torrential streams to fill them. Most of the structures along the valley from the inner side have also been affected. Therefore, preservation of the gate requires a careful study and continuous efforts to arrive at the best means to restore this great structure which is a monument of the heritage of those generations that contributed to the development of Mesopotamian civilization.

The plan for the preservation of the gate involved :

1– Clearing most of the cavities and fractures from the alluvial and other materials and unearthing the ancient mudbricks and clearing them as well as the stone foundations, and re – building the erroded and missing parts.

2– Working out a total plan for all the structures to be preserved such as rooms, courts and towers. We have adopted Andrae's plan becaucse the gate was, in general, better than it is now and because Andrae himself depended in drawing his plan on the remaining stone foundations. As you know all the structures of the gate have stone foundations.

3– Preservation using the same types of building materials used in ancient times, i. e. clay and mudbricks with baked clay in the walls that are exposed to the natural elements.

Early in the summer of 1979 we started our work and covered the ancient mudbricks of the mestaba that was unearthed in the first season in 1978 in order to protect them. Then we started initial preservation and cleared the large furrow starting from the entrance to the gate to the end of the mestaba which is more than 5 metres deep at some points. The ancient mudbricks were unearthed and cleared and the fallen large stones at the entrance of the gate were removed and the missing stone foundations were replaced.

stones at the entrance of the gate were removed and the missing stone foundations were replaced.

We concentrated our efforts at the beginning on the preservation of the mestaba for two reasons :

1– The serious destruction caused for above reasons

2– The towers of this gate and the adjacent rooms cannot be preserved before the mestaba is preserved and restord to the level of the remaining stone foundations near the left tower of the gate.

The method adopted for the preservation of the mestaba involved the unearthing of the ancient mudbricks and completing the dilapidated and missing parts by using the type of mudbricks used in the present preservation work and following the same rows of the ancient mudbricks of the Assyrian measurements (38 × 38 × 10 c) and not by using fragments of mudbricks. we have adopted this method of treatment to avoid all future possibilities.

Besides continuing to preserve the mestaba we preserved Room 1 which is 5·15 × 4·35 m to an average height of more than 1·50 m. There is a doorway 1·10 m wide at the northern wall of this room leading to a rectangular court marked No 2 which is 11·80 × 5·35 m and was preserved to an average

See illustration and figures in the Arabic version (pp·69)

prints on the body. It is 9.5c high and its mouth is 7c in diametre found in the fill of Room 6 1.50 m from the southern wall.

3. A horse head of pottery well made and hollow with a bridle on the face and neck. Part of the lower jaw and the right ear are broken, the eyes protrude and the nostrils are in the form of holes 6c high found at the recess of Room 6.

4. A pottery jar with a small cylindrical mouth and a small broken opening in the body for drinking. Its body is round and its base is oval 1.5c high and the diametre of its opening is 3.9c found in the fill of Court 9 at the western wall.

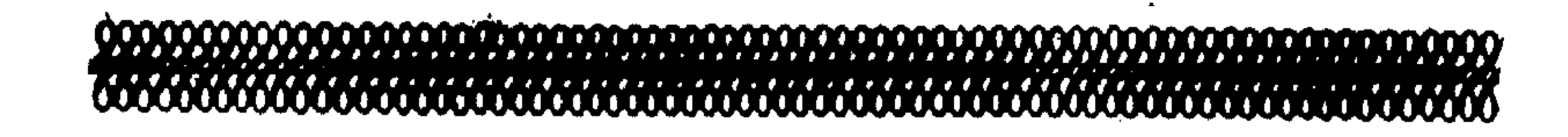
5. A small pottery vessel of red clay with the middle part of its base missing and an incision below the rim of its opening, 10.35c in diametre, 8.5mm thick and 3.5c high found at the western wall of Room 10 one metre deep compared with the wall.

6. A round piece of ivory representing the Assyrian rosit consisting of 18 petals with a small circle in the centre. It is 3mm thick and 2.6c in diametre found in the fill of Room 11.

7. Cylindrical shape seals showing a scene not exceeding a few square centimetres. In this small space the artist had to engrave the figures in the hard stone giving the impression of being huge despite the tiny surface of the seal. A cylinder seal of diorite stone was found showing the figure of a person holding a dagger in his right hand and wrestling with a deer-like animal. At the top of the seal are two symbols of the moon-god and sky-god and dates to the Middle Assyrian period (ca 1300 B.C.). It is 2.1c high and has a diametre of 1.1c, found in the fill of Room 10, 55c from its northern wall. Another seal of frit of cylindrical shape on which is engraved the scene of a deer chased by another animal with two symbols of the moon-god and sky-god at the top. It is 1.08c high and has a diametre of 1c found in the fill of Room 10 one metre from its northern wall.

8. A large pottery jar with a concial body ending with a base slightly protruding and round. Its neck is short and end with an opening part of which is broken. The whole jar had been broken and repaired 54c high and has an opening with a diametre of 11c. It is believed to date to the Hellenstic period and was found in the fill of Room 10 one metre from the eastern wall.

9. A small pottery jar of hay-colour clay, with two incisions below the neck. The body is spindle-like ending with a slightly pointed base and from the top with a short neck ending with an opening whose rims are thick 37c high with a diametre of 2.5c and 40mm thick found in the fill of Room 8 at the southern wall. Another group of beads and pottery jars and vessels similar to the above mentioned types were also found.



large rectangular room 11.50m long and 4.20m wide marked No.9 in which two recesses were found , the first one at the northern wall 1.35m long and 40c wide built of mudbricks, and the second one is at the centre of the eastern wall 1.65m long and 60c wide,paved with three rows of bricks 35c × 35c ×10c and 30c high in the wall of the recess.

At the middle of the recess a cylindrical-shaped pottery jar 32c high and 1c thick; the diametre of its mouth is 23c in diametre and it is 28c deep 28c from the wall of the recess. It was found placed under the floor of the recess with only its opening that could be seen.

The walls of the recess were coated with tar and one of the bricks on the floor of the recess in the front contains cuneiform writing in a rectangle on the face of the brick and is divided into three rows, but it is illegible because of the numerous scratches.

The walls of the above room are coated with tar ;the southern wall is adjacent to the wall of the entrance. On the side of the valley a room to the right side of Court 6 was found. Its southern wall is 7m long and its eastern wall is 3m long which was found broken. The Room is marked No.8, and its walls are built of brick fragments and stones irregularly Its floor is paved with stones representing the simplicity of the structure. A wall found in the middle of the room was added in the next level .

Then we started excavation at the point behind the eastern wall of Courts 6 and 7. The wall was traced and the rubble on it was cleared . A room marked No. 10 was unearthed. Its northern wall is 3.50, the southern wall is 3m and the western wall is 2.75 m long A lm high kiln was found at the eastern wall . Stones and pottery fragments were used in building its walls .

Another room marked No.11 to the north of Room 10 was unearthed.It is 2.90 × 2. 50m .Its foundations were built irregularly built of brick fragments and stones and are dilapidated. Only an access at the eastern wall sealed in a late period 88c long was found at the eastern wall. A kiln 45c from the western wall was found and its base is below the floor of the room. The base was traced by digging a sounding pit to unearth it. We found that it is on unearthed floor and thus we conclude that the floor of this room was built in two levels, the first dating to the time when the kiln was built and the second one had its floor coated with gypsium plaster irregularly. The mudbrick used to build this room was made of soft sand material .

The outer face of the eastern wall of Room 10 was unearthed. While clearing the site and 7c from the above wall a dilapidated kiln was found 48c high above the floor. The eastern wall opens up to a large yard paved with gravels and it is 7.50m long and 5.20m wide, and its wastern wall is adjacent to the rooms attached to the gate. The yard was used for two levels, the floor of the first one was paved with bricks and that of the second one was paved with gypsium plaster. The yard is marked No 14.

1.70m from the eastern wall of Room 10 a sewer and water canal built of irregular stones were found with the canal running through a door at the middle of the northern wall of the above yard into a large room. The door is on a threshold paved with bricks including a brick 50c × 50c with a hole in the middle at the entrance. The room extends to the eastern wall of Room 11 and is marked 12. It is 7.50m long and 3 m wide . Its northern wall overlooking the valley is lm thick and is broken . Its floor is paved with gypsium plaster.

NOTES ON THE DISCOVERED STRUCTURES

1. The structure consists of three parallel courts with one access. The doorways of the courts are opposite each other and it is believed they were used to accomodate the guards of the city wall and had a military function .

2. There are recesses in each court as a symbol for the king. A stone bench or a recess was placed at the foremost part of the room to distinguish him from the others. Similar examples were found at Arsalan Tash and Terbiso.

3. The foundations of the walls in these rooms were built of stone for the purpose of reinforcing the walls and resist erosion

towards the north, i.e. in the opposite direction of the city wall which faces the west.

A. The courts were built in a period later than that of the Gate, because their walls are not joined to the interlook with the huge walls of the Gate.

B. Their foundations are higher than those of the structures of the original Gate .

C. The eastern rooms of the courts were built in a period later than that of the construction of the courts . These rooms were then a yard having several kilns built on the occupational level of the yard .

D. The walls of the room were also built on the occupational level of this yard and they represent a second level in the occupation of the courts .

E. Rooms 10 and 11 were inhabited for two levels as attested by the repeated clay plastering. The first one goes with the wall to the basic floor and the second one is on the second later floor. Besides, there is a kiln in Room 11 built on the basic (second) occupational level .

F. Finally, the door in Room 13 was not used in the second level and was sealed .

In brief, this structure represents the late Assyrian level, because its construction is weak and the floors are poor and because large gravels were used to complete the paving with bricks. The water canal is built of irregular stones and clay used in the building of canals as Assyrians used bricks as it is the case in Nimrud .

FINDS:

1. A terracotta figurine representing the head of a man with a turban joined with a band underneath and a long chin. It is 3.5c long found in Room 6 1.10m from the southern wall.

2. A pottery beaker of the palaceware type with a broken base and a pear-shape body of yellow clay and with finger-

EXCAVATION OF TABIRA (KURKURI) GATE AND THE FINDS THERE IN THE SECOND SEASON

1979

BY :

FADHIL ABBAS AHMED

Kurkuri Gate lies at the northwestern side of the city wall and is called the Weapons Gate or the Metal Crafts Gate. It was unearthed by the German archaeologist Andrae in his excavation of Ashur (1903 – 1911) and excavation was resumed for the first time by the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage last year,. Excavation in the second season started on 11 March 1979. The plan involved the unearthing of the remaining structures attached to the Gate in order to prepare them for restoration .

Preliminary work involved the digging of a test trench at the point behind the Gate overlooking the valley to identify the end of the structures of the Gate .

Exploration work showed a row of stones regularly placed coated by a thin layer of gravels and tar. This layer is immediately on the shoulder of the valley and consists of a layer of clay . The unearthed part is about 10 m long and 70 c – 1·50 m wide . We could not become sure about the continuation of this layer towards the Gate because of the presence of rows of mudbricks, which requires that they should be removed. To avoid this another test trench at the point at the entrance of the Gate (at the inside) to make sure whether it continues or not . we found a layer of gravels and tar on a layer of stones of the same depth of the shoulder of the vally where the layer is . Another test trench was dug at the opposite point of the shoulder of the valley just to the left of the first point. A row of stones covered by a layer of gravels and tar of which 8 metres have been unearthed .

Thus as a result of the similarity of the materials used in both places overlooking the valley . It seems that they were used as bases for joining the two sides of the valley, or perhaps they formed a road leading to inside the city .

A group of courts and rooms dating to the late Assyrian period and a point was chosen at the left sideof the Gate and to the north of it which was not excavated by the German expedition. We unearthed mudbrick walls mostly coated by a thin layer of gypsium plaster and are on stone foundations with an average height of 30 c.

A large Court (No.6) has been unearthed. It is 11·50 m. long ; its eastern wall is 3m long and its western wall 3.50 m long while its northern wall is 1 m thick, its eastern wall is 1·50 m thick and its western wall is 90 c thick. About 7 m of its northern wall has been unearthed. Only the stone foundations of the remaining 2·50m are left. This part is cut the northeastern corner because it is near the valley obviously eroded Two metres from the beginning of the wall we found a door 1·75 m long which was sealed in a late period. On the floor of the entrance we found an irregular threshold under the left corner of the southern wall and two door sockets of marble were found .

It is noted that the foundations of this court are built of stones with a mudbrick wall on it which is coated by clay and a thin layer of gypsium. The court is almost regular in shape. At the right corner of the southern wall was found a buttress 1m wide and 40c deep in the wall, with its floor paved with Assyrian bricks and coated with tar 40c higher than the floor of the court. This court leads to another room towards the south through a door at the centre of the southern wall 1.50m wide .

This room wasmarked7. It is 12.20m long. Its eastern wall is 6.50m long and its eastern wall is 6.50m long and its western wall 5.80m long . It is almost regular in shape. Its eastern wall is longer than its western wall due to the presence of a recess at the left corner of the northern wall where it forms an angle with the eastern wall of the room. The recess is 1.20m wide and 10c deep. As the room is large it can be considered a court. At the centre of the southern wall we found an entrance 2.20m wide and 1.15m long on a dilapidated floor of marble stones 1.20m long and 1.08m wide . The floor of this court is paved with bricks (38 × 38 × 12c)

This court leads through the above mentioned door to a

See illustration and figures in the Arabic version (pp. 65)

wide (excavation is incomplete), and the second access of Room 16 leads to Room 17 and is 95 c wide. The room is 310 × 190 c and there are the remains of coating with gypsum on the walls with a doorway.80 c wide at its western wall leading to another room which has not been fully excavated.

NOTES ON THIS ASSYRIAN STRUCTURE :.

1– This structure has rather small rooms and several doorways leading to one another and thick walls that are not proportionate with the sizes of the rooms, which indicates the importance of this structure, e. g. a religious structure. However, we have not yet attested this possibility and we have not completed our excavation .

2– In almost all the walls of the rooms there are remains of coating with gypsum as well as the remains of some paints especially white and orange – red .

3– We have not yet found a doorway for the main or external yard No. 12 as nothing has remained of the walls except one or two rows.

4– The structure has a small side doorway leading to the main street .

5– Part of the walls, especially behind the recess in Yard No . 12 was built of earth mixed with potsherds and small pebbles with the remains of paints on it .

6– Yard 14 was probably an open yard .

Excavations have also led to the unearthing of a stone tower of a semi – cylindrical shape at the lower part of the external wall and about 50 m to the west of the Western Gate. It consists of 10 rows of regular lime – stones. Each row is 53 c high and the total height of the tower is about 5m. The tower was built to protect the weak sections of the wall and to resist the water currents that ran through the trench dug in the sandstone by Tukulti – Ninurta I in the 13th century B.C.

Excavation at the Western Gate in the last two seasons met with numerous difficulties including the following :

A. The huge rubble was left by the German expedition since before the First World War. In addition the excavations by the German expedition were not comprehensive as some spaces between one site and another were left unexcavated, which makes the process of connecting those excavations with the present work difficult.

B. The site had been deserted and neglected for many years leading, together with the climatic conditions, to further destruction of the remains of late occupation, particularly in the Parthian period, as Ashur was occupied by the Parthians for a long period and left us numerous structures, especially the tombs scattered on the earlier Assyrian structures .

The difficulties due to the overlapping of the successive structural periods in the same site and the destruction of many of the architectural features formed obstacles in our preparation to restore the Western Gate .

If we check the plans and sketches made by the German expedition of the results of excavation there we note there are differences between them and what we found in our excavation. The Western Gate according to Andrae's plans and diagrams is shown as a mestaba of mudbricks that rises gradually until it becomes about 6m higher than the trench where are the beginnings of the defensive towers of the gate which are 6m wide and protrudes about 3m from the external wall with the interval between the two towers 6m becoming narrower at the beginnings of the city wall until the access becomes 4m wide and 6·85 m long being the width of the external city wall. When the wall comes to an end towards the inside there are two rooms to the left and right of the visitor in the form of two large rooms for the guards rectangular in shape 6·50 × 4·35 m. Each room has a door 1·85 m wide leading to a stairway inside the city wall after which starts the opening of the gate which is 4m wide and 3m deep .

Beyond the external gate there is a yard between the two gates 15m long before the internal gate starts which is about 7·50 m oblique to the east compared with the external gate. The internal gate is similar in planning and measurements to the external gate. The above plan drawn by Andrae was not attested during our excavations except some corners of rooms and some foundations and walls that are still extant .

In the light of our excavation at the Western gate we can state that it passed through two phases in the Assyrian period. In the first phase there was an ordinary gate ascended by means of a ramp after which come the towers, accesses and rooms on both sides as was described above .

In the second phase we note from the extant remains that there are walls built of mubdricks of the same Assyrian measurements of those used to build the gate (38 × 38 × 12 c) and these are the same measurements of the bricks used in the structures of the gate and the extension of the city wall .

The mudbrick walls built before the gate, are completely adjacent to the walls of the original gate and not interlocked with them. They were built to seal the Western Gate permanently, because it seems that passing through the Western Gate was very limited the gate was sealed and turned into a high mudbrick mestaba overlooking a deep valley .

After this account of the stages of excavation at the gate our expedition carried out a study on how to preserve it. Due to our concern with the protection of as much as possible of the original mudbrick structures rather than replacing them the expedition covered the remains of the rows of mudbricks with a layer of mudbricks newly made on the site with the same ancient measurements to protect them against dilapidation and the natural elements. The remaining walls were also coated with clay for the same purpose after which we started to preserve the gate and the attached structures and towers following the same plan published in Andrae's book .

In order to retain the original look of the gate the expedition used the same type of building materials, namely mudbricks and clay in preservation work that require con-

PRESERVATION OF THE WESTERN GATE

BY
HIKMAT BASHIR AL-ASWAD

The following report deals with the activites of the Ashur Commission in preparation for preserving the Western Gate after finishing exploration and excavation in the last season (1978). We were able to arrive at the plan you see in the slide. Furthermore, excavation at the Western Cate showed that there is a structure behind the gate and the city wall from inside at a distance of about 10 metres in which two levels were unearthed.

The First Level: It is burial place consisting of large jars dating to the Parthian period. It has only very few rooms of which nothing has remained except the foundations built of fragments of Assyrian bricks and lime - stone.

The remains of this level consists of a rectangular room with an access 1m wide and a threshold of stone at the southern side. The foundations were built of lime_stone and Assyrian glazed bricks. Only the foundation built of gravels and stones has remained of the northern side. This room is 6x2.10m .To the east of it there is another room (5.50 × 2.80m) with a doorway about 1.20m at its southern side. There are two adjacent rooms connected to this room of which only the walls and foundations have remained. There are also two small rooms at the northern part of the structure with a water canal in one of them and a grave in the form of a large jar in the other.

Beneath this level we unearthed walls of mudbricks dating to the Assyrian period. Adjacent to the above Parthian to the north we found an Assyrian structure consisting of small rooms and several doorways connecting them. The part of this structure unearthed up to now consists of a rectangular yard 8.70 × 4m (Fig. 12) whose walls have several coats the first of which is a thick whitewashed coat of clay with a thin coat of clay added to it later and with lower parts of the walls covered with tar which are on foundations of limestone of various sizes, The walls also have the remains of an orange paint. At the middle of the northern side of the yard there is a large doorway (140c) with a threshold consisting of three slabs of marble (2.30 × 0.55m) The middle one is 1m long with a hole in its centre 8c in diametre that was used to support the door and with a hole like a horse - shoe on each side and a door - socket 35c deep made of stone. The three pieces are decorated with parallel lines that become semi - circular round the door - sockets.

To the left of the entrance by the yard there is a buttress protruding 38c from the wall with a recess 132c wide which is 120c above the paving that perhaps had a slab. It also has paints in white and orange - red and the walls have tar to 36c high . Before the entrance, at the same level of the floor and 6c above the threshold there are tnree marble slabs140 c long exceeding the width of the entrance placed sloping to the inside (Room 14). This room is rectangular (4.30 × 3·90m) with its floor paved with bricks (32 × 32 × 6c). At its southeastern corner there is a square buttress protruding 65c from the eastern and southern walls. The yard has two other accesses at the eastern and western walls. The one at the eastern wall leads to Room 15 and is 1·10m wide, and Room 15 is 3·90 × 2m. Its floor is 40c lower than that of the floor of Room 14. It is also noted that there are remains of gypsum plaster on the walls and there are remains of a water canal beneath the access with another canal at the same level made of pottery opposite to it (13 × 16c) at the eastern wall of Room 15 where there is another doorway leading to the main street that probably connected the gate with the main area of the city. This access is 120c narrowing to 75c. There is another doorway at the southern wall of the room 190c wide leading to Room 12.

The second doorway of Room 14 at the western wall which is 90c wide leads to Room 16 (3·60 × 2m). At the southwestern corner of the room there is a buttress protruding 5c from the western wall and 75c from the southern wall. There are also the remains of gypsum plaster on the walls of this room which has two doorways too. The first one is at the northern wall and leads to Room 18 and is 110c

See illustration and figures in the Arabic version (pp.61)

above found painted in blue but completely disappeared when exposed

8. *OTHER* DECORATIVE *FORMS:*

These are geometric forms square at the bottom and going up in stepped shape to the top ending with one step where the two forms meet. This kind of decoration is known in Assyrian art and found in the city wall of Nineveh made of large slabs used for defensive purposes, while the Parthians used them for decoration. We have specimens of them decorated with a spear with its head up and the second one is half a spear while the third is decorated with the blade of a short spear

8. *VARIOUS* GYPSUM FRAGMENTS

There is a large number of gypsum fragments representing kinds of natural and modified plant designs.

We were unable to find gypsum decorations of the type found by the German expedition (See Fig. 34)

a small donkey

E and F. The rear part of two animals, one looking like a horse or donkey and the second like a deer ·

2- *GYPSUM DECORATIONS:*

These are decorations and the capitals of pillars made of gypsum from the Parthian Palace and the Prince's Palace.

During excavation and removal of rubble left by the Germans at the Parthian Palace we found a group of gypsum decorations and capitals of pillars that decorated the facades of the iwans. They were mainly found before the western iwan on the occupational floor and inside the northern iwan on the occupational floor too as well as other places in the same palace from the late architectural levels. where gypsum was used as building material. At the Prince's Palace we found in the second level before Room 14 the two bases of a pillar still in their places · . We found near them the two capitals of gypsum too and a gypsum model of a geometrical design with an incense - burner on it. The gypsum decorations discovered at both sites are the following:

A. We found two types of pillar capitals, one with square base (2 in the Parthian Palace and 2 in the Prince's Palace). Those of the Parthian Palace consist of a square base with a semi - circular shape on top of it with incisions.

The pillar capitals from the Prince's Palace are like the above two but differ from them in that they are higher and decorated with friezes above the level of the two cylinders (See Fig. 13). The second type is the pillar capital with the round base whose base is half a circle cut from behind as part of it is inside the structure. They are of two types:

A. rectangular capital of which we have two specimens from the Parthian Palace with square bases and rectangular bodies and the base smaller than the body and decorated (See Fig. 14)

B. The half - round pillar capital in the from of a pyramid cut from the top with a square base gradually getting higher with incisions (See Fig. 15).

2. *MODELS:*

We found a model of gypsum at the Prince's Palace (No. 87) of a geometric shape representing a pyramid with a square base 5c high. Half of the model is completely missing as well as part of the top. The front is decorated with a curved line reaching the frame in each bend forming six triangles. The side is decorated with a tree trunk from which three branches without leaves emerge (See Fig. 16).

3. *ARCHES:*

These are half - circular arches made of gypsum of two types: the first typeis of large arches in the form of a half - circular vault whose front is decorated and the decoration unit is a large circle with a smaller one inside it with the same centre meeting at the crossing lines forming six triangles like a wheel, and the second part of it is the external frame which has inside it a broken line going round it from all sides. Beyond this frame from the bottom are two parallel lines following the shape of the arch while the third part is two curved lines inside the frame ending with circles (See Fig. 17). There are two fragments of a similar arch . The Germans found similar arches as shown as

The second type of small arches is a decoration plate in the form of half a circle of which we have a model with a small part of it vaulted and consisting of the frame of the half circle. The frieze is 1. 70c wide with triangles whose bases reach the frieze of the outer frame and their heads towards the inside and opposite them is another rowof triangles on the other side. There is a broken line going round the triangles and occupying the space between them. In the middle of this frame is another frame forming half a circle containing two circles inside which looks like a star with six heads (See Fig. 18).

5. *GYPSUM FRIEZES:*

There are three types of rectangular gypsum friezes. The first type consists of geometrical decoration composed of circles inside which are stars with four heads and inside each star are four squares. This decorative unit is surrounded by a broad frame with narrow oval shapes cut by the heads of the roses The second type is represented by many fragments some of which we have been able to repair. The decorative unit is plants with leaves and some stalks surrounded from outside with a frieze forming a frame inside which is a band of leaves slightly modified from the natural shape with two spiral lines under them representing two incomplete leaves. Beyend this band is a frieze formed by another curved line from which emerge narrow oval shapes towards the inside and then comes another vertical line branching into two lines each going in one direction and forms half a circle (See Fig. 19).

The third type is a rectangular frieze whose decoration consists of a geometrical shape formed by two squares inside each is a smaller square and the four corners of the internal square meet in the middle of the external squares. The shape is surrounded by an external frame. We found red paint on the plate as well as blue paint and the later disappeared when exposed. (See Fig. 20).

6. *PLATES:*

We found two gypsum plates. i.e. decorative units repeated throughout the plate. The first one is rectangular whose decoration is in the form of hexagonal squares each side of which having a curve towards the inside. Inside each square is another smaller square identical to it. This form is repeated throughout the plate The second plate is also rectangular and consists of simple geometric but fine and beautiful decoration in the form of triangles separated by protruding triangles. I believe this type of plates was made by casting them into molds

7. *PILLARS OF THE FRONTS:*

We found a large number of pillars completely destroyed We repaired one of them of the type og gypsum pillars. It is narrow and half circular part pf which is inside the wall. The seen part is half round decorated with deep incisions with each part separated from the other by a distinct line from

and belongs to the second level and was not used in the first one (See plan No. 8). To the west of this house at the edge of the northern moat can be seen parts of two rooms (13 and 19) , belonging to the first level and forming part of another house in this quarter that was eroded by the moat. In Room 13 under the level of the oc cupational floor, i.e. in the fill of the second level 66 coins were found dating to the Aramaic period all of which were cleared and were found to be marked S – C.

The Northern House consists of three rooms and a long passage leading to the yard and its plan is similar to that of the above houses in connection with the yard and the external room, but also having the passage. The yard is absent and it is possible that the moat destroyed it . The location of the yard is to the east if the house had no annexes. Otherwise, the passage led to the yard after running northward parallel to the wall of Room 17. This house has the following features:

1. Absence of the main room and its replacement by a passage ending by one of the rooms to which the other rooms lead.
2. The floors are generally covered with bricks 30 × 30 × 6c.
3. The walls are generally covered with regular stones to a height of 1·20m except Room14 whose walls are covered with bricks to a height of 60 c.
4. The walls of the rooms are coated with gypsum plaster
5. There are more than one room with an access to the outside.

The Kitchenroom No. 14 : It is nearly square in shape (3·80 × 4m) with its floor paved with bricks and with many traces of fire and ashes. The northern wall was destroyed by the moat and sounding trench. The width of its doorway is unknown and the space between Room 17 and Room 14 is built with vertically set bricks. Before it and against it were pillars whose bases were still there and one of them is still there built of bricks with a diametre of 15 c (See Plan No, 9). Near these bases we found the capitals of two pillars made of gypsum belonging to decorated round fronts and the capitals are decorated with two side cylinders. The reason why we believe this room was a kitchen is its small size, burnt walls and large quantity of ashes in it in addition to the presence of fire -pits on the floors and a complete set of kitchen utensils : bowls, beakers, jars, and filters of pottery and large storage jars some of which were found full of wheat which we sent to the laboratory. In the passage marked 12 opposite Room 17 there is a large trim slab placed on the occupational floor which we believe was the base of a big statue that was removed because of the German sounding pit behind it .

FINDS 1 – *POTTERY*:

(1) Jars: They are of two types, ordinary and glazed. The ordinary ones vary in size, shape and uses and include large open jars. water – flasks and bulging vessels with a longer, slender neck , some having round thich bases and bulging bodies and they are all non – porous (See plate 7), and some with funnel mouths and short necks getting narrower in the middle or long and cylindrical with bulging bodies, while some are decorated with squares. The bulging vessels are also spindle — like while the jars have bulging bodies with handles sometimes The glazed jars are not different from the other jars except in terms of glazing .

2 – *STANDS:*

They are pottery bases used for the jars with round bases. I believe the stand was made with the jar itself while some were made so as to be used with two different jars. (See plate 14).

3 – *BOWLS, BEAKERS AND CUPS:*

We found a group of bowls mostly broken but three are complete. They are small and have broad bases found in the kitchen (No.14) The beakers are of two types:
A) One type like bowls with small bases protruding towards the bottom and with rims and semi – round bodies

B) The cups which are made of pure clay. They are non – porpus and have flat bases, ylindrical bodies and large mouths and bodies decorated with incisions

The cups are of two types: 1) pottery cups similar to the beakers but not as high and have no handles. 2) clay cups made in the form of a block of clay carved with a sharp knife while still wet. Traces of carving can be seen and have oval shape with a thick rim. narrow mouth and small handle (See

4 – *FILTERS:*

We found two filters in Room 14 of medium size with cylindrical bodies and round bases. The mouths are narrower than the body and are in general pierced with regular holes

5 – *LANTERNS:*

We found two types of lanterns in Room 14, the first are large lanterns with protruding handles and long funnel, and the second type is that of small lanterns with small mouths and the funnel slightly protruding from the body (See plate 10

6 – *PLUMBIINES:*

They are made of white sandstone and are of two types: flat and pointed, and both having a flat handle serrated on its sides and decorated with opposite incisions. As for th bodies. they are flat decorated with two leaning lines cut b an opposite line, while the pointed ones are decorated wi long lines ending at the end (See plate 10B).

7 – *TERRACOTTA FIGURINES:*

We found two types of terracotta – figurines, one human and the other animal, The first type are three parts of one showing a man or woman, and the second and third are parts of human bodies. The animal terracotta figurines are the following :

A. The head of a bird like the head of a duck
B. The rear part of an animal whose tail is cut off, probably representing a donkey
C. A person riding a pony
D. The head of an animal with part of the neck, probably

eshold of the large arch above this doorway forming an iwan of the type found in the one - iwan Parthian structures and palaces.

The two rooms marked 20 and 23 : The first one is the largest of the rooms in this house (6·50 × 4 m) whose doorway leads to the main room and is 1 m wide with a threshold before it built of bricks 1·60 long protruding parallel to the wall and goes down to a small step one row high. We also found 53 small coins and sent them to the central laboratory in Baghdad to clean them, and vessels and jars with their stands made of pottery. There is a 70c doorway leading to Room 23 that was used for storage (2·30 × 2m).

There are flat rectangular black obsidian slabs on the thresholds with a short deep hole that were used to lock the door from inside as the door could not be opened unless the wooden rod in the hole was removed .

THE THIRD HOUSE :

It is situated south of the second house and parallel to it with a large yard separating them. It was built in a later period compared with the second House and its walls were built against those of the First House. It was occupied for two levels, the first as shown in Plan 5 and the second will be described when we talk about the Fifth House. We note in the plan that the house consists of two rooms divided into two wings, the eastern one consisting of Rooms 24, 25 and 26, and the western wing consisting of Rooms 30 and 31.

A. The eastern wing :

The main room marked 24 is rectangular (5 × 2·80 m) and has two doorways, the northern one leads to the yard and is 1 m, and the second one leads to Room 25 and is 80 c wide. This main room is like a small iwan for this wing and has traces of burning on the northern wall and a kiln by this wall, a broken open jar on the floor in the centre, and a flat obsidian stone in the middle of the threshold of the southern doorway that was used to lock the door like the thresholds of the Second House .

Room 25 is entered from the main room and is rectangular (2·30 × 3 m) in which we found glazed and unglazed pottery vessels. There is a small doorway at its western side leading to the smaller room marked 26 (2·30 × 1·60 m) and is separated from No.25 by a thin partition 30 c wide which I believe did not go as high as the ceiling

B. The western wing :

It consists of two rooms, one is the main room or the iwan which leads to another room behind it .

C. The main room No . 31 :

This room is characterized by the absence of its northern side, i. e. it remained open to the yard, and it was like a large iwan. There is a doorway at its southern side leading to the second room No. 30 which is rectangular (5·50 × 3·50 m) and its entrance is 1·10 wide with a flat threshold of polished blue marble consisting of three slabs buried at the same level of the floor. In the middle of the room is a small square bench of mudbricks two rows high (1·20 × 1m) with a kiln on it consisting of three bricks and clay. The yard is rectangular 12 × 7 m and its floor is coated with 5c - thick red clay.

THE FOURTH HOUSE :

It is to the south of the First House and have a common wall belonging to the Fourth House as it was built earlier than the previous two houses and the constructional sequence is as follows : the 4 th, 1st, 2 nd, 3rd and then comes the 5th which was built in a late period. It is built of mudbricks (40 × 40 × 12 c). Its walls are 1·50 m thick and the floors are covered with clay while those of the two small rooms are covered with bricks. It was built on the southern house of the second level and the occupants repaired its walls and covered some of them with mudbricks and some others with baked bricks .

The house consists of two main long rooms leading towards the east. The main room to which they lead was eroded by the southern moat. When cleared it was found that there is a passage before these rooms whose remains were found in the section (See Plan No. 6). The northern room marked 7 is 6·50 × 2m and its eastern side is dilapidated, while the second room adjacent to it to the south marked No. 6 is 6·50 × 3·50 m and its eastern side is also dilapidated but its doorway built of bricks is extant and is 1 m wide . It seems that this house was occupied for two levels as we found two of the occupational floors separated by a fill 50c thick on which the traces of carbonized wood were found indicating that the roofing of this house and perhaps the whole quarter was of wood. In the late level the western section of this room was partitioned into two small rooms paved with bricks with only one row left of their foundations at the same level of the floor, and therefore no details can be given .

THE FIFTH HOUSE :

This house represents the second late occupational period and is a combination of the 2nd and 3rd Houses after making some simple modifications by sealing some of the old houses and opening some new ones. Some walls were also added and a room was added in the yard of the 3rd House which became the main yard of this house (See Plan No. 7).

As for the second House, the doorway of the main room leading to the outside was sealed and Room 23 was expanded and a doorway was made at its new southern side leading to the yard and thus it became the main room of this house. As for the 3rd House, its eastern wing remained as it was, while the western wing was modified : The middle doorway of Room 30 was sealed and a doorway was made at the northwestern corner becoming slightly larger to the west and leading to the outside. Room 31 was completed and its northern wall was built and it acquired an ordinary doorway leading to the yard. Room 21 was added along the distance between the two former houses and leads to the yard becoming the external room overlooking the yard in completion of the common plan. The theresholds of the doorways have black obsidian slads used for locking.

The Northern House: It is to the north of the 1st House

and the first we discovered was given the first number. If you look at the complete plan of the first level you see the four houses (Plan 2). Following are the plan and features of each of the houses :

FIRST HOUSE :

It is to the northeast of this quarter oriented towards the east and consisting of 5 rooms and an open yard with a room added to it in the second level at the southwestern corner of the yard, namely Room 10. Part of the second room in this late level was cut and used to store grains (See Plan 3). This house and the other similar houses are the first of this kind in our findings in Ashur as they were built according to the Parthian system of residential quarters and complexes in general and the plan of the Parthian house in particular. The features of such a house are the following :

1. All the rooms lead to one another and to the main room overlooking and leading to the yard

2. The main room is characterized by having a large door in comparison with the other rooms and it is possible that the doorway was vaulted, i. e. having a mudbrick arch.

3. There is a large room with an indepedent doorway leading directly to the yard .

4. There is a large square yard before the main room.

5. There is a stairway inside Room 3 indicating the following :

A. It definitely led to the roof where there might have been another storey following the style of Parthian buldings such as the neigbouring Parthian palace .

B. It might have been used to lead upstairs to use the roof for sleeping in the summer or as a balcony and that required a room upstairs at the end of the stairway to prevent rainfall and dust .

6. The foundations were built of irregular stones to a height of 60c on which were built mudbrick walls (40 × 40 × 12 c) 1·10 m wide .

7. All the thresholds of the doors were of regular stones of the same width of the walls but protruding to the outside and recessing in the inside and they are placed on the occupational floor .

THE ROOMS :

1. The main room (No.2) is characterized by its main door 1·05 m wide and the other two doors are 1 m wide. It was occupied in two levels. In the late one the southern part was used to store grains in basins 1·30 c high which were burnt and inside which we found carbonized grains. They have no doors and are similar to the type still common in the Iraqi countryside (See Rooms 8 and 9 of the same plan) Inside the main room was found a statue to the left against the eastern wall on a pedestal of bricks surrounded by a frieze of clay 5c high, and the statue itself is 45c high.

2. The kitchen (No. 1) is almost square and small compared with the other rooms and characterized by the presence of two ovens to the left of the doorway with traces of burning and half - baked bricks in which ashes were found. The walls of the rooms in general have traces of smoke. We also found three large open jars fixed to the ground, two broken and one still standing. It is believed they were used to store the supplies. We also found pottery vessels and water containers made of pottery. The kitchen could not have been used as a room as it was occupied by the jars and ovens leading us to call it the kitchen.

3. The stairway room (No. 3) is rectangular and was occupied in two levels, in the second of which the stairway was added to the right starting from the doorway and going up in the direction of the north 80c wide, with each step 12c high and 14c wide. The remaining steps are six leading to a space which we believe was an extension of the stairway before it was dilapidated. In this level the floor was covered with bricks (30 × 30 × 6c) while the floor of the previous level was covered with clay and had a doorway at northern side leading to Room 4 where the Germans dug a large sounding pit reaching to the Assyrian level causing its destruction.

4. The external room (No. 15) is along the northern side of the yard to which the new added room No. 10 led. It is at the southwestern corner of the yard whose foundations were built of regular stones on the floor of the earlier level 50 c wide and covered with clay 5c thick on the bricks. It represents an occupational level later than this one. This small room (2·70 × 2·50m) had a special function from which started a stairway of regular limestones towards the east paralled to southern wall of the yard and is 80 c wide. Only two steps each 30c high have remained. The room has a weak wall of stone on the northern side that was probably built to protect against accidents during ascending and descending. As the stairway led to the eastern side it probably connected this house with another one or with an annex attached to it destroyed by the moat or the river.

SECOND HOUSE :

This house is situated to the west of the first one and each has an independent wall. The second house was built after the first one but both belong to the same level. The wall of the first house was coated with clay while the second wall was left uncoated. The walls of this house are 90c wide while those of the first one are 1·10m wide and built of mudbricks (36 × 36 × 12c), while those of the first one are 40 × 40 × 12 c, and its foundations are built of irregular stones and fragments of bricks 30 c thick .

The house was occupied for two levels, the first as shown in Plan No. 4, while in the second level some modifications were made that we will describe when we come to the Fifth House. The Second House consists of three rooms : one main room and two rooms leading to it in addition to the fourth external room that was dilapidated because of the moat and which I believe leads to the yard .

THE ROOMS :

The main room No. 27 is rectangular 4 × 3m with three doorways, two leading to the rooms and the third and largest leads to yard (2·40 m), with a big threshold of bricks 2·70 m long and 3 rows high of bricks. I believe it is the thr-

UPPER LAYERS AT THE CROWN PRINCE'S PALACE

BY :

MOHAMED AJAJ JERJIS

LOCATION :

The Crown prince's Palace in Ashur is situated on the bank of the Tigris opposite the Parthian Palace to the east and at the end of the city wall at the point overlooking the river. The German expedition excavated at this site in an irregular manner by digging several trenches and a tunnel by means of which the site of the palace was discovered. The German excavator wrote : Here where the inner wall of Shalmeneser III reaches the bank of the Tigris is this palace with its strong walls like a fort at the city corner and this palace was the victim of the river.[1] This was attested by the our excavation as we found the Assyrian well in the present course of the river.

NAMES :

This site had several names : The Crown Prince's Palace, the Prince's Palace, Sennacherib's Palace, but the most famous of them is the first one. The above names were given by the German excavators. We found many blocks of limestone built deep in the rubble of the structure and some having the following text : " This structure was built for the youngest son Ashur – Ilu – subaltu ". It is possible to assume that this prince was the king's deputy in Ashur [2].

THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS :

The Germans dug three main trenches on three sides (except the west) the most important of which was the southern trench where they found the wall and where our expedition made a section to identify the occupational levels in the city and found 4 Parthian levels and two Assyrian levels. The Prince's Palace represents the fifth level or the second Assyrian level and the wall represents the sixth one. and work still continues there.

The tunnels are two, one by the river side in the Assyrian level and is 20 m through which they discovered that the palace is built on a large mestaba of mudbricks (38 x 38 x 10 c), and the second one inside the southern trench along the wall from outside towards the south and is 5m long. We found one sounding pit before we started our work, but later we discovered more. The Germans dug one sounding pit and then filled it with the earth of the second one until the last one at the access to Room 14 was left open (See plan 1).

IRAQI EXCAVATIONS :

Within the plan of the State Organiztion of Antiquities and Heritage to revive Ashur archaeologically we started to work at the Crown Prince's Palace on 24 th April 1979 at the point between the trenches in the hope of finding part of it as a model of the Assyrian princes' palaces.

Work in this season was limited to two points, the first led to the unearthing of the upper sections of the site between the trenches, and the second point involved the making of a section at southern trench and clearing it to identify the occupational levels. As for the first point we unearthed two levels dating to the Parthian period. The first (upper) level is a residential quarter consisting of 4 adjacent houses that was occupied in two occupational levels. Some modifications and addition took place in the second (late) level and the second and third houses were merged into one marked House 5 in the sequence of houses (See Plan No. 1)

As for the second level we unearthed two houses of it, the first to the north of the quarter and was unoccupied in the first level which we marked the Northern House. It is different in its layout from those of the first level. The other house, which is under the Fourth House, is marked the Southern House, but it is no clear in the plan and cannot be clearly identified unless the first level is removed (See the above plan).

The notation of these houses is not based on a historical or chronological basis bu is made as each house is discovered

(1) Translation into Arabic of Andrae's book by Mr Hamid, p. 111 (unpublished manuscript)

(2) op. cit p. 111

See illustration and figures in the Arabic version (pp. 53)

the same time clay core and exterior layer were burnt. Then the liquid metal was poured into the funnel. The melted metal first distributed itself through the channel system mentioned above, while the vapours and gases from the metal escaped from the hollow layer by means of the second system. Then the mould was poured full to the edge of the funnel. The molten metal also enclosed the " core pins ", and in the process of hardening certain irregularities developed around them. These can be seen in the X – ray and we also recognize them as we look into the inside of the head by means of on endoscope and made color photos. Additiional irregularities could on the be obaorved.

The final treatment then began after the slag as well as the last remainder of the channels and pins had been removed. Then the surface was carefully polished and the decoration lines chased. The working traces of the chasing can clearly be seen on the microscopic photo.

On two opposite sides of the X – ray there clearly appears a disc with three dark points. Three short wires were attached in a cylindrical recess at this point. These wires probably belonged to some construction meant to support the clay core.

Samples for metal analysis were taken from various areas and were examined in the laboratory of the National Museums of the Prussian Cultural Foundation. The report of Dr. Josef Riederer reads as follows:

" Five metal Samples were analysed by means of the atomic absorption process. The samples were taken the following position

1. inner side of the beard.
2. neck piece.
3. right ear.
4. Plate inside the head.
5. the core holder above the left eve.

The results of the analysis were the following.

	Cu	Sn	Pb	Zn	Fe	Ni	Ag	Sb	As
1.	99.51	–	0.05	0.03	0.11	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.21
2.	99.19	–	0.02	0.03	0.33	0.11	0.02	0.01	0.29
3.	98.89	–	0.20	0.003	0.16	0.18	0.02	0.02	0.53
4.	99.02	–	0.06	0.03	0.11	0.13	0.05	0.01	0.59
5.	97.26	1.22	0.12	0.03	0.26	0.26	0.04	0.04	0.77

The result of the analysis show that the head was made of pure copper, which was free of tin and only contained minor traces of other elements. Same results as the three samples taken from the head Itself and therefore does not support the assumption that the head and plate were independently produced. The core holder consists of a slightly different alloy, in that the copper contains a small amount of tin.

The prefection of the casting makes the head not only a masterpiece in terms of art but also in terms of craftsmanship. We know of no other hollow casting by the lost wax process, which is older than the head from Niniveh.

If during the period of the rulers of Akkad not only the hollow casting, but also the cover casting were mastered by the Mesopotamian metal workers, then it seems permissible to ask whether the first attempts to produce works by the hollow casting process might not go back in time to the Early Dynastic Period. This question, which is of importance for the history of metallurgy, could be answered relatively easily, if in the future all objects were more closely examined. Although it does not specifically pertian to the metallurgy of Assur and Babylon, but rather to Mesopotamia as a whole, I would like to close by requesting all members of this colloquium to pay more attention to this problem. So the compilation of general plan of Assur faces on longer any serious obstacles.

EARLY METAL FIGURES FROM ASSUR AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF METAL CASTING

BY:
EVA STROMMENGER

In the debris under the cult room of Old Assyrian-temple in Assur a caly vessel was found with a remarkable contents: two human figures, weapons and various mountings of copper. It is not known whether the deposit was symbolically buried as an offering from the older temple or whether it merely represents articles of a copper moulder which were to be melted down and be re-used.

The two human figures certainly represent worshippers. They hold their right arm upward in a worshiping manner, and carry in their left a sacrifical animal. Stylistically they belong to the Early Dynastic III period.

More Copper offering objects with human figures dating to the Early Dynastic period have, in the meantime been excavated: in the Diyala region, just as in the Antakya plain and in Mari. We are dealing therefore with a widely dispersed and common practice. The objects found are relatively rare, since they could be melted down and re-used. All of these objects attest to a profession, in which Mesopotamian workshops at that time were highly advanced. This fact has up till now received little attention. Only the figures from the Antakya plain have been analysed. Concerning the figures from Assur we only know, according to the publication that their short shirts were applied after casting consisting of copper sheets.

The small figures were most probably produced in mass by the massive lost wax process. In this respect it would be interesting to know whether the almost 3/4 life size statue from Tell Asmar, of which only a fragment of a foot was found was produced by this process, which requires quite a lot of metal, or whether it was produced by the hollow lost wax casting process, which requires far less metal.

This question presented itself to me as we were recently allowed to examine the famous copper haed of empirical Akkadian times from Niniveh. Although we were not able to solve all the problems pertaining to the casting process, I would like to present some of the results to you.

The head was obviously cast in copper by the lost wax process, , This clearly took place in two stages. First both ears were cast as solid pieces. Then the rest of the head was produced in a casting mould. The ears are narrowly separated from the head at their point of attachment being almost square plates. This can only be explained as representing sequential processes in the casting.

In the preparation of the second casting the ears were connected with one another through a roughly square, almost vertical copper plate and upon this plate a core of clay was then shaped in the approximate form of the final head. Over this the artist formed a wax coating, keeping it as far as possible the same thickness, and working into the final details. In the X-ray one recognizes the borders of the vertical plate which connected the two ears with one another. The way in which these were connected can not however be ascertained

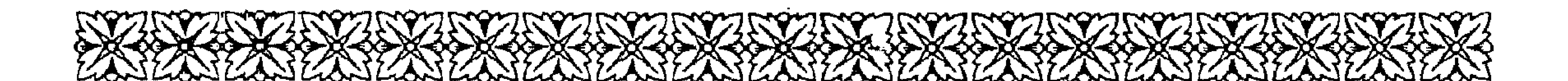
In addition one sees a number of equallvlong pins, which extend through the metal plate and lead almost vertically downwards, where their pointed ends terminate standing free after about 2.5 cm. These pins were driven through the completed wax layer of the model into the clay core. When the wax head was covered with a layer of fine molding clay, the outer ends of the pins were also attached to this These so culled "core pins" were to guarantee that the distance between the core and the moulded clay layer, remained solid. with the melting of the wax, although there now existed a hollow layer. Thus the casting layer received uniform thickness, as provided by the wax model.

The wax model was furthermore provided, before the moulding caly layer was applied, with a system of flexible wax channels, which led to a funnel made of wax. Most probably a second system of wax channels formed another separate system. After this it was completely covered with a layer of moulding clay, so that the one system led to the funnel, the other system of wax led to the surface. One heated the whole mass slowly until the wax melted and at

the enemies and frighten them.

After the king completed his military campaign and conquests he had to pilgrimage to Ashur and extend thanks to the god Ashur the patron of the country and supporter of the army. The king asks the god Ashur to bless all the spoils which he brought to the temple.

Such practices by the Assyrian kings indicate how sacred and important the city was. Ashur was regarded the promised land for the Assyrians and was pure and sacred because it was the abode of their national god. When an Assyrian king or prince died outside Ashur he was taken to Ashur to be buried there in the royal cemetry built for that purpose. Perhaps every king had a tomb built for him or instructed to be built in Ashur.



5- BONES :

Two types of bones were found :

A. Human bones :

A number of human bones were found that had originally formed parts of the skeletons in the tomb. Excavation and clearing of the burial showed that it was used several times and was robbed and was destroyed leading to the breaking of many of the bones and scattering the others. Despite the pillage an examination of the bones by anthropologists will help to determine the number of skeletons buried in this tomb. The main bones are the following :

1- Remains of skulls
2- Remains of jaws, teeth, back discs, ribs, instep and other bones that we could not define
3- Bones of legs, thighes and pelvises

B. ANIMAL BONES :

Animal bones, particularly of goats, and sheep were found represented by joints, teeth, and jaws which were placed into the tomb with the dead or presented as meat with bones and left to be buried with the other burial objects. Joints of heels were found in many tombs, especially those belonging to children and young people that were probably used to play with as thay are still used by village children in Iraq for that purpose (See plate No. 5).

6. SEA-SHELLS AND AMULETS :

For thousands of years man has been trying to comfort himself, seek eternity and dismiss evil spirits that hurt the spirit of the dead. Man believed some stones and sea-shells brought happiness to the spirit of the dead and also considered amulets a symbol of fertility and reproduction. The types we found at this burial were :

A. Incised horned amulets
B. Incised spiral horned amulets
C. White ordinary amulets which are semi-circular with a long fracture in the middle with simple small incisions on both sides of this fracture.

Amulets still have magic effect for village women as we still see such amulets attached to children's head-covers to dismiss evil. This belief seems to persist among people until now.

D. Shells:
   a. Ordinary shells like a vessel and is almost round
   b. Round spiral shells
   Shells are believed to have magic effect on evil spirits and are buried with the dead to dismiss such spirits.

7- JEWELLERY:

Excavation in this tomb has shown that all the precious jewellery were stolen and we found only two gold earnings and a number of tiny beads scattered at the corners of the rooms and in the rubble.

B. THE ROYAL CEMETRY:

It is situated to the southwest of the ziggurat of Ashur and was unearthed by the German expedition that worked in Ashur in 1903 - 1914 which removed all its contents. Most of its structures are dilapidated. It consists of five burial rooms, three of which have a common entrance going down vertically 2 - 3 m deep to the square yard (119 x 165 c). A stairway leads from there to Room No. 1 and a second stairway in the form of a corridor leads to Room 2. A passage leads from the same yard with a stairway going down to Room 3, while we believe Rooms 4 and 5 had their own doorways. We have cleared the royal cemetry.

The inscriptions found by the Germans in their excavations indicate that the cemetry belonged to three Assyrian kings:

1. Assur-bel-kala, who ruled in 1074 - 1057 B. C. and whose tomb is Room 1.
2. Assur-nasir-pal II who ruled in 883 - 859 and whose tomb is Room 2.
3. Shamshi-Adad V, who ruled in 823 - 811 and whose tomb is Room 2.

It is noted that this cemetry was prepared since the reign of Ashur-bel-kala, and about two hundred years later Ashur-nasir-pal II had a tomb built for himslef adjacent to the first tomb. Then Shamshi-adad V built himself a tomb at this royal cemetry which was in the building of a late Assyrian palace. We do not know to whom belonged Rooms 4 and 5 and we believe they belonged to a royal couple buried there.

All the rooms and other structures of this cemetry are built of baked bricks that cover the mudbrick walls. The mortar used to join the bricks is of two typs:

1. Gypsum was used in Room 1 while tar was used in the other rooms as shown by the remains of the bricks, and the floors of all these rooms are covered with bricks.
2. Tar was used as mortar to join the rows of bricks as shown in Rooms 2, 3, and 4 whose rows were built with tar, and the floors of the rooms were also covered with bricks and tar.

In Room 1 a huge stone coffin was found along its eastern side carved of strong lime-stone. It is 302 c long, 139 c wide and 117 c high, and it is 115 c deep from inside and its edge is 18 c thick. The coffin is broken at its southern and northern sides while the remaining rooms were found empty except some brick fragments and other fragments of lime-stone.

The Assyrian kings continued to be buried at the sacred city of Ashur although they moved to other capitals such as Nimrud, Nineveh and Khorsabad. Ashur continued to enjoy the respect and attention of all Assyrian kings, because it was the mother-city of the Assyrians where their national god resided. If a new king or crown prince took over he had to visit or pilgrimage to Ashur to win the support and blessing of the god offer presents, and give instructions to construct temples and restore them. Every Assyrian king had to pay homage and show obediance to the great god Ashur. If he wanted to launch a military campaign he had to visit the seat of Ashur in the city of Ashur to request him to aid him against

found in tombs belonging to 18–25 year old people.

The tomb is of the parthian style and different from the tombs of the late Assyrian period due to the presence of jars and vessels. All the burial objects are of the late Assyrian style. The coffin itself was entered into the tomb by means of the opening at the eastern side. (See plan 4) The coffin is 160c long, 164c wide, 45c high and its edge is 6c thick. Its clay is hay-like and is placed on the paved floor of the room.

4– *THE WESTERN ROOM :*

It is entered through the doorway at the eastern side. It is smaller than the eastern room and of the same height. Inside it a number of small and medium size jars were found at the northwestern corner with a broken jar-stand. At the southwestern corner we found a bottle of white wax marble affected by dampness and with the sides of its edges eroded. We also found in the centre of the room a collection of scattered bones and beads indicating the amount of destruction done to this burial in various periods.

The floor of the room and the access leading to it is paved with the type of bricks of which the tomb itself was built. The floor bricks are of different measurements : 36x 36x 6 / 36x 36x 5 / 35x 35x 5, and there are even other measurements.

5- *BURIAI OBJECTS DISCOVERED INSIDE THE TOMB*

Burial objects are those things buried with the dead to accompany the for ever. Some of them have religious significance for the soul of the dead bringing happiness and comfort in afterlife and dismiss evil spirits that hurt and torment the spirits of the dead, Therefore amulets, small figurines, shells, beads and some stones were buried with the dead. The other group were for everyday use and jars to keep liquids, and water, small jars for other purposes to keep precious materials, beakers, cups and bottles were found and each had its own use in afterlife. (See plan 5) The burial objects discovered inside the tomb are divided into the following :

1– Jars : All of them can be described as follows :

1) A group with nipple-like bases
2) A group with semi-pointed bases
3) Most bodies are bulging and ball-shaped
4) Their mouths are wide and flattened to the outside
5) All of them are well made
6) Mainly of hay colour clay and with porous bodies
7) There are two small jars of special uses, e.g. to keep perfumes and precious materials. (See plate No. 1)

Examining the common features of these jars and their manufacture we conclude that they were made in the late Assyrian period, and that the Parthians probably used them and copied them when they settled in the area around 326 B. C.

2– VESSELS :

We found 13 complete vessels and a few ones with missing parts. They have the following features :

1) They have round bases on which the vessle is placed
2) They have long rims folded to the outside with an nicision or incisions below them.
3) All the vessels are shallow and flat
4) Their clay have a hay-like colour and some have pink colour
5) They have porous bodies and some of them have the traces of a thin film of good clay coating the inside and outside of the vessel before it was baked in firen or a klin. This coat reduces the porosity of the vessel and gives a smooth appearance and hides the defects of manufacturing and the coarse clay. (See plate No. 2)

Among this group of vessels are two small ones compared with the others and about the size of the tea saucer now commonly used in Iraq without a protruding base like the rest of the saucers.

3– BEAKERS :

11 intact beakers in addition to the broken ones were found in the two burial rooms mostly inside the eastern room which is larger than the western room.

The large number of beakers and vessels indicates that many corpses were buried inside this room. The differences between the vessels and beakers are as follows :

1) The beakers have round bases and are higher than the vessels but as large.
2) The body of the beaker gets naroower at the bottom and is curved towards the top and the inside contrary to the vessels
3) The outside rims of the beakers are folded towards the inside contrary to those of the vessels that are flattened to the outside
4) Both the vessels and beakers have simple incisions under the rim.
5) The clay of the beakers is mainly red becaues of burning (9 of them) with two of them of hay colour.
6) The bodies of the beakers have the traces of the burnt hay which was originally mixed with the clay when it was mixed to make the beakers. (See plate 3)

4– Cups ;

We found 13 of them, one inside the above mentioned coffin in the eastern room by the remains of a skull, and the second was found by the southwestern corner in the same room, while the third was found in the western room at the northwestern corner with a group of jars with their stands. The main features of these cups are the following :

1) They have a nipple-like base
2) They have a fine and thin paint
3) They have a thin body and the rims are smooth and finely made.
4) Their bodies are not porous because the paint hid the pores
5) Their clay is of hay-like colour, the second red while the third is pink.

We found with them a bottle of white wax marble with broken sides and mouth along the southern wall of the western room (See plate 4)...

THE TOMBS DISCOVERED AT ASHUR IN THE SECOND SEASON (1979)

BY :

ABID MOHAMED JERO

A. TOMB OF THE COURT :

This tomb is beneath the large court of the head-quarter of the Iraqi expedition working in Ashur now. This place was attached to the headquarter of the German expedition working there in 1903-1914. The tomb consists of the following parts :

1- ENTRANCE :

It goes down vertically inside the ground 2m deep and reaches a square floor 150c long paved with bricks and having two doorways each leading to a burial room. The floor of the entrance is higher than the floors of the two burial rooms and the doorways leading into the two rooms from a semi-circular vault each consisting of about 13 bricks three of which form the top of the vault. These three bricks were treated in a special way with their sides engraved from below becoming rathe pointed to form the semi-circular vault with the middle brick as the key to the vaul;.

On the vault of the doorway there is a row of bricks protruding 6 c and there is a square niche (30 x 30 x 6 c) at the northern side of the entrance, It was probably made for a lantern to light the entrance. This is not the only lantern in the burial, because a second one was found at the western side of the western room opposite the door at the eastern side. It has the same measurements like the first lantern and was used to light the way during burial. There is a second door leading to the eastern room and I believe there was a niche at the eastern side that was dilapidated and it was also used for providing light during the burial process. (See plan 1).

2 -*THE EASTERN ROOM :*

This room is to the east of the entrance to the tomb and is entered through the door at the western side Its door has a vault built of bricks. (See plan 3). The door is 60 c hight from the threshold to the top of the vault, 52c wide at the floor of the entrance and is 84 c high above the floor of the room. Thus the floor of the room is 84c lower than the floor of the main entrance. This depth made it possible to enter the corpse and increased the height of the room from the inside. Its measurements are as follows : 268 c long, 188 c wide and 196c high.

At its northern and southern sides there are friezes that prtorude 3c and is built of bricks 83c high from the floor of the room. The friezes resulted from the fact that each row of bricks moved forward by a certain amount until the vaulting ended by the bricks meeting at the opening of the vault at the centre. The vault is covered from top and its only access is the doorway at the western side of this room. The builder used clay as mortar to join the rows of bricks and also used it to coat the back of the wall putting more clay in the low places. (See plan 1)

The floor of this room is paved with bricks and we also found a number of burial objects that accompanied the corpse including jars, vessels, beakers, cups, jar-stands and small bottles in addition to the remains of skeletons scattered inside the burial room in disorder. We also found a collection of beads and two gold earings besides the presence of animal bones inside the burial. We will describe the burial objects in details.

3- *THE COFFIN INSIDE THE EASTERN ROOM :*

This coffin lies along the southern side of the eastern room starting from the southeastern corner. The coffin originally consists of two halves and was entered complete into the tomb but one of the two halves was broken later and removed to be replaced by a second half which is different from the origin. The new half is cylindrical, while the broken part was removed and placed near the coffin inside the room. We also found the remains of bones and pieces of skulls as well as some small jars and beakers inside this coffin at its western part which remained intact. We found a small stone with the traces of beating of the type of stones placed by the head of the corpse and has a ball or round shape of various shapes and sizes. It can be called the youth stone as it is often

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See illustration and figures in the Arabic version (pp. 44)

Let us now return to the beginning of our considerations and be fonnd in the letters and documents of northern Syria during the Mitanni Period and afyter it. As already mentiv-ned, I like to Propose the view with due Cautior, that the Mitanni kings before Tushratta Chose the Assyrian to be the administration language of the empire in order to use a similar langnages as the widely Known Babylonian but not the Babylonian of the Kassite Kingdom itself it was a measure of an anticipating Kulturpolitik aiming at the establishment of a new cultural centre at Wassukkanni in Competition with the old centers in Babylonia, Anatolia, Syria and perhaps even Egypt. They were aware of the importance of real Center for their empire that was more than a mere Capital.

tance during the first centuries of the 2nd millennium politically as well as culturally. Between the centers of Eastern Anatolia, Northern Syria, Mari and Ashur its position was weak, as we learn from the letters of Cappadocia and from Mari. After 1500 the dynasty of Mitanni was in the position to conquer Mesopotamia and adjoinung regions, because the Hittite State then was weak just as Babylonia and Assyria. We have no sources for this dark age. For an empire more than ephemeral it did not sufficient to have a strong army and to take care of trade and traffic; it was necessary to build up an efficient administration and to develop cultural centres, which had to be more than provincial. No doubt the language most widely known in the south and in the west of the Babylonian partly Canaanized. But the Babylonian was first of all the language of Babylonia and also the Kassite Babylonia, because the Kassites had not seriously tried to the best of our knowledge to force their own language upon their subjects. It would not have been possible to transfer Babylonian scribal schools to northern Mesopotamia not inhabited by Babylonians.

But there existed another scribal tradition not far away, the tradition of Ashur. To be sure, we are not entitled compare the early Ashur tradition with the Babylonian because the old Assyrian didnot become a language of literature and because Ashur very littel participated in the Sumerian tradition. But Ashur had developed its own species of Cuneiform after the old _ Akkadian period and its own orthography.

The letters and documents exhibit a clear terminology. for administration, justice, and trade. The vocabulary was not very rich, but fully sufficient to express various notions.

After the period of the trade colonies and the dominion of Samsi – Adad and Hammurabi the old Assyrian language altered ; the few inscriptions of the princes of Ashur after about 1600 allow to perceive phenoma of transition in language, arthography and last but not least in the script. The changes in script were more radical than in contemporaneous Babylonia; we donot know the reasons therefore. When the Mitanni empire rose the conquerors already met with the Middle Assyrian script. Perhaps Middle Assyrian than was a rather poor language because the Assyrian cities had been reduced to provincial centers. But in some way Ashur took part in the development in Babylonia as can be seen from the similarity of some changes in some changes in both countries.

Perhapes we are allowed to guess thatthe princes of Ashur when ever possible tried to play off Babylonia against Mitanni. in order to obtain some autonomy in this way, and that they had some success. Let us now return to the beginning of our considerations and our observation that a considerable lot of Assyrian forms is to be found in the letters and documents of northern Syria during the Mitanni period and after it. As already mentioned. I like to propose the view with due cautior that the Mitanni kings before Tushratta chose the Assyrian to be the administration language of the empire in order to use a similar language as the widely known Babylonian but not the Babylonian of the Kassite Kingdom itself. It was a measure of an anticipating Kulturpolitik aiming at the establishment of a new cultural centre at Wassukkanni in competition with the old centers in Babylonia, Anatolia, Syria and perhaps even Egypt. They were aware of the importance of a real center for their empire that was more than a mere capital.

But, evidently, nobady in Mesopotamia had an interest in a rejection of the Babylonian civilisation and language.

None of the kingdoms concerned was a national state. For the international correspondence the Babylonian continued to be the standard language; the archives of Amarna, Hattusas and Ugarit prove it. Perhaps, in consequence of this fact, the Babylonian with its Hurrianized, Canaanized, Hittitized an so on dialects maintained its predominance in the northern and western schools of scribes, but many scribes mixed Babylonian and Assyrian word forms and signs in writing. From Wassukkanni and its region no document or private letter is known; we must wait until the ruins of this town will be excavated. Another prerequisit to further successful research in my opinion will be the resumption of the excavation of the old Assyrian capital Ashur. I supose it will be very difficult to find the spots where remains of the middel Assyrian period specially the early middle Assyrian epoch are to be expected. The practice custom of many Assyrian kings to clear the site for a new building down to the rocks impedes archaeological work badly. It is possible that new finds at Ashur will help us toform an opinion that will be better substantiated about the political position of Ashur during the dominion of Mitanni before Asuruballit I.

This very short paper cannot be more than a suggestion for further research on the difficult problems, linguistic as well as historic and archaeological to deal thoroughly all the questions involved will require such more special investigations than I could afford until now; amonography would be needed. I thank the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage and Dr. Damerji for giving me the occasion of discussing the problems here.

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and _uttu for utu, e.g. ana daritti for ever instead of Babylonian ana dariti, annutti these instead of annûti, tamkarutta_šunu "their merchant_work" for Babylonian tamkarussunu.

Very often we find Assyrian Verbal forms. The prefixes of the feminine of the third person in present, preterit and perfect are freqently ta_,te_and tu_ instead of the masculine forms i_and u_ in Babylonian. In this case also Ugaritic influence is possible, because Ugaritic forms like tittadin "she gave" for Assyrian tattadin and Babylonian ittadin are to be found. A great number of occurrences are to be found for the Assyrian affix of the subjunctive_ni e.g. in sa iddinu_ni "who gave". For the prohibitive mode very often is used lu la instead of Babylonian la before the present tense, for instance lu la tezemme "dont be angry" for Babylonian la tezenni.. Other typical Assyrian forms are habbulata you are indebted for Babylonian hubbulata; eppas he does for Babylonian ippuš, tetapas you did for Babylonian tetepus and many forms like those. We have to mention furthermore ušebbal he sends for Babyloian usebbil, ušezzabanni he will save me for Babylonian usezzebanni, ila" e. he overcomes instead of Babylonian ile" e, tasamme you hear for tesemme and ana lata"_šu without vowel_contraction for Babylonian ana leti_šu in order to dash to pieces. Assyrian is also the stative tadin it is given for Babyloian nadin.

For the specific Assyrian words more research is required. Some are available today especially a glossary Ugarit Akkadian. For the direct speech we find in the letters very often Assyrian mâ besides the more frequent Babylonian umma. Other Assyrian words are for instance namasu to depart, sarpu or sorpu silver, sasnu to change for Babylonian sunnu and so on besides the normal kaspu.

I am afraid, this short enumeration of some of the most abvious Assyrian writings, forms, and words in the texts of Ugarit, Northern Syria, and partly Hittite, Anatolia and Nuzi, may have been fatiguing for you, dear colleagues. But before drawing inferences from my observations it was inevit able to produce the fundamental linguistic facts. Now we are prepared to put a new question:

Why did the scribes of Ugarit and other cities so often employ Assyrian forms, we are to state a new, that because of the very long distance between Assyria and Syria and the little importance of Assyria during the century before about 1350, direct contacts between the two regions cannot have been the cause. Likewise there is no reason to suppose that the Assyrian civilization during the early Mitanni Empire had a great influence on countries rather far away .To be sure, our knowledge of history and the civilizations during the so called dark period after the decline of the Hammurabi_Empire and the Old Hittite kingdom is rather scanty, and we must refrain, therefore, from premature and not substantiated conclusions. But it is my opinion that we are allowed to advance a guess. I guess that the administration of the Mitanni empire favoured the use of the Assyrian language besides and instead of the Babylcnian language. There are some good arguments for guess like that.

The Mitanni Empire apparently was not able to establish the Hurrian language as the language of Empire administration. If the Hurrian would have been the prevailing language of the authorities of Mitanni, we should have found by far more Hurrian documents and letters. The sources available to us allow no other conclusion than that the Akkadian prevailed as language of administration in the Empire. I suspect that one reason for this remarkble fact was the nonexistence of a kind of standard literary Hurrian.

The Hurrian texts hitherto found are written in different dialects according to the observations made e.g. by Em. Laroche who studied the Hurrian texts of Emar in Syria recently found and yet unpublished.

Certainly, our sources for the Hurrian spoken in the capital of the Mitanni empire, Waššukanni in Mesopotamia, are few in number because we only have possess the much discussed very long Mitanni letter of the Amarna archives and know some more words from the Akkadian letters of Tushratta. We do not know whether Hurrian scribes at Syria were able to understand the Hurrian of Mesopotamia, and how many people in Syria spoke or understood Hurrian. In any case, the language of adminsitration normally used in the Empire from Nuzi down to the Mediterranean was the Akkadian, but not everywhere the Babylonian, written in Mesopotamia since the 3rd millennium.

The Babylonian being the old literary language not only of Babylonian, was esteemed much more than the Assyrian even in Mesopotamia. In the 14[th] century Tushratta of Mitanni wrote Babylonian letters to the Pharao, and the Assyrian kings beginning with Ashuruballit favoured the Babylonian for their own inscriptions and even for literary compositions as the Tukultininurta – Epic, though script and orthography for the most part were Assyrian.

But we donot know whether the Mitanni kings before Tushratta preferred Babylonian to the same degree. The role of the Assyrian language in Northern Syria may lead us to another suggestion.

As in later times political conflicts between neighbouring states in the ancient orient not always led to wars. The efficacy of economic warfare often was more intensive than a victory on the battlefield. But many kings were likeweise aware of the importance of cultural and mental contest for obtaining political strength and prestige.

The Kassite kings of Babylonia for instance profited in many respects from the influence of the Babylonian civilization on the neighbouring regions. The cultural superiority gave many chances to act an important part in politics even in times of military inferiority or weakness.

We learn from the Amarna _ letters that the position of Babylonia was rather strong in spite of its military weakness. For Egypt, Babylonia served as counterbalance to the Mitanni empire.

For the Mitanni Empire it was by far more difficult, to obtain a sound strong position amongst his neighbours.

The north of Mesopotamia was a region of minor impor-

THE LANGUAGE OF ASHUR IN THE MITANNI EMPIRE "CA. 1450 – 1350 B. C".

BY :
WOLFRAM VON SODEN

Lexical work on a big dictionary like my Akkadisches Handwörterbuch is very often a rather tiring one, if there are too few occurrences of a word as to gain satisfying results, or, rather frequently, an immense lot of occurrences which are difficult to arrange to understand when they are used abnormally.

But sometime this task brings about observations which shed light on important questions not strictly lexical but historical, relating to religion, science, economy or other objects of research.

Observations of this kind are the starting point for this paper.

Again and again I was astonished at finding in the letters and documents from Ugarit as well as in Amarna_letters from Northern Syria Assyrian writings, forms and words instead of the Babylonian normally used in the so called Randdialekte of Akkadian written and partly spoken from Palestine to Anatolia and Mesopotamia from the fifteenth to the thirteenth centaries. A rather small part of the Assyrian forms and words was found in documents relating to Assyria or letters to Assyrian addresses. The astonishment increased when I had to realize that in the Documents of Nuzi near the eastern frontier of Assyrian forms occur by far more infrequently than in Northern Syria. One would expect quite the contrary. It cannot be the purpose of this paper to go into the details of my observations and to discuss the verious grammatical and lexical problems involved because only philolgists can be interested in it. But it is necessary to point in the first part briefly to the essential facts in this connection in order to give the evidence for the historical conclusions drawn in the second part.

A list of the cuniform signs used in Ugrit has not yet been published; only for the Amarna letters of Northern Syria we have a good sign_list compiled by Otto Schroeder in VS XII.

By studying this list and the accurate copies of Jean Nougayrol in his publications of the Babylonian Ugarit_documents we learn that sign forms resembling those used in Kassite Babylonia prevailed. But quite frequently signs can be found which are equal to those used in the middle Assyrian documents of Ashur. Some scribes make use of Assyrian signs besides the normal Babylonian forms. But in a small number of texts the Assyrian forms prevail. Apparently, some scribe – schools of Ugarit taught the Assyrian script besides the Babylonian for instance for the signs i, di, ki, ra, ta, gar, sar, sul, ta k, tin, ak and others. These were used for Babylonian and Assyrian words likewise.

Besides the Assyrian sign forms we discover a number of rather common syllabic values never found in contemporaneous Babylonia .Such values are espcially qi written by the kin_sign, ti as developed from tin in the old Assyrian period, kil, kul, nis especially in the adverb d̄an_nis very, sàm, shortened form of sàm, sum, tak. and others .Most of them can be found in tablets from Hattusas likewise and some of them also at Nuzi.

As to Phonology we find a considerable number of forms which exhibit the so called vocal harmony characteristic for all periods of Assyrian; some instances: mahsulu pestel instead of Babylonian maḫšalu: išattụru' they write instead oi ısatṭaru'; short a becomes u, iqtebi, aqtebi, and i instead a, he, I spoke instead of i/aqtabi; ittesi he went out instead of ittasi. (Other Assyrian forms will be cited at once.)

As to morphology, we have first to mention some Assyrian pronominal forms in Ugarit as especially ana kuasa to you (singular) instead of Babylonian ana kasa, ana kunasunu to you (plural) for Babylonian ana kasunu and the Nominative_forms sut and sit "he, she" for Babylonian su and si. The Assyrian Demonstrative ammiu "that" is to be found only in the Mitanni_letters; in Ugarit we find sometimes alla instead of Babylonian ullu.

As to nouns, we find very often the Assyrian Genitive_ending_e instead of Babyonian_i and nominal Affixes with double tt instead of a long vocal_ittu for Babylonian_i_tu

een the archaeologist and the cuneiformist is not always perfect.

Of the 10 archives discussed no less than 5 were found in the 10 metre test trenches put across the site every 100 metres. This must indicate that other similar archives have yet to be discovered outside the test trenches. Groups 1, 2, and 3 were located in the temple and palace sector along the north side of the city, and it is significant that these seem to be entirely *public* archives, dealing with government administration. In contrast, the remainder tend to mix the private and public documents of the people concerned, and this certainly indicates that they were found in the private houses, not in administrative buildings. We have already mentioned that the dividing line between public responsibility and private liability was not entirely firm in Middle Assyrian times, and this agrees with the data of the archives from Tell Billa and Tell al - Rimah. Finally, I would like to call your attention in particular to archives 4,5 and 6; these come from the households of important state officials, Babu - aha - iddina, the governors of Nahur, and probably the chief steward. They were probably of higher social standing than the owners of the houses further south, in which archives 9 and 10 were found. This allows us to suggest that the houses of the more important families tended to lie closer to the temple and palace quarter ; whether the fact that they lie towards the west has any connection with the site of Tukulti-Ninurta's New palace is less easy to say, but it is certainly a possibility worth investigating that the large " houses " of the high state officials were clustered round the royal palace.[18]

tion of more than 130 well - preserved tablets lying 2·75 metres below the surface. Many of these were published in KAJ by Ebeling, a few more subsequently in scattered articles. Although I must state emphatically that I have not studied this entire group as an archive, it seems fair to say that these texts include the great majority of all the known legal documents from the Middle Assyrian period at Assur : most frequent are texts concerned with the purchase of land and with loans of tin and corn, but there are not a few documenting marriage, adoption, pledge, division of inheritance etc. As a whole the archive dates from relatively early in the Middle Assyrian period – according to Weidner principally the reigns of Eriba-Adad and Assur - uballit (ca. 1392 - 1330 B. C.)- and it certainly includes the separate archives of several different families.

Many of the texts reflect the activities of Iddin - Kube and his son Kidin - Adad, and indeed Weidner even suggested that the entire collection of tablets may have belonged to this household, and if this were so we should expect their main house to have been situated in this part of the city. On the other hand, at least two other large family archives are represented: that this is not mere coincidence is shown by the fact that they seem to have held lands in the same few villages "across the river Sissar" – which, with Nissen, I feel was probably the ancient name of the Tharthar. We could than suppose that Kidin - Adad had bought up the land - holdings of the other families, in which case any documents relating to their previous purchase of the land would have been passed on to him with the entitlement to the land. If this is indeed the correct explanation, it means that the family must have become exceedingly wealthy land - owners. However, without a careful re - examination of the whole group, and preferably the publication of the remainder, it would be premature to suggest that the tablets comprise a single family archive, since there could be other explanations of why they were found together.

9. ADMATI - ILI'S FAMILY ARCHIVE[16]

In test trench 91 the storeroom of a Middle Assyrian private house was found, still packed with a variety of pottery vessels, one of which held 54 tablets. Of this very well provenanced archive some 28 are now published. They form a mixed collection of transactions, mainly tin and corn loans, but including a few other interesting documents. There are two names which occur most frequently : one is Admati - ili, who figures twice in person, once as the grandfather of a person buying a slavewoman (in whose possession we should expect the tablet to have remained), and once as the father of Sin - nasir, one party to a unique, though sadly broken, "mutual assistance" contract (KAJ 57). Two of Sin - nasir's sons appear in KAJ 37, in which a certain Riš - Assur lends corn to various persons. This same Riš - Assur also lends tin in two other tablets from the group, and he is therefore the second candidate after whom the archive might be named, We cannot decide, on the basis of the published sample, whether his documents have been added to those of Admati - ili's family, or vice versa.

There are also a number of loan contracts from the same jar which seem to have no connection with either party. One explantion of this is contained in the texts themselevs : 4 of the loans (KAJ 16; 19; 31 and 71), all with different debtors and creditors, contain the phrase " he shall pay to the bearer of the tablet " Thus we see that debts of this kind could be passed on from one person to another merely by transferring the tablet to a new owner, and this may explain how these apparently irrelevant documents ended up here.

10. THE ARCHIVE OF ZERU - IQISA[17]

The tenth and last archive consists of tablets found scattered on the floor of a large house in the south end of the city in the 101 test trench. Twenty-four of these texts are now published, and they show clearly that a certain Zeru-iqiša (full name Adad-zeru-iqisa) lived here. Several tablets indicate that he administered flocks of sheep belonging both to himself and to the palace, two texts refer to his purchase of a house in the city of Assur, others are tin or corn loans in which he is creditor. Rather as with the preceding archive, there are also some tablets which seem to belong to an entirely different family. Once again, there is no obvious explanation for this, and once again we must await the publication of the remainder of the documents in the hope that they may provide a clue to why the two groups were found together.

In conclusion I would like to make one or two general points which emerge from the consideration of these archives and where they were discovered. I hope it is plain that by considering each text not by itself but in the context of the archive to which it belongs, one learns mush more about both text and archive, and that by considering each archive within the context provided for it by Andrae's careful excavation, one learns more about both the archive and the archaeological context. To be frank, it should not have been necessary for us to wait 70 years to be able to combine the textual and the archaeological data, and yet, even today the liaison betw-

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16- Admati - ili's family archive : Assur Fundnummer 14886. Provenance: see E.Weidner, Festschrift Christian 112, quoting MDOG 40, 20 with Abb. 4. Square eA9I.

17- The archive of Zeru - iqiša : Assur Fundnummer 14987. Provenance: square fE101 (MDOG 40, 22 - 3; K. Preasser, Die Wohnhäuser, p. 13).

18- In conclusion, I would like to express my thanks to the Library of the Iraq Museum and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut for the generous way in which their facilities are placed at the disposal of visitors, for without these libraries it would have been impossible for me to complete this article.

in his private residence – whether or not he used this also for his public activities – and Weidner makes the suggestion that the mounmental building discovered in the test trench was indeed the house of Babu - aha - iddina . This seems very probable to me, and I would like to follow this up with another suggestion : that the rich grave above which the archive was found also belonged to Babu - aha - iddina, and contained the gentleman himself and his wife. This would certainly explain the great wealth of the tomb, and it seems an equally good hypothesis as Andrae's, which connects it with the Ishtar Temple to the north - east.

6. THE ARCHIVE OF THE FAMILY OF ASSUR – AHA – IDDINA[13]

Only about 50 metres to the west of the house just mentioned another important archive was found, comprising 83 tablets of which nearly 70 are now published. Unfortunately no details are available about the precise circumstances of the discovery, although if they had been kept together in a jar this would almost certainly have been mentioned. We can only say that in view of the contents of the texts, Weidner's idea that they had a close connection with the Babu - aha - iddina archive just discussed seems unlikely. For these texts quite clearly constitute the archive of one family : Assur - aha - iddina, his son and his grandson. Not many of the tablets go back to the grandfather (about 14), and little is known about him, but his son, Melisah, was the governor of the city of Nahur, in the far north of Mesopotamia under Shalmaneser, and Urad – Šerua, the grandson, acted as an official under his father, and probably held the same or at least a similar position later . Consequently, some of the texts from the archive relate to their official activities as high officials in the northern provinces, and throw very important light on the system of provincial administration at this date: on the basis of this archive and of other contemporary sources, such as the texts from Tell Billa, we can see that the governorship could pass from father to son, and that the problem of administering newly conquered areas was met by assigning provinces to old – established Assyrian families, or " houses". With Assur's age - old involvement in trade, it is no surprise to find that the governors were expected to regulate the relations with the central government and their own subordinates by formulating administrative liabilities as though they were commercial debts . Public and private affairs may not have been kept rigidly separate, and it explains why documents concerned with the family's public office in the north were found back at their home in Assur. No doubt they paid regular visits to the capital, and maintained their establishment and probably even their family in Assur. One of the few private documents in the archive is KAJ 145 which records that Assur - aha - iddina has paid 5 talents of tin toward the purchase of a house at Assur : it is tempting to think that this may indeed have been the very building in whose remains the tablets were discovered .

7. A SUBSIDIARY ARCHIVE OF BABU – AHA – IDDINA[14]

Somewhere in the 81 test trench "about 400 metres east of the monumental building" a group of tablets was found, although no exact details of their provenance are published. 15 texts are known, and they are mostly small administrative documents. As already observed by Weidner, some of them mention Babu - aha - iddina , and a closer inspection of the group as a whole reveals that at least 8 tablets mention either him or persons known to belong to his household. They deal with grindstones, metals and other raw materials, and textiles, and reflect activities similar to those documented in the other group; two tablets are an exception, since they relate to the purchase of some land by Babu - aha - iddina .

Clearly this group of texts came originally from an establishment of Babu - aha - iddina, and it is therefore likely that he owned another, probably subsidiary, building of some kind on the eastern side of the city. In the main archive a variety of storerooms – for bronze, spices, wood, etc. – are mentioned, and a letter talks of the "outer courtyard". From this eastern group we encounter a "storehouse in the courtyard" (KAJ 178) a *bit qate* or " workshop" (KAJ 274) and a " barn which is at the top of the staircase " in which a variety of bronze items sent across from the palace were stored (KAJ 303). In an old city like Assur houses were certainly close together and land not freely available even to the great families, and it is very likely that to accommodate his extensive private businesses Babu - aha - iddina found it necessary to acquire property in different parts of the city .

8. THE 14TH CENTURY LEGAL DOCUMENTS[15]

Immediately east of the archive we have just discussed lay the house of the Incantation Priest from which so many of the important literary texts were discovered . To its east again , in the same test trench the excavators came on a collec-

13 – The archive of the family of Assur – aha – iddina : Assur Fundnummer 14327 . Provenance : square dA8I (MDOG 38 (1908) 42 –3: E. Weidner, Afo 19 (1959 – 60) 35 (although I disagree about the association with Assur 14410).) The description of the archive is based on the writer's study of it which is included in an unpublished part of his thesis submitted to Trinity College, Cambridge. For certain texts from the archive see recently C. Saporetti, in Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, (Atti), 25 (1970) 437 – 453 .

14 – A subsidiary archive of Babu – aha – iddina : Assur Fundnummer 14445. Provenance: no precise provenance has been published, but the tablets were found in the 81 Suchgraben, west of the House of the Incantation Priest (E.Weidner, Afo 19 (1959 – 60) 38).

15 – The 14th century legal documents: Assur Fundnummer 14446. See E.Weidner, AfO 20 (1963) 123, and 124 on the 'Hausarchiv' of Iddin – Kube and Kidin – Adad. Provenance : square iA8I, east of the House of the Incantation Priest (MDOG 38 (1908) 43).

war being kept there, and there are other letters from high state officials to different subordinates. A group of at least 4 texts is concerned with issues of food, and 5 tablets mention sheep and cattle. The only feature which unites the group is that they all belong to government administration, not private affairs, and there is no obvious reason why they should have been stored together, nor any hint as to why they were found near the gate.

4. *THE ARCHIVE OF SAMNUHA — ASARED*[10]

In 1908 during the excavation of one of their east - west test trenches (Suchgraben) the Assur team found that the floor of a Neo - Assyrian house had been laid on a layer of tablets 20 to 40 cm. thick ; they could well have come from an older house which lay beneath, and, not surprisingly, many of them were in poor condition. One report states that only two dozen tablets were found complete, as against more than 200 fragments.

Until 1976 only one tablet from this group had been published, but Dr. Freydank's new volume of copies has made available another 15, and rather surprisingly most of these are a single type of text and probably form a single archive. The key figure is Samnuha- ašared, and the texts record a whole variety of items which belong to the palace and have been issued under his authority : raw materials for making bows, bronze tools, spears, grindstones, harnesses for horses, garments , etc. Sometimes the issue is made on the instructions of the king – such as one case where some jewellery is presented by the king Ninurta - apil - ekur to his daughter, the high - priestess of Šala ; sometimes on someone else's instructions. Many tablets fail to state who makes the issue, but on several occasions it is Samnuha - ašared himself. Who then was he ? Fortunately the texts tell us that he was an *abarakku*, conventionally translated "steward " : all large households had such an official, who was entrusted with the internal organization, and in particular with the control of goods and other property entering or leaving the establishment. Several "stewards" are found in the Mutta archive, when they brought sheep to the ruler while on their masters' business, and since Samnuha - ašared is in charge of goods belonging to the palace it is likely that he was the, or at least one of the, stewards of the palace, perhaps indeed the " chief steward". On one ceremonial occasion he brought a sheep himself to Ninurta - tukulti - aššur, and from the Assur Temple offerings archive we learn that his "house" served for the storage of corn, probably palace property. Thus the evidence from other archives confirms that he was an official of some importance ; probably he was the *limmu* of the same name. He seems to have had a long spell in office: the archive spans the time from Ninurta - apilekur (died ca. 1180) and Ninurta - tukulti - aššur (ca. 1179) until the reign of Tiglath - pileser (came to the throne in 1115) or possibly an earlier king : here as so frequently we must admit that the attribution of the Middle Assyrian eponyms or *limmus* to particular reigns is very uncertain, and the careful reconstruction of the different archives should do much to correct earlier suggestions.[11]

5. THE DOMESTIC ARCHIVE OF BABU – AHA – IDDINA[12]

Babu - aha - iddina is one of the best known personalities of the Middle Assyrian period, and Weidner has devoted an important article to this gentleman, whom he calls the "Chancellor of Shalmaneser I". A letter written by him to the Hittite king was found at Boğazköy, and shows that he was closely concerned with the high affairs of state during the period of great Assyrian expansion in the 13 th century B.C. In test trench 8I in 1908 a large Middle Assyrian house with unusually solid walls, founded on stone and over 2 metres thick, was encountered. Some 20 metres to the north lay the richest of all the graves found at Assur, containing two skeletons adorned with fine jewellery and accompanied by grave goods in gold, silver, ivory etc. (Gruft 45). Just above the east end of this tomb was found a group of about 50 tablets and fragments which clearly belong to the domestic archives of Babu - aha - iddina. The archive contains letters which throw fascinating light on the organization of a large houehold at this date, as well as administrative documents, and it is not necessary for me todescribe these in greater detail since they have been discussed by both Ebeling and Weidner. They show that the high officer of state employed a number of people to attend to the administration of this private affairs, as well as craftsmen of various kinds, and that he owned storerooms in different parts of the city . As far as we can tell, these texts are exclusively concerned with his private business, and not with the affairs of state - although at times these may have overlapped: obviously his diplomatic correspondence and the archives relating to his activities as chancellor were not kept in the same place. The texts we have were presumably stored

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10– The archive of Samnuha – ašared : Assur Fundnummer 13058 . Publication: H. Freydank, VS 19 and B.K. Ismail, Sumer 24 (1967); also one tablet published by E. Weidner, Afo 10 (1935 – 36) 30. However, KAJ 129, given as Assur 14327, must from internal evidence have belonged to this archive. Provenance: square eE6V (see MDOG 38 (1908) 21 - 3, especially 22).

11– Weidner's statement about the date of the Assur 13058 texts, in Afo 20 (1963) 123, disagrees with Saporetti who dates many of the *limmus* from the archive to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. However, in view of the very long span of years such a dating would give to the activities of Samnuha – asared, Weidner may well have had good grounds for his statement.

12– The domestic archive of Babu – aha – iddina : Assur Fundnummer 14410. See in general E. Weidner, Afo 19 (1959 – 60) 35, and add Iraq 35 (1973) 13 and VS 19:39 (though numbered Assur 16008 1). Provenance: square dE7IV (see MDOG 38 (1908) 40 – 43).

On this occasion it is evidently not possible to mention all the known archives and discuss each one at length, but I have selected the ten best attested groups of tablets from the city of Assur, omitting the important administrative documents known to come from Kar – Tukulti – Ninurta on the other bank of the Tigris. In each case I shall say what is known of their archaeological provenance, and then state briefly what can be reconstructed of the private or public establishments from which each archive originated .

1. *THE ARCHIVE OF EZBU – LESIR*

In one of the storerooms along the south – west side of the outer courtyard of the Assur Temple (Room 3'), the excavators discovered 10 pottery jars which had contained as many as 650 tablets.[5] Three of these jars were themselves given inscriptions identifying their contents, of which two are worth quoting in full :

1. " Document – holder of the accounts of the brewers of the Assur Temple under the supervision of Ezbu – lesir, the offerings – overseer of the Assur Temple, servant of Tiglath – pileser I"[6].
2. " Of the victuallers and oil – pressers of the Assur Temple, under the supervision of Ezbu – lesir, the offerings – overseer of the Assur Temple, servant of Tiglath – pileser I"[7].

These two inscriptions tell us the sort of thing to expect from the tablets , but unfortunately only a very few of them are published . A few were edited by Dr . Behijeh K. Ismail in Sumer 24,and about a dozen more have just been published in copy by Dr. Freydank. I have discussed in more detail what is now known about the archive in my review of Dr. Freydank's volume, to be published in Bibliotheca Orientalis , and it is unnecessary to repeat this here. On the basis of the very small published sample, it is clear that the archive was the record of the official activities of Ezbu – lesir, who was in charge of the regular offerings (*gina'e*) of the Assur Temple in the reign of Tiglath – pileser I, and of the officials and other employees subordinate to him . Thus the texts record how the offerings – mainly in cereals, fruit, honey, beer ect . – were redistributed among the temple personnel, but they also list the incoming offerings, and so must contain fascinating information about the lands and cities which acknowledged Assyrian supremacy during the reign of Tiglath – pileser I by sending regular offerings to the national shrine .

2 THE ARCHIVE OF MUTTA[8]

In a pottery jar found in loose fill just north of the gate between the Old Palace and the Anu – Adad Temple were 112 tablets forming an archive which comes from one single year and which, exceptionally, is virtually completely published. They belong to the little known time when Ninurtā–tukulti – Assur ruled Assyria – between the high – spots of Tukulti – Ninurta and Tiglath – pileser – and they are the accounts of an administrative department responsible for the receipt and issue of sheep (and to a lesser degree, goats and oxen). The man responsible is a certain Mutta, known as a *sa kuraltie* or *rab zariqi* and the clue to his function seems to come from the fact that virtually all the incoming animals are brought to the ruler as " interview – presents " (*namurtu*) . When an official or an ambassador came to the palace , he brought with him a gift for the king, which often included one or more animals . Mutta's job seems to have been to take these animals once they had been handed over, and see that they were fed and eventually disposed of as the king wished . Since the reign of Tukulti – Ninurta one imagines that the main royal palace was his New Palace in the north – west corner of the city ; but at this moment Ninurta– tukulti – Assur was not in fact king, although he ruled in practice , and it is therefore quit conceivable that he held court in the Old Palace to the east of the Anu – Adad Temple . This would sufficiently explain why this little group of tablets was found here .

3. *THE UBRU ARCHIVE* [9]

This group of tablets is much less easy to describe than the first two. To begin with, they were not strictly found as one group : some, apparently mostly large administrative lists in poor condition, were found in the passages through the city – wall known as Poternen, while a little later a better preserved group of 58 mostly small tablets was found inside a pottery vessel, also not far north of the Tabira Gate. In all 22 of this latter group are now published, mostly dating to the reign of Tukulti – Ninurta I (ca . 1244 – 1208 BC), but it is difficult to decide from these why they should have been kept together . There are letters to a certain Ubru, who seems to have been in charge of the recruitment of soldiers, and after whom we have chosen rather arbitrarily to name the archive ; there is another letter written from Kalhu (Nimrud) about the welfare of some Babylonian prisoners -- of -

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which is hard to find in libraries.

5– For the position of this room see A. Haller & W. Andrae Die Heiligtumer des Gottes Assur und der Sin – Samas Tempel in Assur (WVDOG 67), 51 ; for a description of the discovery, ibid., p. 48 (mentioning only 8 vessels); the third inscribed jar is illustrated ibid., Tafel 49.

6– see A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, Vol. 2. P.42 No. 26 (with bibliography).

7 see A.K. Grayson, ibid., No. 27 (with bibliography).

8– The archive of Mutta : Assur Fundnummer 6096. For a full discussion, E. Weidner, Afo 10 (1935 – 36) 1ff.; additions and corrections in V. Donbaz, Ninurta - tukulti – Aššur zamanina ait orta Asur idari belgeler (Ankara 1976). For the interpretation of the archive as a whole, see J.N. Postgate Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire, s.v. namurtu.

9– The Ubru archive: Assur Fundnummer 11017 (only VS 19:29 published), 11018 (in KAJ, KAV and VS 19) and 11019 (in KAJ and KAV). Provenance : see E. Weidner, Afo 13 (1939 – 40) 111 for the pot containing 58 tablets in square bB6I (quoting MDOG 33 (1907) 16), and for the other tablets see MDOG 33 (1907) 15.

ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHIVES FROM THE CITY OF ASSUR IN THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

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One of the very important achievements of Andrae's excavations at Assur was the rediscovery of the early history of Assyria, when during the second half of the 2nd millennium BC the city of Assur brought Assyria to the status of a great power, only to be reduced to obscurity once more by about 1000 BC under the pressure of Aramaeam incursions, Much archaeolgical evidence was found for this period – temples, palaces, private houses and graves – and a great many cuneiform tablets as well. Not only did Andrae find many historical inscriptions and the library of Tiglath – pileser I[1] but letters and legal and administrative documents were discovered in many parts of the city. These were mostly published by Ebeling, with substantial contributions from Schroeder and Weidner,[2] and although Middle Assyrian archives have been found since then at other sites, such as Tell Billa and Tell al - Rimah in Iraq and Tell Fakhariyah and Sheikh Hamad in Syria,[3] the Assur texts remain by far the most numerous and, coming as they do from the capital of the realm, the most important.

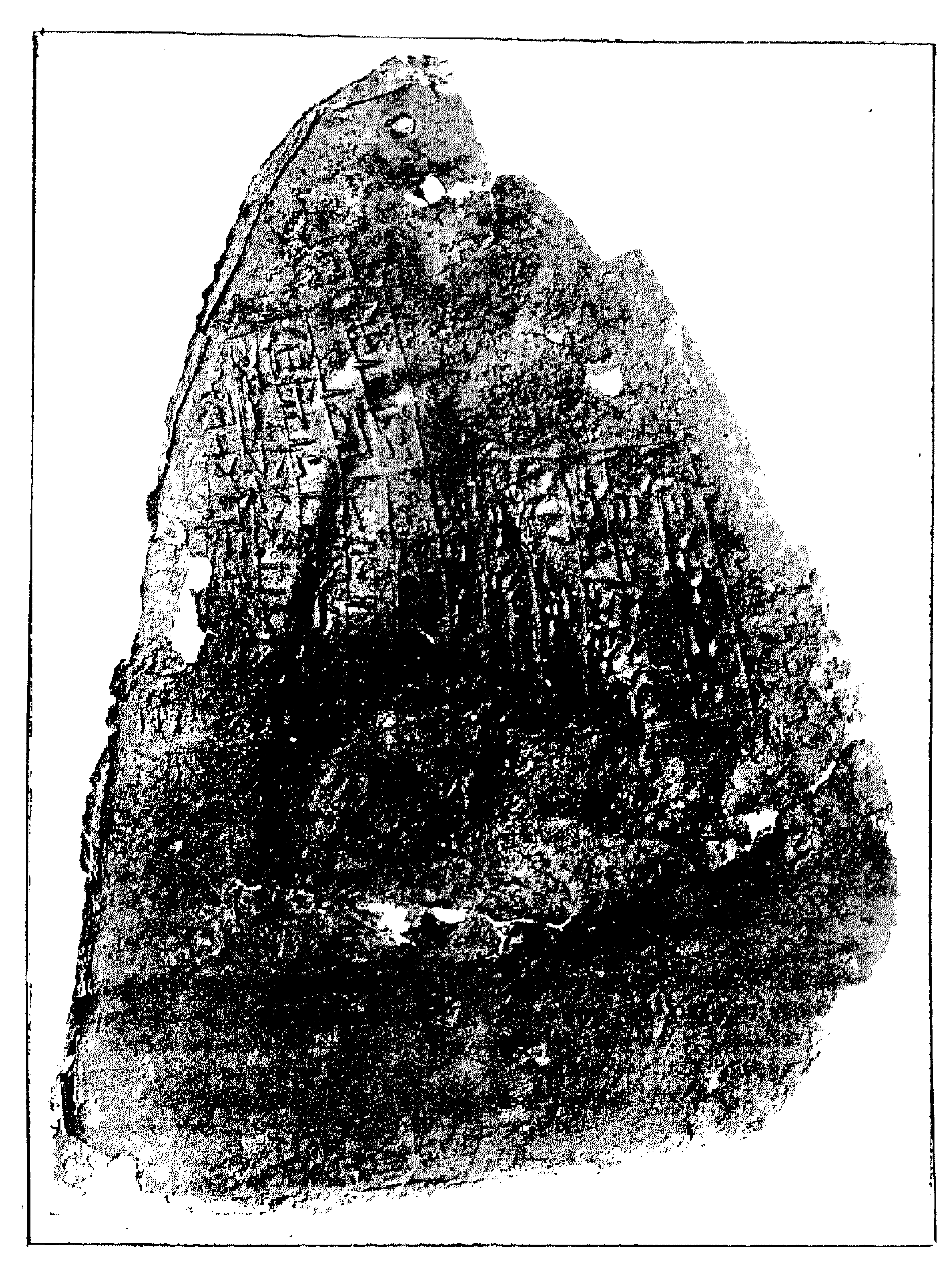
As we should expect with an excavator of Andrae's quality, the provenance of the tablets was generally carefully recorded, so that even today it is usually possible to discover from the excavation records from where each tablet came. However, when publishing their copies of the texts neither Ebeling nor Schroeder gave the provenance of the tablets, which is particularly unfortunate because many of them were found as complete archives, often kept in a jar, and the correct understanding of each legal or administrative document would often have been greatly assisted if it could have been placed alongside the other documents with which it had been stored. This failure of the cuneiformist and the archaeologist to communicate – a failure which is not restricted to Assur, it must in all fairness be admitted – is now to a great extent compensated for by the several articles of Weidner in which information has been made available to the public about the exact provenance of most of the archives and lists given of the texts, published and unpublished, which belong to them[4] Taken with the tabulation of the evidence by Claudio Saporetti in his Onomastica Medio – assira, an invaluable piece of work without which this contribution would have been impossible, and with the texts newly published by Dr. Freydank in Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler XIX, we are now in a much better position to describe the archives recovered by the German excavators of Assur, and to consider what light they throw upon the city and the state in this era.

1– On the library of Tiglath – pileser I see E. Weidner, Archiv für Orientforschung (AfO) 16 (1952 – 53) 197 – 215.

2– E. Ebeling, KAJ (= Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts, WVDOG 50); O. Schroeder, KAV . (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, WVDOG 35); E. Weidner, Afo 10 (1935 – 36) 1 – 52; 13 (1939 – 40) 109 – 124 and 308 – 318; 17 (1954 – 56) 145 – 6; 19 (1959 – 60) 33 – 46; 20 (1963) 121 – 4.

3– See J.J. Finkelstein, JCS 7 (1953) 111ff., ; D.J. Wiseman and H.W.F. Saggs, Iraq 30 (1968); H.G. Güterbock, in 'Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah (OIP 79) 86 – 90; W. W. Röllig, Orientalia NS 47 (1978) 419 – 430. As yet unpublished are recently found tablets from Tell Fray (in Syria) and Tell Ali, on the Lesser Zab between Assur and Nuzi (to be published by Dr. Behijeh Khalil Ismail).

4– The basic article with this crucial information is E. Weidner, Amts – und Privatarchive aus mittelassyrischer Zeit, in Festschrift V. Christian (Wien 1956) 111 – 8; for all the archives discussed the reader is referred to this article, both The provenances and for the numbers of the tablets belonging to each Assur Fundnummer (although the latter information is also given by Saporetti, op. cit.). I am very much indebted to Dr. M. Trolle Larsen for bringing me a copy of Weidner's article



The woman who offered the bronze plate was called Haditum, a name that can be easily traced back to an adjective *ḥadū* " glad " although the fiminine form is not attested in Old Assyrian texts. The name of the husband is a little difficult to read. We prefer the reading *Belum-nada written* EN– *an–da*, but one could also think of the Old Assyrian names composed with *Enna* –. However, the name *Enna – ša* has been unknown in Old Assyrian texts so far. In lien 3 of the second colume we propose the meaning *šerru* " child" for *še – ri – ša* since a deduction from *šīru* "flesh, body" makes no sense. In face of the undoubtful meaning of the bronze plate we are obliged to interpret the sumerogram TÉŠ which has the Akkadian reading *baštu*, as a part of the body, too. This leads us into some opposition to the CAD., which rejects such a translation. The text reads as follows:

i – nu – ma ᵈLUGAL – GIN ENSI *a – šùr a – na* ᵈIN-ANNA *a – su – ri – tim* NIN . A NI *Ḫa – di – tum* DAM En *na – da ? ta – ak – ru – ub a – na ba – lá – at mu – ti – ša ba – la – at ti-ša ù ba-la-ṭì-it še – ri – ša* TÉŠ *tu – še – ri ib* When Šarru-kēn was ENSI of Assur, Ḫaditum, the wife of Belumnada made a votive offring to Ištar *aššuritum*, her mistress. She brought in A " pubes" for the life of her husband, her own life and the life of her child

AN OLD ASSYRIAN VOTİVE INSCRIPTION

BY :
LIANE JAKOB _ ROST

The paper I am going to read to you sums up an article written by my colleague Dr. Helmut Freydank and myself some time ago. It is in print now, but nevertheless I hope it could be of some interest to tell about its contents here.

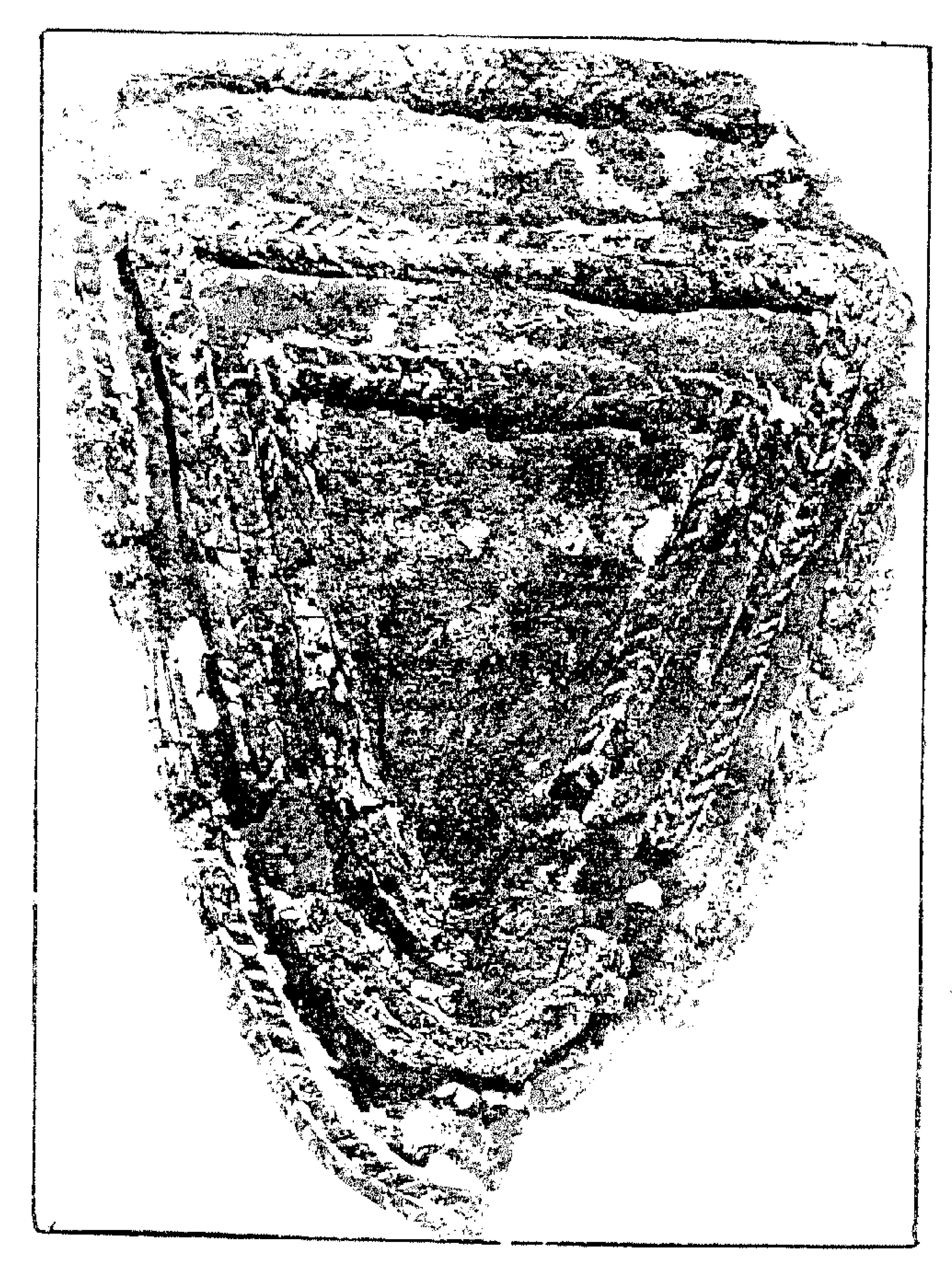
Among the vast amount of cuneiform material wrirten in Mesopotamia there are but very few inscriptions from Old Assyrian times. One of these rare documents written in the beginning of the second millenium B. C. was found at Assur in the area of the Ištar - temple already in 1912 during the German excavations performed at that site.

The small bronze plate bearing the inscription is part of the collection of the Museum of Near Eastern Antiquities in Berlin now. As to its shape it is an almost equilateral triangle, which is 17 cm high and 12.3 cm wide . Although the object ist badly damaged, we may easily ascertain its original measures, with its width being about 15 cm formerly. One side of the bronze plate shows an ornament consisting of three twisted rolls running parallel to the edges of the triangle thus forming smaller triangles themselves. These rolls are attached to the plate with several rivets. The second side or reverse bears the inscription which is devided into two columns. The first had 12, the second 5 lines. The text ist written on the right part near to the top of the triangle.

The left column is surrounded by a clearly marked line as is each line of the text, too.

As can be clearly learnt from the shape of the plate from the inscription, and from the character of the goddess addressed in it , the object symbolizes the pubic region of a woman. According to the introduction of the text the object dates back to the reign of Sargon I. of Assyria. i. e. to about 1850 B. C. This fully agrees with the forms and readings of the signs as well as with the words in use, the names and the place where the object was discoverde.

However, there are some difficulties in reading the text. In the second lind the signs belonging to the name of the ENSI are not quite clear. We restore the sign after DINGIR as LUGAL and read the following sign as GIN. The form of



this sign does not entirely correspond to the Old Assyrian ductus known from the contemporary Cappadocian tablets. Generally the script seems to show certain archaic features may be due to the character of the inscription as a votive text and to the material upon which it is written.

an extention of the city wall.

5 – *ROYAL TOMBS :*

The second point which was re – discovered and cleared from rubble was the area of the royal tombs to the south – wast of the big ziggurat where four burial rooms built of mudbricks and covered with bricks were found, In one of the rooms the coffin of the king Ashur – bel – kala made of lime-stone. Mr Abid Mohamed, who is in charge of excavation at this point, will review the results he arrived at.

According to the approved plan this site will be covered by preservation to enable the visitor to learn about the tombs. Preservation will also cover the restoration and setting of the basalt that form the burial coffins.

On the other hand the tunnel inside the present royal cemetry was re – opened to determine its function. At present we do not know who had dug the tunnel. Perhaps it was Hormuz Rassam who dug several tunnels in Ashur for the British Museum. When the rubble blocking the entrance was removed we arrived more than 20 m deep at a place ending with a structure which may be a tomb covered with bricks as there are still some pieces in their places. Opposite to it there is a room – like structure which we were unable to enter because of the risks of the collapse of some stones of irregular shape. The presence of fractures in the upper parts of the tunnel necessitates taking the appropriate measures to protect those entering it and working there.

6 – *THE MUSEUM :*

The building of the museum, which is known as AL–qal'a, is at the northeastern corner of the city on Anu Temple discovered by Andrae. This building was partly destroyed, especially its ceilings, after the First World War. It dates to the time of the Ottoman governor Madhat Pasha in 1870's according to the oral reports. It was built for the Shaikh Farhan Sfoug, chief of the Shamar tribe, for the purpose of enabling the bedouins to settle and become farmers, but the attempt failed. The Ottoman military governor used the building during the war and then it was used as the adminis-traive office and was called by the local people AL – qal'a or' the doctor's house' becuase there was a British physician who treated patients there. Then it was deserted and was used by the bedouins as a shelter for them and their sheep in winter. It remained in that condition until our comission undertook to clear it and repair it.

In order to turn this building into a suitable place to accomodate a museum in which the visitor can examine the exhibits the building has been modified in some of its parts: the main entrance at the centre of the building has been sealed and two side – doorways are used for entering and leaving the building.

Because restoration work at this building started rather late we have not been able to complete it. Therefore, only one gallery has been prepared where specimen of the pottery and copper finds, and clay tablets are displayed in cases. Samples of the Parthian tombs discovered are displayed on special benches and bases that we hope will get your approval during your visit to the city.

MANUFACTURING THE MUDBRICKS AND BAKED BRICKS :

Preservation operations require very large quantities of unbaked mudbricks, the main building material in Assyrian structures. Therefore, the commission manufactured a large number of mudbricks and placed them near Tabira Gate and the Western Gate. We continue to produce more before winter.

As for baked bricks, the material we have decided to use for the faces of all the structures that are exposed to rain and heat of the sun, we made a kiln 7 m long, 3m wide and more than 4 m high with a capacity of more than 2000 mudbricks of the Assyrian measurements built according to the design presented by the scientific supervisor, after visiting Babylon and other sites in South Iraq and observing the method of brick manufacturing now. After baking them for 56 hours we produced types of bricks that we believe are still inferior to the required type and the main reason is the leben material Despite the various types of earth brought from areas near Ashur and changing the ratios of the mixture. Most of the types we made had many fractures before they dried. However, we continue our experiments to find the best type.

See illustration and figures in the Arabic version (pp. 32)

RESULTS OF THE WORK OF THE ASHUR REVIVAL COMMISSION IN THE SECOND SEASON 1979

BY:

MUYASER SA'ID ABDUL-RAZAQ

To implement the plan of the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage to revive Ashur as one of the major ancient capital cities the sum of ID 190,000 was allocated in the second season to be spent on exploration, initial preservation, archaeological studies and purchasing equipment and means of transportation. The commission started its work early in March 1979 and concentrated at the following points:

1 – TABIRA GATE:

The commission investigated whether this gate has other structures in addition to those discovered by the German expedition.Excavation work covered the northern parts of the gate which had not been excavated before. We found a structural level dating to the late Assyrian period consisting of a group of rooms and a large court. My colleague Fadhil Abbas will give a detailed account of them.

Regarding the preservation of the gate itself we made a large number of baked mudbricks and started by covering the discovered Assyrian mudbricks to protect them from dampness and heat. We made use of the available plans in identifying the front part of the gate and its main entrance that have almost been completly lost. We continue to preserve them following the techniques to be described by my colleague

2 – *WESTERN GATE* :

The front parts of this gate and its towers in particular were destroyed leading us to cover all the parts that were unearthed in the last season with a new layer of mudbricks . we also started to identify the sides of this gate and its measurements according to the plans, particularly at the front of the gate . Work continues to preserve it as well as parts of the outer wall adjacent to it. Mr Hikmat Bashir will give a detailed account about that .

On the other hand excavation continued inside the city near the entrance of the inner city wall and we found structures and archaeological finds some of which date to the late Assyrian period.Most of the upper parts were Parthian burials .

3 – *THE PARTHIAN PALACE* :

We continued in this season to trace and unearth the structures of this palace with its three layers, and completed this work, particularly the lower layer . Then we started to preserve the northern iwan of the palace where the commission had found collections of unique gypsium decorationes . My colleague Mohamed Ajaj will give a detailed description of these decorations and the results of our work at the palace in general . He will also give an account of excavation work at the upper parts of the site known as the Prince's Palace .

4 – *THE PRINCE'S PALACE* :

In this season the site of the Prince's Palace was selected for new excavations . This site was chosen because we expect to reach a purely Assyrian site and be able to identify the aspects of the architecture of Assyrian royal and Princely palaces by our Iraqi expeditions . The site was also selected to complete the plan worked out for the preservation of newly discovered structures in order to avoid the collapse and destruction of such structures as has already happened to other parts of the city .

The site was mentioned by Walter Andrae in his book on Excavations at Ashur, which was translated by Mr Talib Mohamed , in which he states that the building belonged to Sennacherib and that many blocks had Sennacherib's text that the structure was built for the younger son Ashur– iblu-mubaltsu, who was probably the king's deputy in Ashur .

However, the initial findings of digging the upper parts of this palace (900 square metres) show that there are four residential units dating to the Parthian period built of mudbricks on regular limestones and some of the inner walls are coated with clay. We also found a number of archaeological pottery finds and a number of copper coins that were sent to the laboratories of the Iraq Museum to clean them .

We made a section at the trench near this structure to identify the number of structural layers. We have found four Parthian layers up to now. Digging to the Assyrian levels we found a structural block of mudbrick in the first layer forming

SPEECH OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REVIVAL OF ASHUR

BY:

DR . TARIQ MADHLUM

Your Excellency MrTariq Aziz, RCC Member and Deputy Prime - Minister.

Your Excellency Minister of Culture and Information, Ladies and Gentlemen.

In our second season at Ashur we concentrated our work at several points carrying out preservation, maintenance and restoration of the discovered structures after we spent the wh. ole first season preparing for work and excavating.

I would like to extend my thanks to the unlimited support by the Political Leadership of the Party and Revolution to our projects in the field of archaeology. Support has beenprovided in all possible ways. We pledge to be faithful in our efforts to serve this great country and pres. ent its heritage known to the whole world.

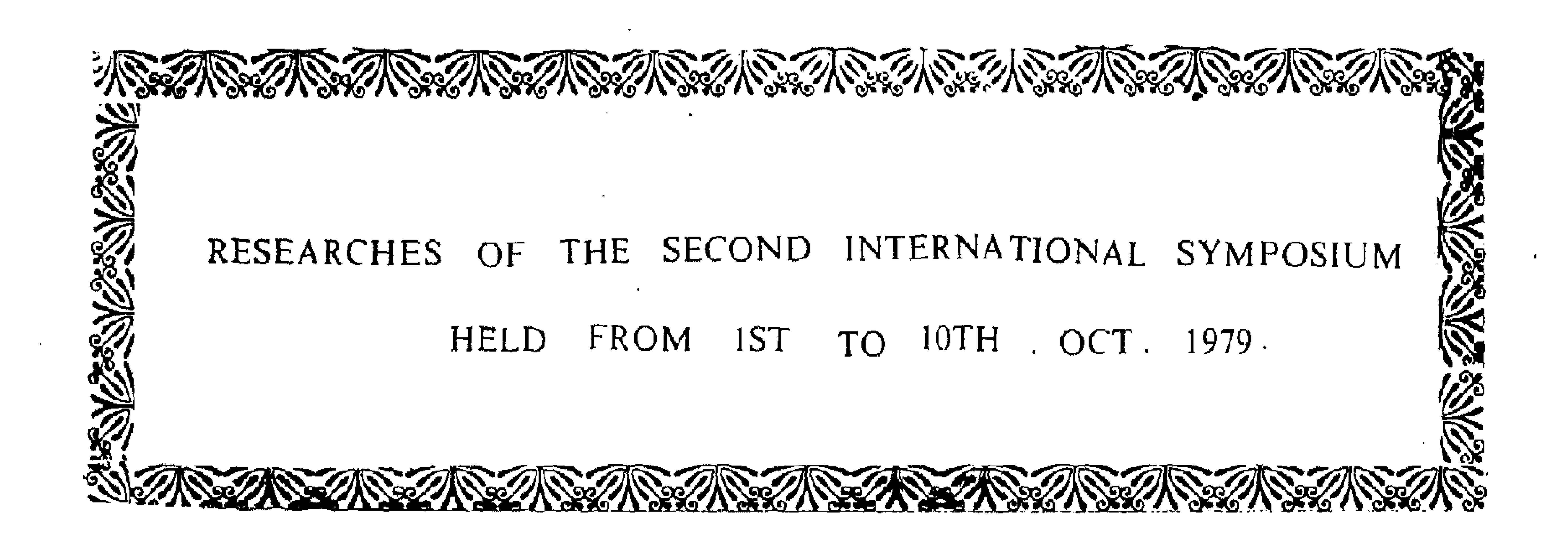
One of the characteristics of archaeological activities in Iraq at present is the combination of excavation with preservation and restoration because they complete each other. As the Arab scholar Ibn Khaldun has said: Civilization is construction and architecture so how can we neglect the ancient architectural remains and concepts and leave them unprotected.

Excavation is considered easy compared with the problems of archaeological preservation and restoration today as extensive engineering, chemical and planning skills are needed. The main problem is to preserve the archaeological structures and revive them. The excavator now équips himself with the necessary means needed for preservation before starting excavation. This is what the Revival of Ashur Commission has undertaken to do. Formerly, the archaeo . logist was merely concerned with collecting archaeological data including the plans of the discovered structures to include in an article or a booklet. The task of the archaeologist today is not only to publish the results of his work in an article or a booklet but should supe. rvise himself archaeological preservation aided by all available specialists. He should have his own view of how to restore the structure in terms of shape, material and objective. The obser. vor of preservation work at Ashur can see the traces of the structures as a result ofindivations that are understood by the excavator, and without preservation these antiquities disappear for ever and this is a major loss.

For preservation work millions of mudbricks of the required measurements have been made and kilns have been set up to manufacture baked bricks in addition to the training of local workers on ancient techniques of construction.

All that is for the revival of our architectural heritage which is one of the great contribu. tionsof our ancient civilization. The contents of these structures must be studied more extens. ively as they throw light on numerous architectural issues faced by the modern architect today in this country.

Thank you for attending this symposium and thanks to all those working for the Ashur Revival Commission.



RESEARCHES OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM HELD FROM 1ST TO 10TH . OCT. 1979.

These papers were translated into English by Mr. Semir A. R. AL - Chalabi

RESEARCHES ON THE ASHUR IN THE TWO INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUMS, 2ND AND 3RD HELD IN 1979 AND 1981

A very good contact angle was obtained when using Fomblin YR (FY2).

On the basis of these data Fomblin YR appeared as the most promising of the perfluoropolyethers tested (Slied 12).

We have therefore started an investigation to determine how the efficiency of the treatment is influenced by the concentration of the solution of Fomblin YR in Algofrene 113 used for spraying the surface of the stone

The pure liquid as well as 25%, 50% and 75% solutions were used (Slide 13). The water uptake was reduced by approximately two thirds in all cases (Slide 14).

Better results however, put in evidence specially by the contact angle between a drop of water and the surface of the stone, were obtained when using 50 – 75% solutions. Samples treated with the pure liquid by no means provides the best results. This anomalous behaviour may probably be caused by the high viscosity of the pure product which does not allow the formation of an homogeneous layer of the water repellent on the surface of the stone .

DISCUSSION

A higher activity in limiting water uptake has been shown by the high molecular weight perfluoropolyethers (Fomblin YR and Y45) and among them Fomblin YR provided the best results.

Fomblin Y45 which has a lower molecular weight than YR and a lower viscosity probably penetrates more rapidly and deeply in the stone . The amount of product present on the surface at the moment of the contact angle and water penetration determinations is therefore lower in the case of Fomblin Y45 than when using Fomblin YR.

Fomblin YR in fluorocarbon solution in 25-75% concentration when applied to a surface of stone by air compressed sprayer obtaining a homogeneous thin layer gives approximately the same results.

On the basis of these results we have decided to use in our subsequent experiments Fomblin YR in 75% solution in Algofrene. While providing a sufficient fluidification of the perfluoropolyether, such a low quantity of solvent limits the atmospheric pollution, reduces costs and working time.

On samples treated with this'product (90 g/m^2) we are carrying out tests of artificial aging together with the natural ones. It is too early to say anything about the natural aging tests. For the artificial aging, in consideration of the climatic conditions of the districts where we have a great number of works of art in our country, we have chosen a cycle where the temperature changes from 40°C to 9°C below zero. The relative humidity has been made to vary from 90 to 40%, in cycles of the lenght of 400 minutes, We have determined that by adopting this rate of change in temperature also the temperature measured inside the sample reaches values very near those we have chosen for the cycle.

In the following slide (Slide 15) is reported the diagram indicating the changes of temperature and humidity in the chamber as a function of time. The results obtained after 120 cycles are reported in the following slide (Slide 16).

As you can see there is no considerable change in the water absorption of the untreated sample after the aging (about 17%). The same difference is approximately found in the case of samples treated with the water repellent. The reduction of absorption has therefore changed from 70 to 59% which is, according to us, a considerable result.

Of course the problem is to express in terms of years of real aging those 180 cycles, All guesses are equally good.

For the north of Italy, in consideration of the prevailing climatic conditions, those 180 cycles could easily represent something like 15 years.

Our problem however is now, through an appropriate improvement of the technique of application of this product, to improve the 70% reduction of absorption of water to 80-85%, We do not think that higher values can be reached through the use of this product which is, and must remain, permeable to water vapours.

PERFLUOROPOLYETHERS AS WATER REPELLENTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF STONE

BY:
(FRANCO PIACENTI)

At the Third International Symposium on the Deterioration and Preservation of Stone which was held in Venice in 1979 we reported that Perfluoropolyethers possess all the requirements to be used as protective agents of works of art in Stone.

These requirements , indicated to us by practically all researchers and keepers of works of art we asked about, are summarized in the following silde (Slide 1).

These products have the chemical formula reported in the following slide (Slide 2) and as you can see they are made of carbon, oxygen and fluorine, We thought of trying this class of compounds for this particular use since the carbon fluorine bond is extremely stable and therefore the stability of these compounds to oxidation and all chemical attak should be satisfactory and much higher than that one of most of the other products suggested for this use.

The characteristics of these products as described in the literature are those reported in(Slide)3.

These data indicate that these products seem to have all the requirements reported before as necessary to make satisfactory a water repellent .

We had at our disposal a number of perfluoro polyethers to test which were different for their molecular weight. An other factor to take into consideration was the concentration of the solution to be used when applying the product. Each product was sprayed by a normal compressed air sprayer (3 atm) onto the surface of a series of samples (100 × 100 × 6 mm) placed at a distance of 30 cm from the spout. Each product was applyed on five samples .

Fomblin YR (Slide 4) having molecular weight 6000–7000 was used in solutions having alternatively 100°/₀, 75°/₀, 50°/₀, 25°/₀ concentration , the solvent beeing trichlorotrifluoromethane . Fomblin Y45 (FY45) is a lower molecular weight fraction of the same product.

Fomblin DO is a compound with a very low molecular weight while Fomblin K is an analogous compound in which some of the C_3 monomeric units are substituted by C_1 units.

The efficiency of the treatment was determined by two tests (Slide 5).

a) Water penetration;

b) Contact angle of a small drop of water placed onto the surface of the stone.

The water penetration was determined by using the device shown in Slide 6 and 7 which is an improved version of the one we have previously reported. The pipet was kept pressed against the surface of the stone and the water seal was realized by a neoprene O – ring. Readings were done at various time intervals and the data were reported as microliters of water penetrated per cm^2 of surface.

The contact angle of a drop of water (5 microliter) placed on the surface of the stone was measured 10 and 20 seconds after the deposition of the drop . A close up colour photograph was taken at the proper time and the angle between the drop and the surface of the stone was measured on it (Slides 8 – 10) .This test however gives inaccurate results if the surface of the stone absorbs water and the volume of the drop examined varies. Its accuracy is higher,the higher the efficiency of the treatment with the water repellent because in such a case the contact angle may be measured in near ideal conditions. This test gives an indication of the degree of warer repulsion reached by the stone surface..

RESULTS

The same amount (about 80 – 90 g/ m^2) of all perfluoropolyethers was applied on the surface of the stone .

Fomblin YR andY45 were the most effective of the products tested in limiting the uptake of water : the water penetration was in fact reduced by two thirds by such a treatment if compared with that one of an untreated sample (Slide 11).

well as a quick transcription on computer.

B. THE COMPUTER

A· THE CHOICE OF A MACHINE.

1. *HARDWARE.*

There are three possibilities :

1. A terminal connected to a big machine
2. A mini – computer
3. A micro – computer

In fact this is a choice between a dependent (1) and an independent system (2 or 3).

A dependent system implied, in our case, a number of constraints :

- a polyvalent but pratically unadaptable programmation .
- a system of "time – sharing" implying a wait of a night between asking for job execution and getting the printed results
- the use of punch – cards

An independent system is not subject to these constraints The cost of a mini – computer is still rather high but the rapid progress of electronics has multiplied the possibilities as well as the capacity of micro – computers. For these reasons the last alternative was chosen.

The system consists of a console, a video – screen with an incorporated disk – driver, an extension with supplementary drivers for floppy disks and a daisy – wheel printer. Internal memory amounts to 64 K, with the incorporated driver this becomes 564 K.

External memory can be extended up to 3 megabytes. The printer offers all possibilities of diacritic signs, all kinds, lengths and widths of paper.

Programming capacity (564 K) is more than large enough. Storage of simultaneously accessible data (3 mega), which becomes unlimited (by charge of diskettes) if simultaneity is not required, is also sufficient.

2. SOFTWARE

BASIC is chosen as programming language for its polyvalence. The system is fitted with one of the best operating systems available for micros: OASIS, not only comprising a powerful version of BASIC but also a text – editor, a special program for the printing of reports and a program supervising the execution of other programs.

B. PROGRAMMING.

1. *STORAGE.*

A program has been written to enter rapidly all data from the "fiche – trouvaille".

These data are stored on floppy – disks in an indexed file, which means they are automatically classified by number, sub – number and subject.

2. *ACCESS AND HANDLING.*

Another program has been developed which searches for data and allows complex questions combining different elements.

Classifications and groupings can be effectuated automatically with practically unlimited variations. Elements of identification, context, description.and categorisation can be defined as required by research. F.i. the machine can count the pottery of a certain design contained within any layer of any area of the excavation; it can classify tombs according to their contents (type or number of objects) or make an inventory of a building or a room.

Such groupings or classifications can be modified instantly by changing one of the parameters.

Besides, it is of course always possible to show on screen or print on paper the totality of recorded data, should this be required.

This shows that data entered are easily accessible, whatever their number.

As to the handling of data, apart from counting and automatic grouping on the basis of certain characteristics, programs are being elaborated that will allow automatic statistic handling and visualisation in the form of graphics.

C. TEXTS.

The tablets are inventoriated and fully described on "fiche – trouvaille" that are entered just like the fiches of other objects. To distinguish them easily they have a special code in their identification number.

A special program has been elaborated to enter the transcriptions and to transcribe them on floppy – disks.

The recording of the Tell ed – Der texts is a part of a larger project made possible by the use of the computer : automatic handling of all late Old – Babylonian documentary texts from the North.

A program is already running which gives the frequence and references of any syllable, word, expression, personal name, place name, god – name.

Complete indexes can be constituted and automatically printed.

Fact for innumerable studies will be sorted out in a few minutes, f.i. the machine can list all the occurences of a certain verd or personal name

Typological studies will be possible quite simply by asking the computer to show all texts having certain characteristics.

Through these few examples one will have seen the role of informatics in the work of the Belgian Mission. The computer facilitates research by performing otherwise fastidious or repetitive work. It assembles rapidly and without omission data required for further work.

Research itself, nevertheless, still is the work of the scientist.

ARCHAEOLOGY; EPIGRAPHY, AND INFORMATICS

BY :

L. DE MEYER

1· THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF INFORMATICS IN ASSYRIOLOGY.

Although the introduction of the computer in Assyriology is fairly recent, the number of projects actually in development shows clearly the growing importance of informatics in this science.

A few examples will illustrate this point.

— A big international project concerning the computer assisted publication of royal inscriptions was announced during the last Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Vienna. The computer will be used as a text - editor and to record all concordances and indexes.

— Some years ago Mr. BUCCELLATI founded the Computer Aided Research in Ancient Near Eastern Studies. His projects are numerous as well in the archaeological as on the philological level. Many texts have already been entered and been treated automatically.

— Mr. KIENAST has worked out a project in the study of sumerian verbal chains. The computer is used to store and classify these chains and their different elements.

— In the French CNRS many computer - aided projects are being worked out.

— In Belgium some Mari texts have been entered and been worked upon automatically. A corpus of late - Old - Babylonian texts from the North (Sippar - Kis - Dilbat ...) is being put in computer - memory.

The Belgian Committee for Archaeological Research in Mesopotamia has also decided to use informatics as a means of recording and scientific investigations for its work in Tell ed - Der.

2· CONCEPTION OF THE USE OF THE COMPUTER FOR THE BELGIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN IRAQ.

Confronted with the fundamental problem of the data-collection in archaeological research, the Belgian Mission is of the opinion that to guarantee a maximal objectivity

— the collected data must always be accessible in a 'neutral' form, not coloured by the hypotheses or theories deduced from them. This implies that each find must be recorded separately with the description of its characteristics and the definition of its context :

_ data that do not seem to be relevant, in a first phase of the theoretical construction, must also be recorded since they may be useful when correcting the first theories or in the formulation of new hypotheses.

This means that the number of data to be collected must be as high as possible.

Practically this poses the problem of storing, accessing and handling these data.

In a system where the number of date will be constantly growing, human memory will soon be insufficient.

A file with tens of thousands of fiches is a good way of storing the information but the growth of this file is directly proportional to a diminution of accessibility and a rising complexity of handling.

The solution for these problems certainly lies in the use of the computer. This machine allows a practically infinite storing, an easy access and handling that can be adapted to all needs.

Putting these principles in practice the Belgian Mission has organised the recording and the handling of archaeological data in two phases : recording in a " fiche - trouvaille" a 'find - fiche', and use of the computer.

A. THE " FICHE - TROUVAILLE "

Right at the start of the archaeological work a "fiche-trouvaille " was elaborated with two objectives in mind :

1. to be able to record all data pertaining to a find
2. to be easily transferable to a computer.

All the numerous possibilities as to the type and the description of an archaeological find were listed and then codified .

This allows a fast and unequivocal recording in the field as

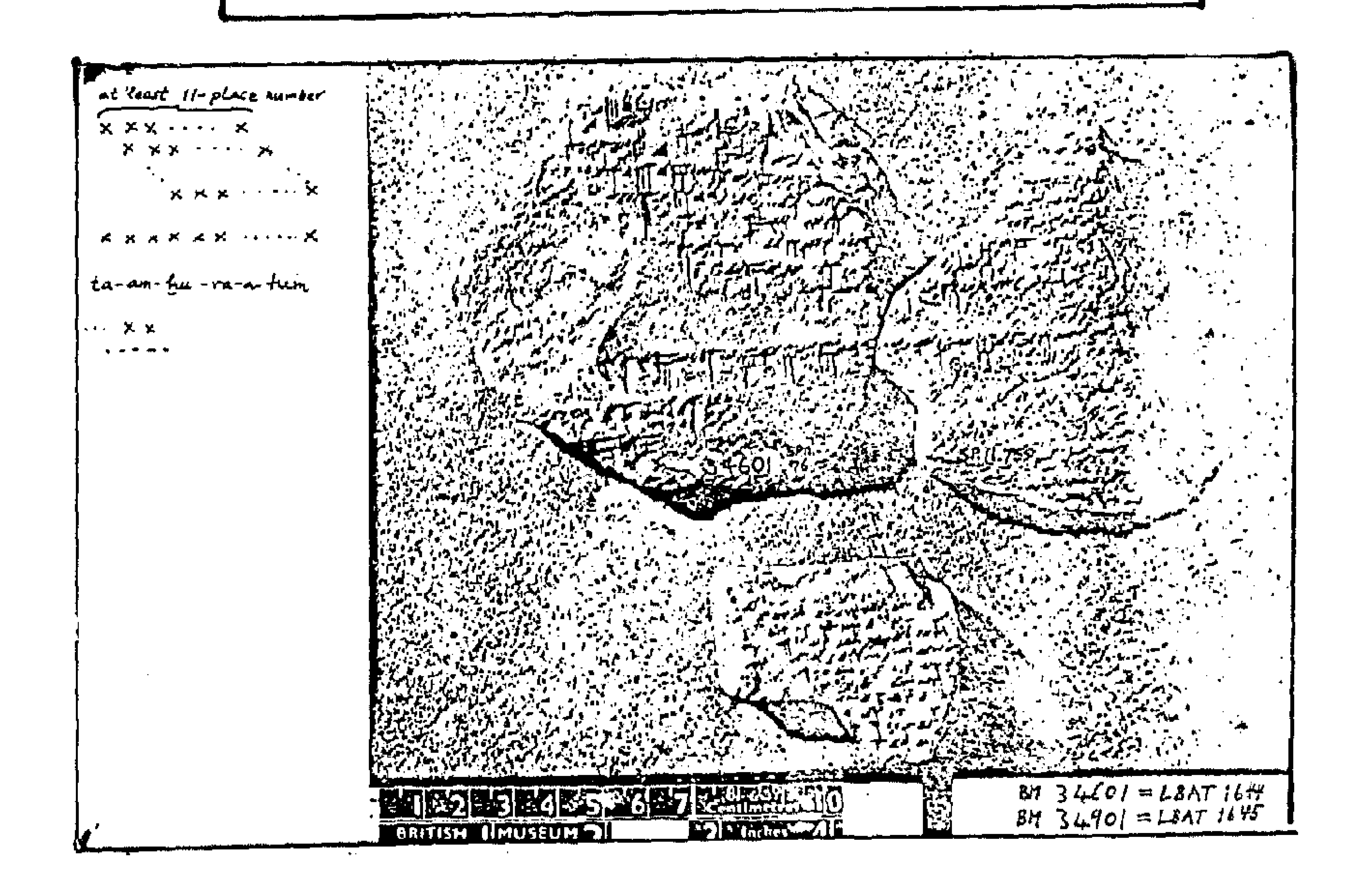
An algorithm for the factorization of a regular sexagesimal number n (or reduction of a semi-regular number).

Ex. $5^k \times \frac{1}{2} \times n = 3^j$: $n = 2 \times 12^k \times 3^j = 2^{2k+1} 3^{k+j}$ (canonical factorization)

Step 1. A last place in the diagram to the right is transformed into a last place in the diagram to the left, through multiplication of n, if necessary, by 30 (i.e. by halving).

Step 2. A last place in the diagram to the left is transformed into a power of 3, 4, or 5 through multiplication of n by an appropriate power of 3, 4, or 5, depending on in which sector of the diagram the last place is, to begin with. This is always possible, except when ultimately the last place becomes equal to 21.

Step 3. A regular number n, with its last place equal to a power of 3, 4, or 5 is necessarily itself a power of 3, 4, or 5. A regular number with its last place equal to 21 is always a power of 3. Hence a given regular number n is through steps 1 and/or 2 reduced to a regular number n_1 which itself can be reduced to 1 through multiplication by a power of $3' = 20$, $4' = 15$, or $5' = 12$. Keeping track of the successive reductions in



Composite table of reciprocals (Babylon), from 1'=1 to 2'=30.

No	n	n'
VI1	[1	1]
2	[1 00 16 53 53 20	59 43 10 50 52 48]
3	[1 00 48 53 20	59 19 34 13 07 30]
4	[1 00 45	59 15 33 20]
5	[1 01 02 06 33 45	58 58 56 38 24]
6	[1 01 26 24	58 35 37 30]
7	[1 01 30 33 45	58 31 39 35 18 31 06 40]
8	[1 01 43 42 13 20	58 19 12]
9	[1 02 12 28 48	57 52 13 20]
10	[1 02 30	57 36]
11	1 03 12 35 33 20	56 57 11 15
13	1 03 16 52 30	56 53 20
13	1 04	56 15
15	1 04 48	55 33 20
15a	1 05 06 15	55 17 45 36
16	1 05 32 09 36	54 55 53 54 22 30
17	1 05 36 36	54 52 10 51 51 06 40
18	1 05 54 37 02 13 20	54 40 30
19	1 05 55 04 41 15	54 36 48
--	1 06 21 18 43 12	54 15 12 30
21	1 06 40	54
21a	1 07 30	53 20
22	1 08 16	52 44 03 45
23	1 08 20 37 30	52 40 29 37 46 40
24	1 09 07 12	52 05
25	1 09 26 40	51 50 24
--	1 09 59 02 24	51 26 25 11 06 40
26	1 10 18 45	51 12
27	1 11 06 40	50 37 30
28	1 11 11 29 03 45	50 34 04 26 40
29	1 12	50
30	1 12 49 04	49 26 18 30 56 15
31	1 12 54	49 22 57 46 40
32	1 13 09 34 29 08 08 53 20	49 12 27
33	1 13 14 31 52 30	49 09 07 12
34	1 13 43 40 48	48 49 41 15
36	1 14 04 26 40	48 36
--	1 14 38 58 33 36	48 13 31 06 40
36a	1 15	48
37	1 15 51 06 40	47 27 39 22 30
II1	1 15 51 56 15	47 24 26 40
2	1 16 48	46 52 30
4	1 17 09 37 46 40	46 39 21 36
--	1 17 35 46	46 17 46 40
6	1 18 07 30	46 04 48
9	1 19 00 44 26 40	45 33 45
9a	1 20	45
12	1 21	44 26 40
13	1 21 55 12	43 56 43 07 30
14	1 22 00 45	43 53 44 41 28 53 20
15	1 22 18 16 17 46 40	43 44 24
17	1 22 56 38 24	43 24 10
18	1 23 20	43 12
20	1 24 22 30	42 40
22	1 25 20	42 11 15
24	1 26 24	41 40

Composite table of regular squares (Babylon), from 1 to 4.

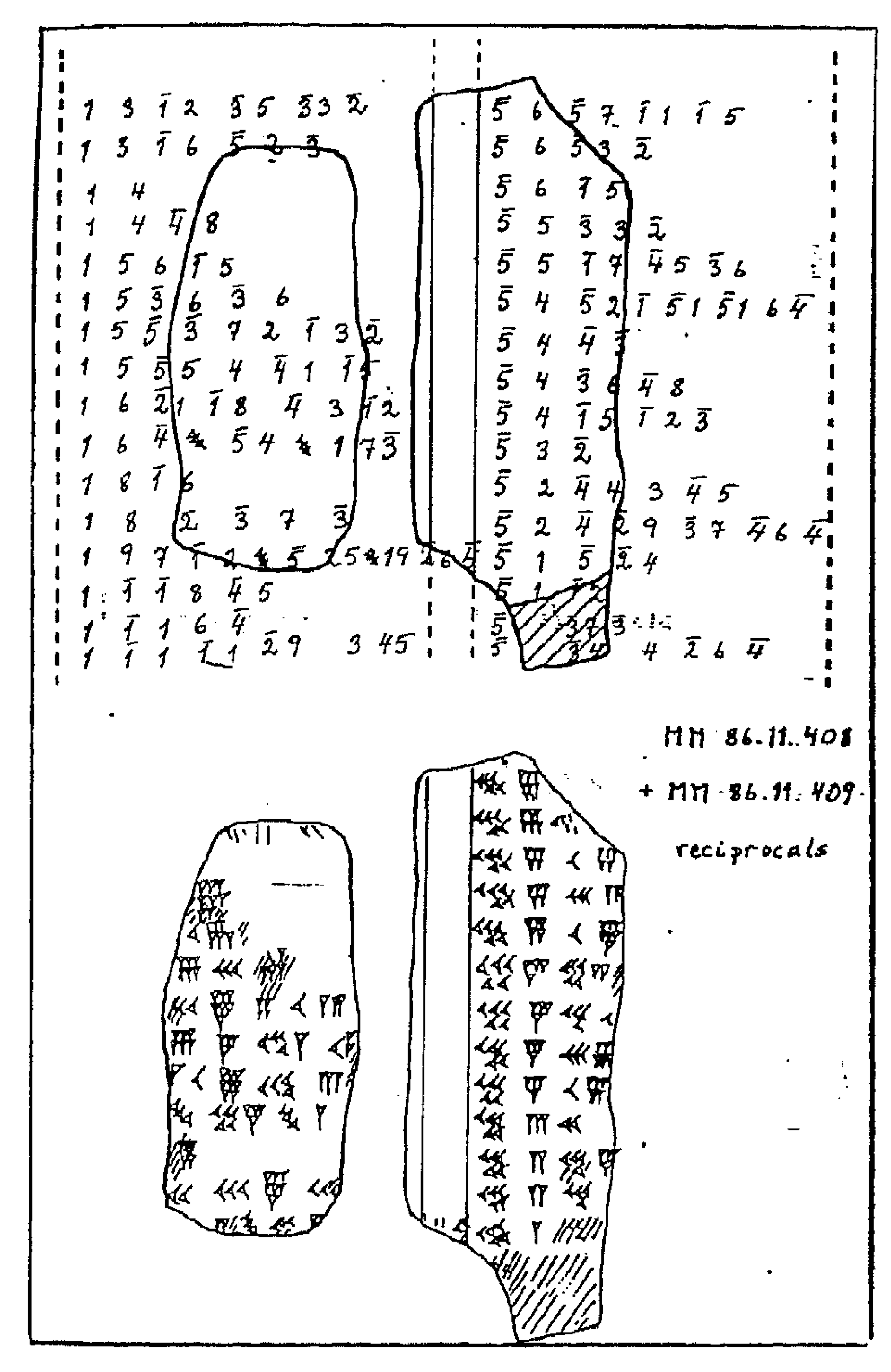
No	n^2
VI1	[1]
2	[1 00 33 52 32 12 50 40 44 26 40]
3	[1 01 22 14 31 54 04 26 40]
4	[1 01 30 33 45]
5	[1 02 05 17 25 04 28 03 59 03 45]
6	[1 02 54 52 24 57 36]
7	1 03 03 24 11 33 59 03 45
8	1 03 30 23 41 07 29 22 57 46 40
9	1 04 29 50 06 57 01 26 24
10	1 05 06 15
11	1 06 35 29 18 34 24 11 51 06 40
12	1 06 44 30 59 45 56 15
13	1 08 16
15	1 09 59 02 24
15a	[1 10 38 33 09 03 45]
17	[1 11 44 40 19 33 36]
18	[1 12 15 22 56 55 27 17 51 36 17 46 40]
19	[1 12 25 10 42 58 29 28 21 33 45]
--	1 13 23 00 45 14 28 50 18 14 24
21	1 14 04 26 40
21a	1 15 56 15
22	[1 17 40 20 16]
23	[1 17 50 52 05 23 26 15]
24	[1 19 37 34 27 50 24]
25	1 20 22 31 51 06 40
—	1 21 37 45 36 55 17 45 36
26	1 22 23 50 51 33 45
27	1 24 16 47 24 26 40
28	1 24 28 12 58 45 57 07 44 03 45
29	1 26 24
30	1 28 22 25 43 32 16
31	[1 28 34 24 36]
33	[1 29 24 25 04 54 26 00 56 15]
34	[1 30 35 49 04 44 32 38 24]
36	1 31 26 58 16 25 11 06 40
--	1 32 52 33 46 00 30 52 24 57 36
36a	1 33 45
37	1 35 53 30 12 20 44 26 40
II1	1 36 06 30 14 03 45
2	1 38 18 14 24
4	1 39 13 44 30 38 27 09 37 46 40
--	1 40 46 37 03 21 36
6	1 41 43 30 56 15
9	1 44 02 57 02 46 15 18 31 06 40
9a	1 46 40
12	1 49 21
13	1 51 50 53 11 02 24
14	1 52 06 03 00 33 45
15	1 52 54 02 06 26 38 54 09 22 57 46 40
17	1 54 39 42 25 41 22 33 36
18	1 55 44 26 40
20	1 58 39 08 24 15
22	2 01 21 46 40
23	2 01 38 15 53 25 22 15 56 15
--	2 02 30 17 54 42 02 25 15 18 21 14 04 26 40
--	2 04 08 07 49 23 11 02 03 27 24 26 40
24	2 04 24 57 36

Concordance of 6-place tables

ELF	P	Q	R	N	M	AO	MM1	MM2	FPM	BM0	BM1	BM2	BM3	BM4	BM5	BM6	BM7	BM8	BM9	BM10
						reciprocals											**squares**			
A 1	0	0	0	1	1	VI1														
3	4	0	11	6	6	2														
4	19	0	2	5	6	3														
5	0	6	1	3	4	4														
7	0	4	10	6	5	5														
8	13	3	0	4	4	6														
9	0	12	2	5	8	o 7	V .													
10	11	0	8	6	3	8	.											V 1		
13	11	8	0	5	4	9	.											2		
15	1	1	4	3	2	10	.											3		
17	18	0	5	6	4	11	1?											4		
18	1	7	5	5	3	12	2?											5		
21	6	0	0	2	2	13	3											6		
22	10	0	11	7	5	* 14														
25	4	5	0	3	3	15	4											7		
27	0	1	7	4	4	15a	5											8		
29	19	-3	0	5	6	16														
30	2	10	0	4	7	o 17	6?											R .		
31	17	0	8	7	3	* 18	7											.		
32	0	7	8	6	3	19	8											.		
33	17	8	0	6	4		9											1		
34	0	15	0	5	11	o 20														
35	5	0	3	3	1	21												2	I .	
39	1	4	2	3	2	21a	10					V?.						3	.	
42	12	0	0	3	4	22	11					.						4	.	
43	1	10	3	5	6	--23	12					.							.	
B 2	10	5	0	4	2	24													.	
3	4	0	6	4	3	25	13				V?.	1?							1	
6	8	10	0	5	6		14?				.	2							2	
8	0	4	5	4	2	26	.				.	3	V .						3	
11	11	0	3	4	3	27	.				.	4	.						4	
12	0	10	6	6	5	28	.				1?	5	.	V?.					5	
15	3	2	0	2	1	29	.				2	6	.	.					6	
19	18	0	0	4	6	30					3	7	1?	.	V .				7	
20	1	7	0	3	5	31	—				4	8	2	.	.				.	
21	22	0	11	9	3	* 32					5									
22	1	5	9	6	4	33					6	9	3	1	.				.	
23	16	5	0	5	4	34					7	10	4		.					I .
24	1	13	1	5	9	o 35														
25	10	0	6	5	2	36					8	11	5	2	1					.
27	14	10	0	6	5						9	12	6	3	2					1??
28	0	1	2	2	1	36a					10	13	7	4	3	V .				.
31	17	0	3	5	5	37					11	14	8	5	4	.				.
32	0	7	3	4	4	II1					.	.	9	6	5	.				.
36	9	2	0	3	3	·· 2					.	.	10	7	6	.				.
37	0	13	4	6	8	o 3					.	.								
38	9	0	9	6	4	4					.	.	11	8	7	1				
40	24	0	0	5	8	o 5														
41	7	7	0	4	4								12	9	8	2				
43	1	2	6	4	3	6							13	10	9	3				
C 2	5	12	0	5	8	o 7														
3	16	0	6	6	3	9							R 1	11	10	4				
4	1	8	7	6	3	8														
7	4	0	1	2	1	9a							2	12	11	5				
9	8	0	12	7	6	* 10														
10	23	0	3	6	7	o 11														

Bruins,[17] it can be shown that actually for instance LBAT 1642 is a *very advanced exercise in factorization of regular numbers*, probably based on an algorithm where the factorization is obtained from the last sexagesimal place of the regular number considered.

Other interesting examples in LBAT are the fragments LBAT 1644 and 1645, [18], too damaged to allow an excat analysis, but probably *exerices in squaring at least* 12– *place regular sexagesimal numbers* !



MM 86.11.408 + MM 86.11.409 reciprocals



BM 34714 = LBAT 1639 : squares

BM 34764 = LBAT 1640 : squares

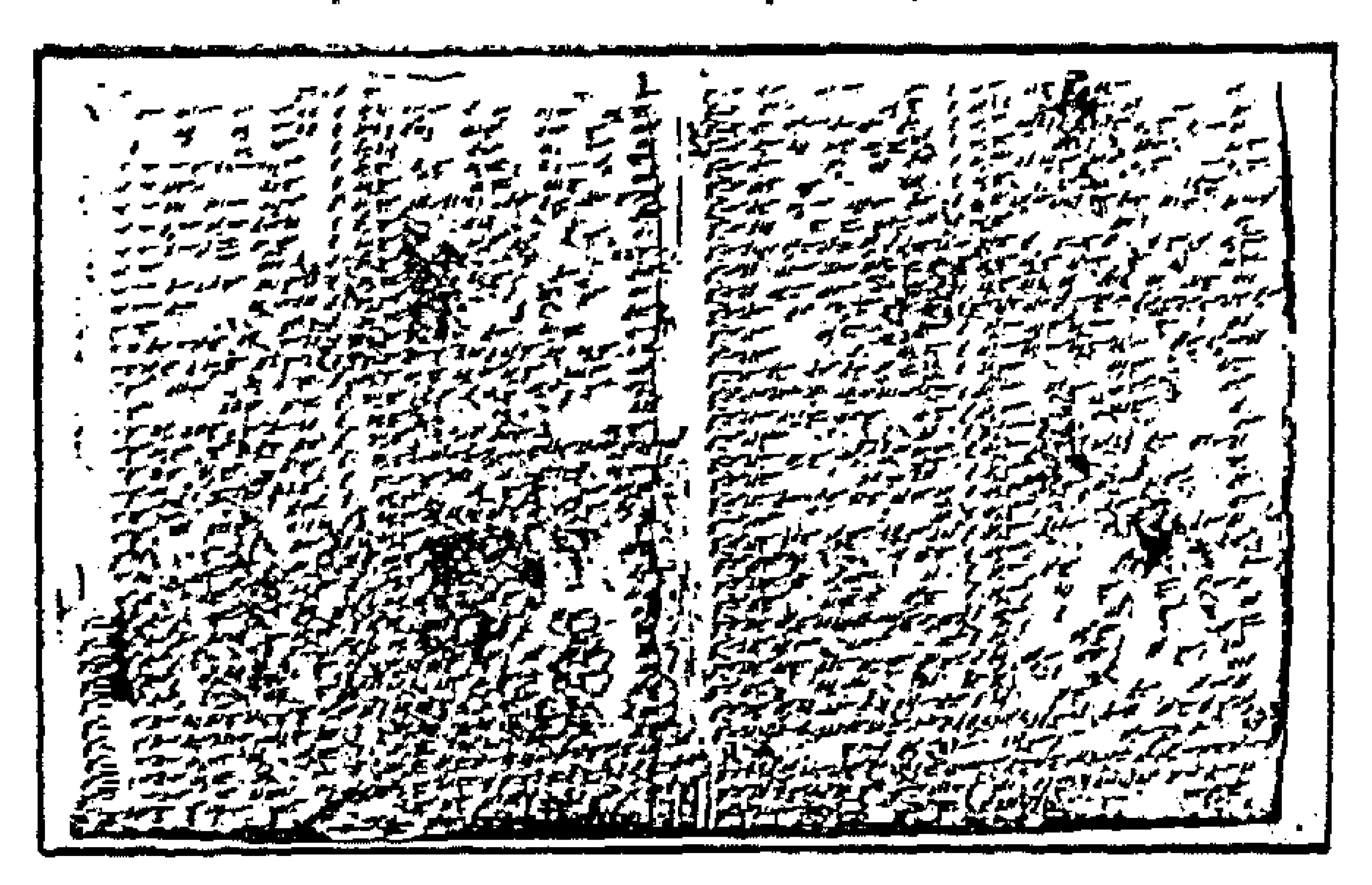
BM 34596 = LBAT 1633: reciprocals

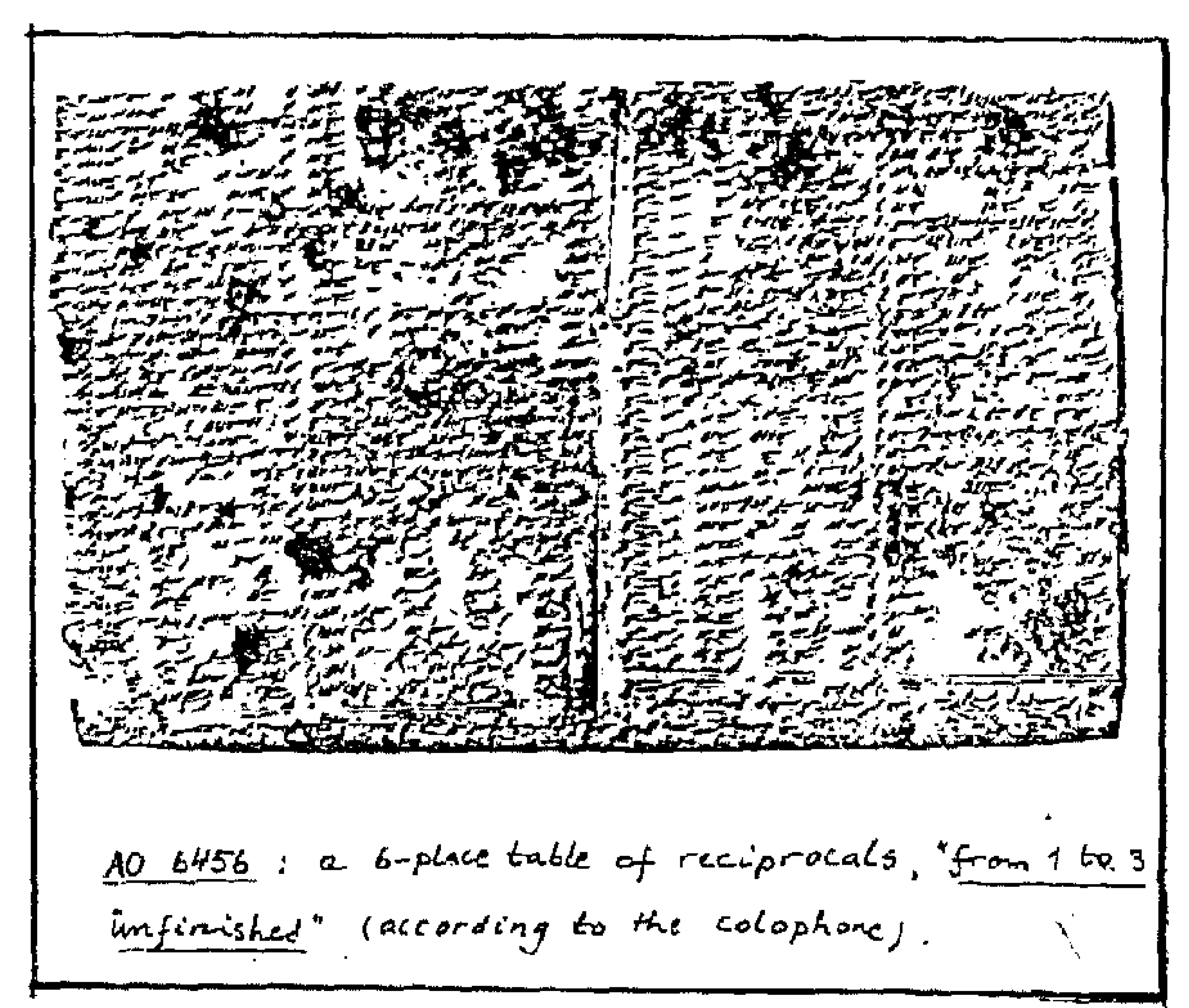
opposite side destroyed

pairs) came with the construction of the big "6– *place tables*" of reciprocals and squares. The most famous axample, the intact tablet A06456 with its table of reciprocals, was published in Thureau-Dangin's *Textes d 'Uruk* 1922 and analyzed by Neugebauer in Quellen und Studien 1933 and in MKT as well as in his Vorlesungen 1934.

Neugebauer based his analysis of the construction of A06456 on his representation of the indices of regular numbers $2^p \times 3^q \times 5^r$ in an "*index triangle*".[12b] It escaped his attention, however, that the index star can be used to show that the text *CBS* 29. 13. 21 *exemplifies the method used* in the construction of precisely this kind of 6 – place table. Hence it is made probable that the 6 – place tables, known only through examples from the Seleucid period, extend their roots back to the old Babyloian period !

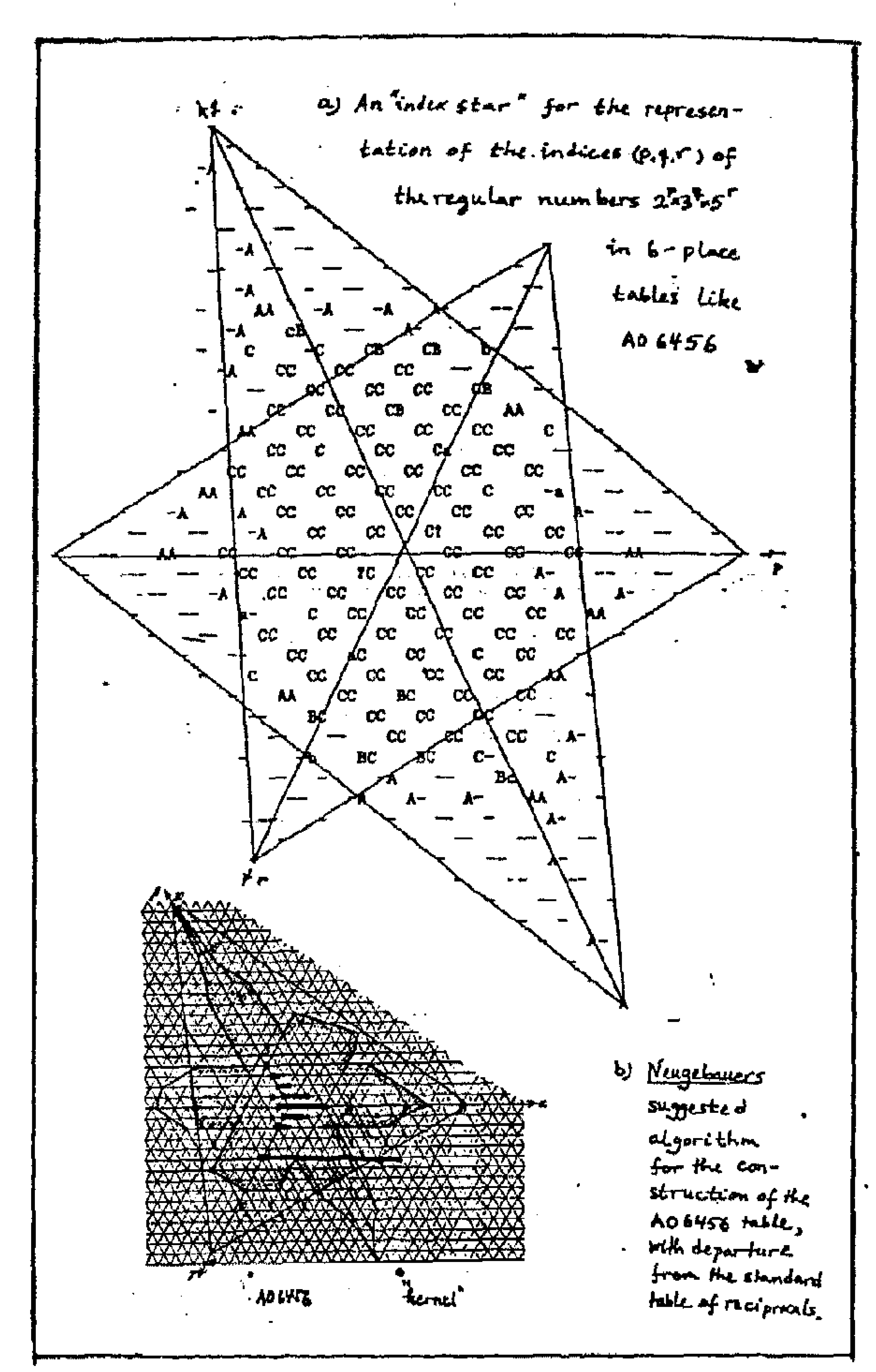
Many *fragments of* 6 – *place tables* like AO 6456 (11 tables of reciprocals, 7 tables of squares) but unlike the Uruk





AO 6456 : a 6-place table of reciprocals, "from 1 to 3 unfinished" (according to the colophone).

tablet AO 6456 *originating from Babylon*, have been published in pinches-Sachs' LBAT (1955), Neugebauer - Sachs' MCT (1945), and Aaboe JCS 19 (1965). It is possible to show quite clearly, by use of an *'index star'* related to Neugebauer's index triangle, that the Babylon fragments are a *coherent group*



a) An "index star" for the representation of the indices (p,q,r) of the regular numbers $2^p 3^q 5^r$ in 6-place tables like AO 6456

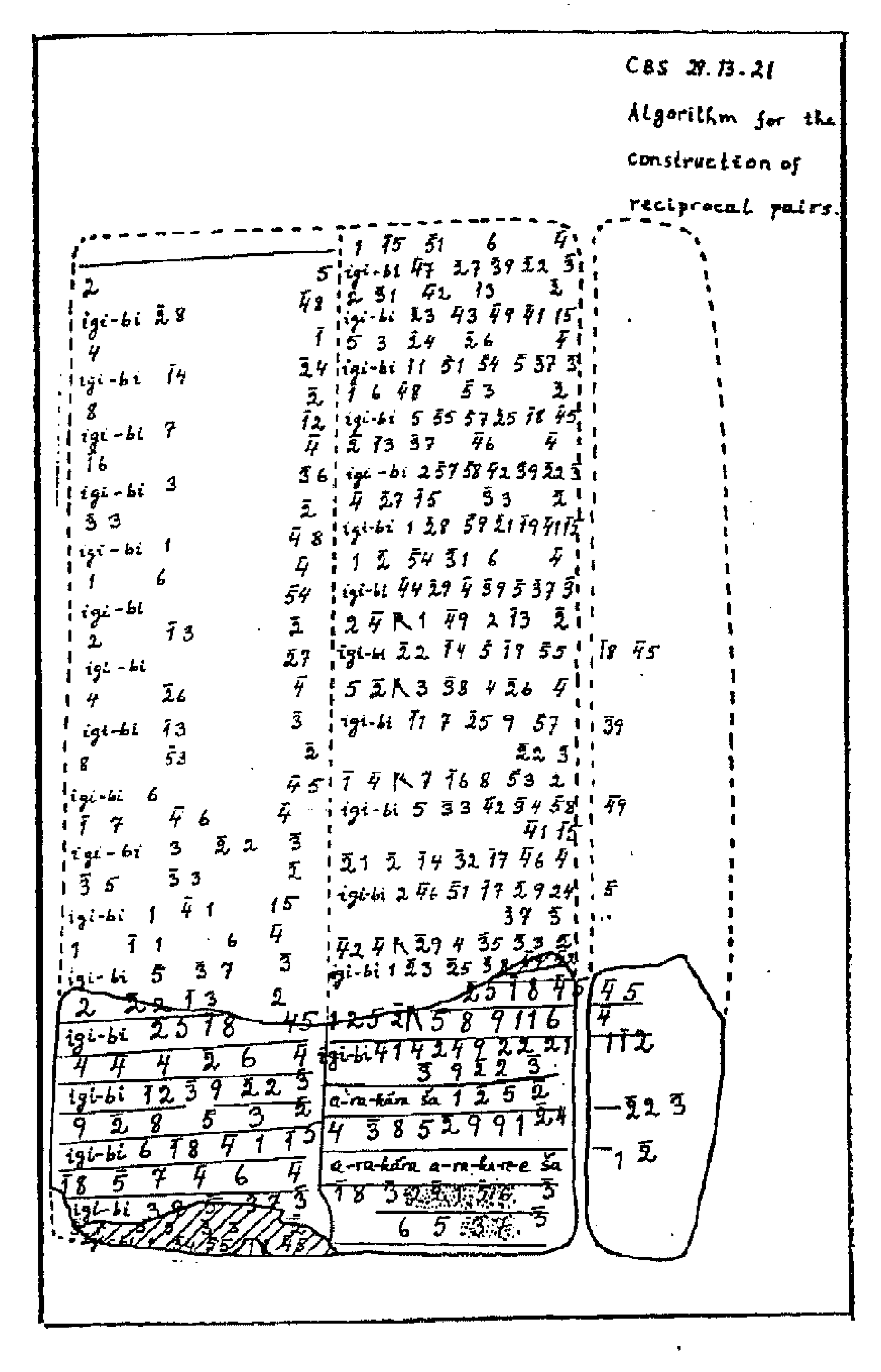
b) Neugebauers suggested algorithm for the construction of the AO 6456 table, with departure from the standard table of reciprocals

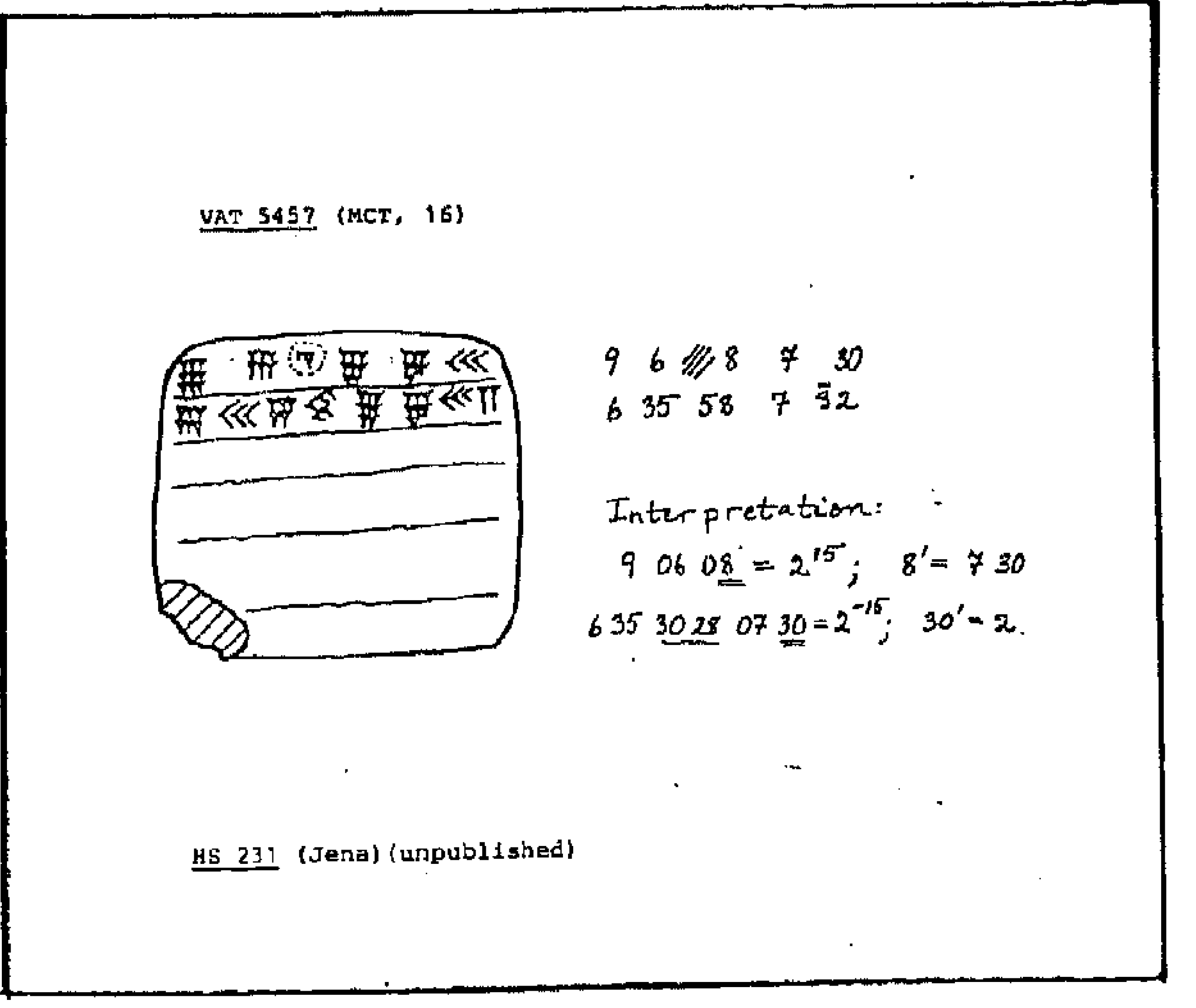
of texts, probably all copies of an original 6 – place table of reciprocals and squares, *different from the Uruk table* of reciprocals. In [(12)a], the Babylon numbers are marked by a *C*, numbers in the Uruk but not in the Babylon text by an *A*.

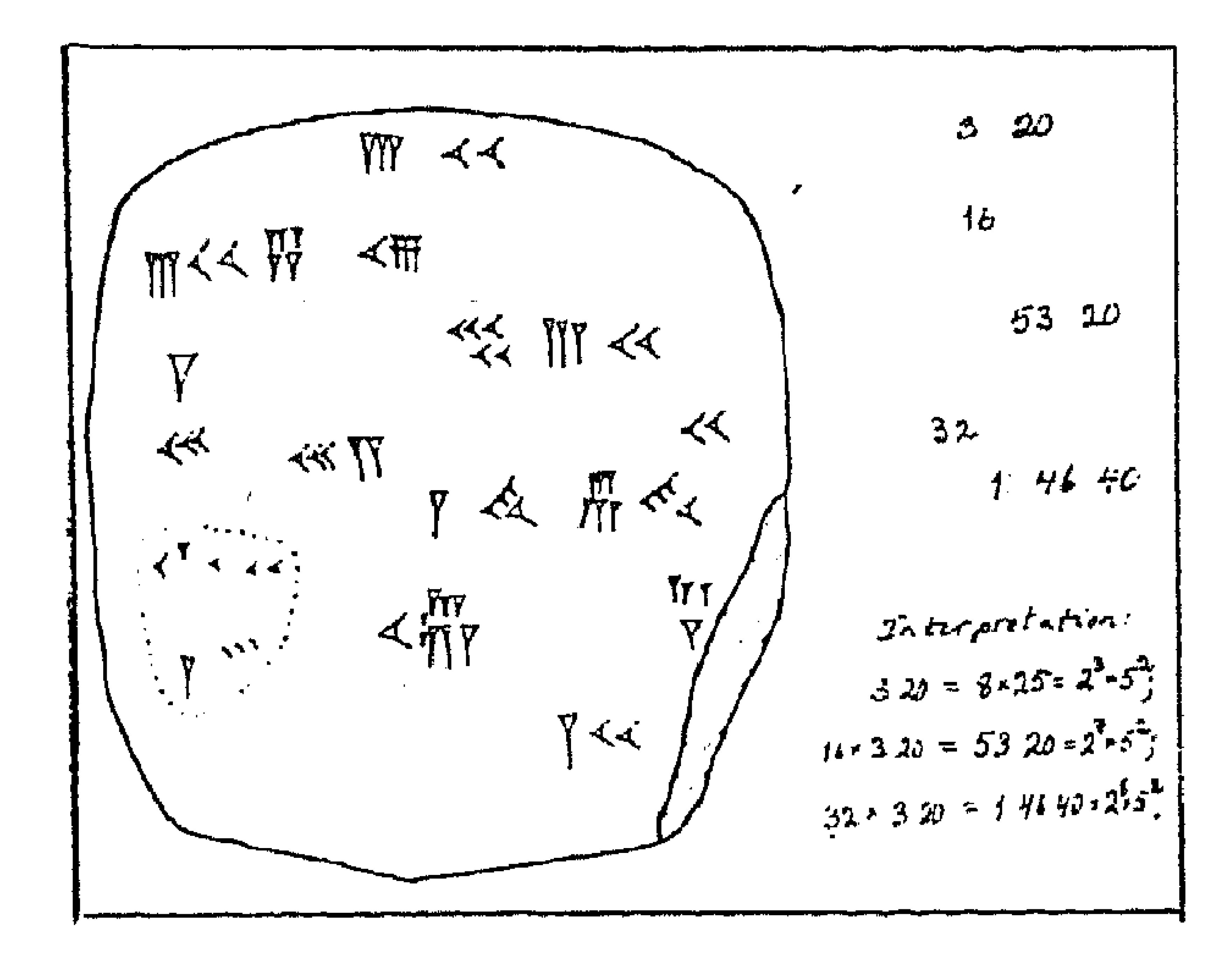
A reconstruction of the original Babylon table from the various parts of it contained in the Babylon fragments (see for instance the examples in (14) and (14'), newly identified as such, and joined for the first time here) gives rise to a 6 – place table of reciprocals *from*1 *to* 2 [(15),(16)] and a table of squares (*of the same numbers* as in the left - hand column of the table of reciprocals, from 1 to 4. Two small fragments published by Neugebauer and Sachs (*Liverpool* 29. 11.77. 34, now destroyed), and by *Aaboe* (*BM* 41101), show that the table of reciprocals from 1 to 2 may have been complemented by less frequently copied tables from (probably) 2 *to* 4 and from 4 *to* 8 . Similarly the Uruk table may have been complemented by a table from 3 to 8 or 9. (Note that 1/n = n if n is slightly smaller than 8 .

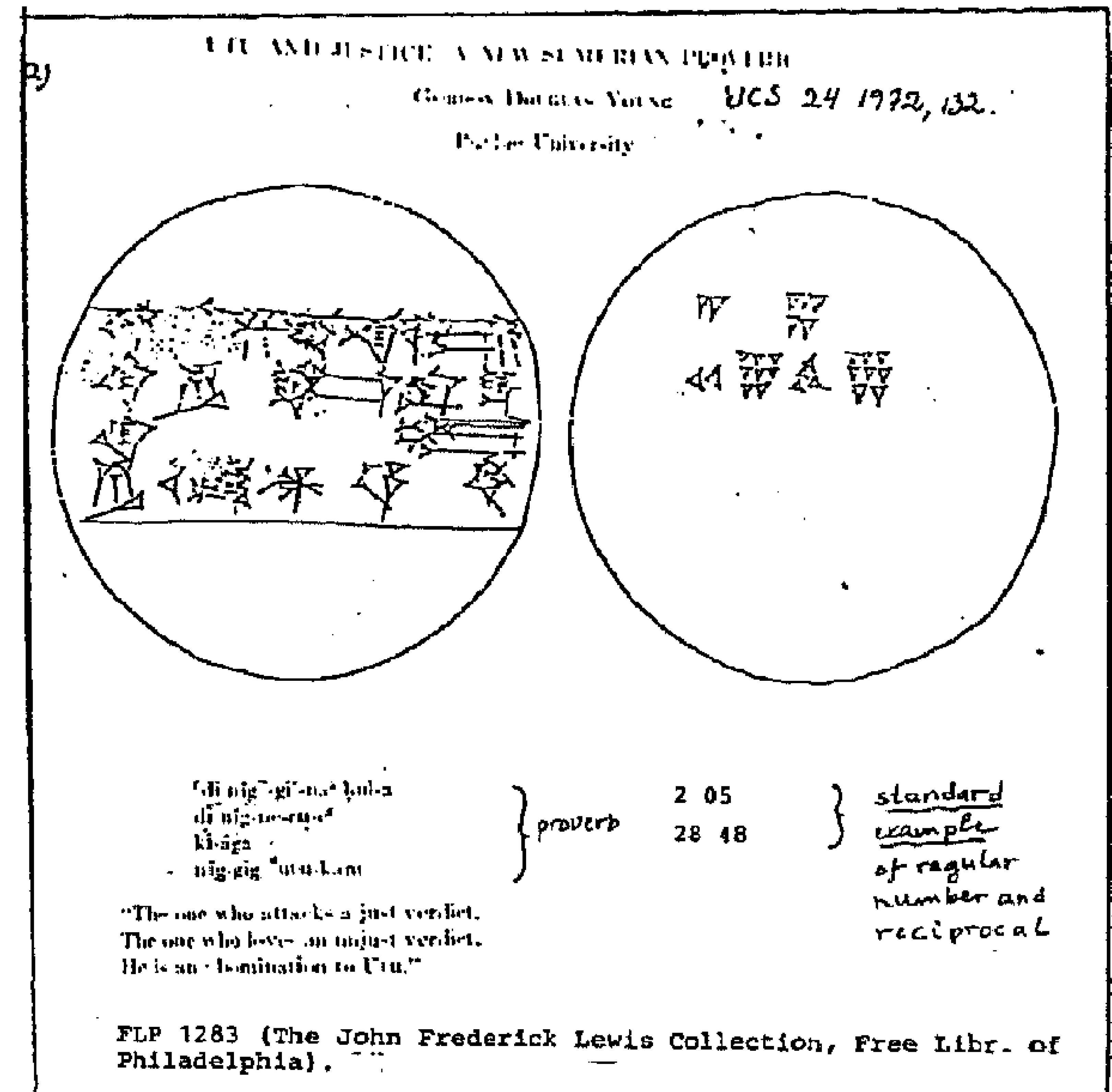
The Pinches – Sachs LBAT contains, besides the Babylon fragments of 6 – place tables, also other Babylon fragments tentatively classified as "analysis of reciprocal " Using a combination of the index star representation and an idea of

regular number obtained by the algorithm for instance *VAT* 5457[8a)] *Hs* 231[8b)],*FLP* 1283 (JCS 24,1972)[9a)] and *YBC* 4704 (*MCT* 1945,16)[9b)].

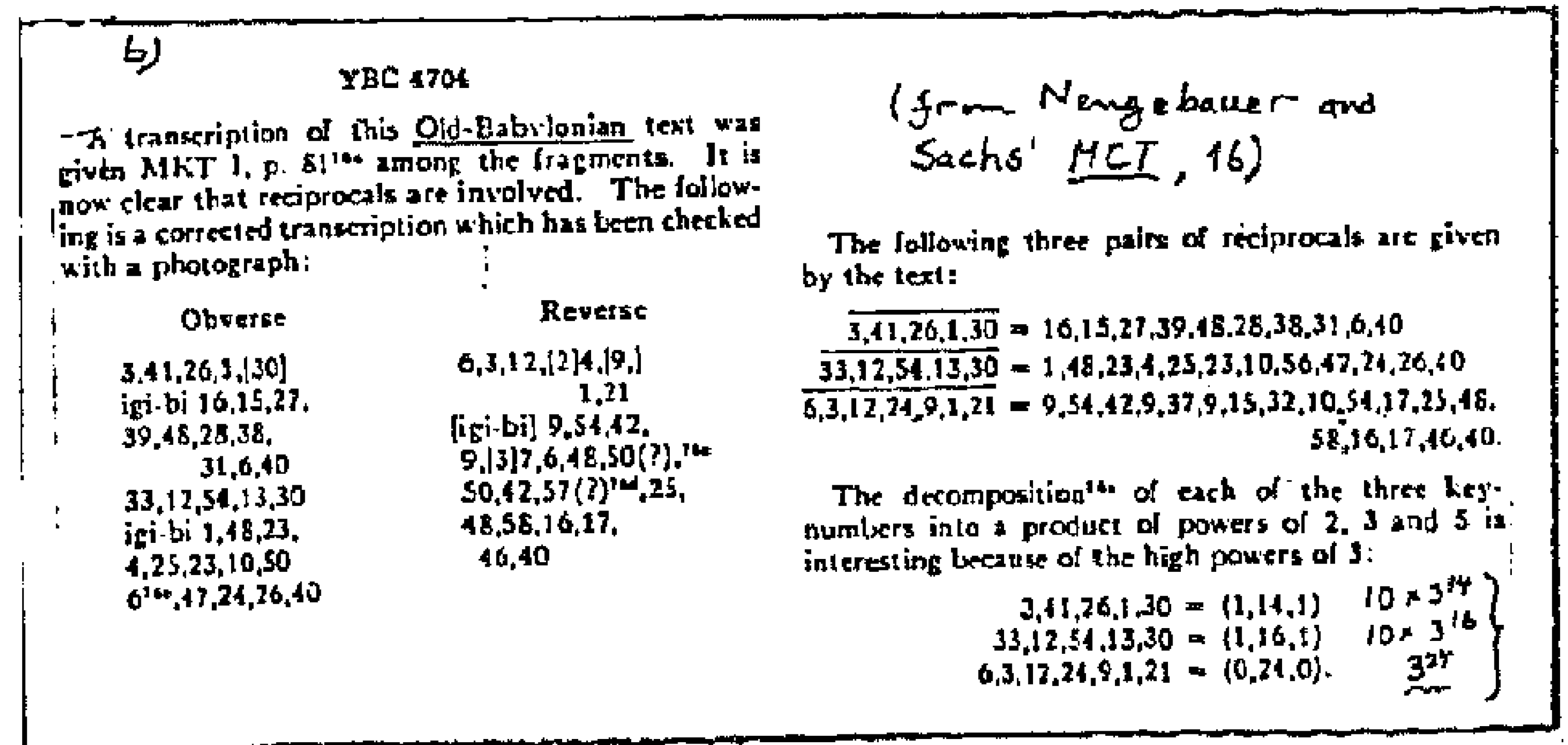








FLP 1283 (The John Frederick Lewis Collection, Free Libr. of Philadelphia).



b)

(from Neugebauer and Sachs' MCT, 16)

YBC 4704

A transcription of this Old-Babylonian text was given MKT 1, p. 81[14a] among the fragments. It is now clear that reciprocals are involved. The following is a corrected transcription which has been checked with a photograph:

Obverse	Reverse
3,41,26,1,[30]	6,3,12,[2]4,[9,]
igi-bi 16,15,27,	1,21
39,48,28,38,	[igi-bi] 9,54,42,
31,6,40	9,[3]7,6,48,50(?),[14b]
33,12,54,13,30	50,42,57(?)[14d],25,
igi-bi 1,48,23,	48,58,16,17,
4,25,23,10,50	46,40
6[14c],47,24,26,40	

The following three pairs of reciprocals are given by the text:

3,41,26,1,30 = 16,15,27,39,48,28,38,31,6,40
33,12,54,13,30 = 1,48,23,4,25,23,10,56,47,24,26,40
6,3,12,24,9,1,21 = 9,54,42,9,37,9,15,32,10,54,17,25,48,58,16,17,46,40.

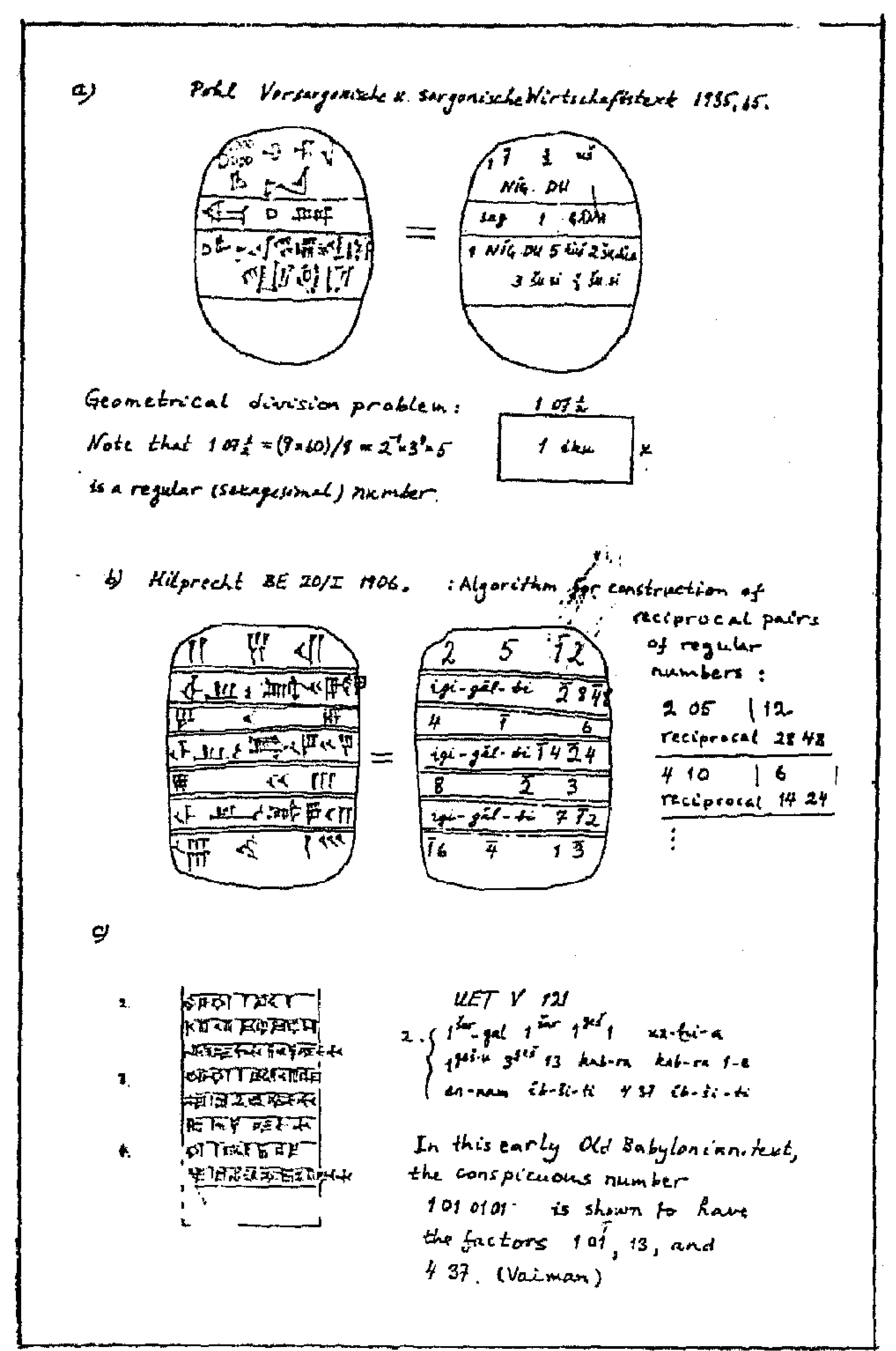
The decomposition[14e] of each of the three key-numbers into a product of powers of 2, 3 and 5 is interesting because of the high powers of 3:

3,41,26,1,30 = (1,14,1) 10×3^{14}
33,12,54,13,30 = (1,16,1) 10×3^{16}
6,3,12,24,9,1,21 = (0,24,0). 3^{24}

The convergence and culmination of the two traditions I have discribed with a series of examples above (exercises concerned with squares and squareareas, and exercises concerned with algorithms for the construction of reciprocal

extremely) *exaggerated accuracy* (use of very complicated numbers) and *obvious uselessness* (real Life fields are rarely square formed) .

Exercises with computation of square areas are known also from Old Babylonian times, both with and without metrological association, but with the computations carried out in the sexagesimal system . Examples : NCBT 13[4a] Hs 232[4b] and NBC 8082 (MCT, p. 10). From this period are also known tables of squares (published by, Rawlinson 1855, Hilprecht 1906; Neugebauer 1935 , ...)

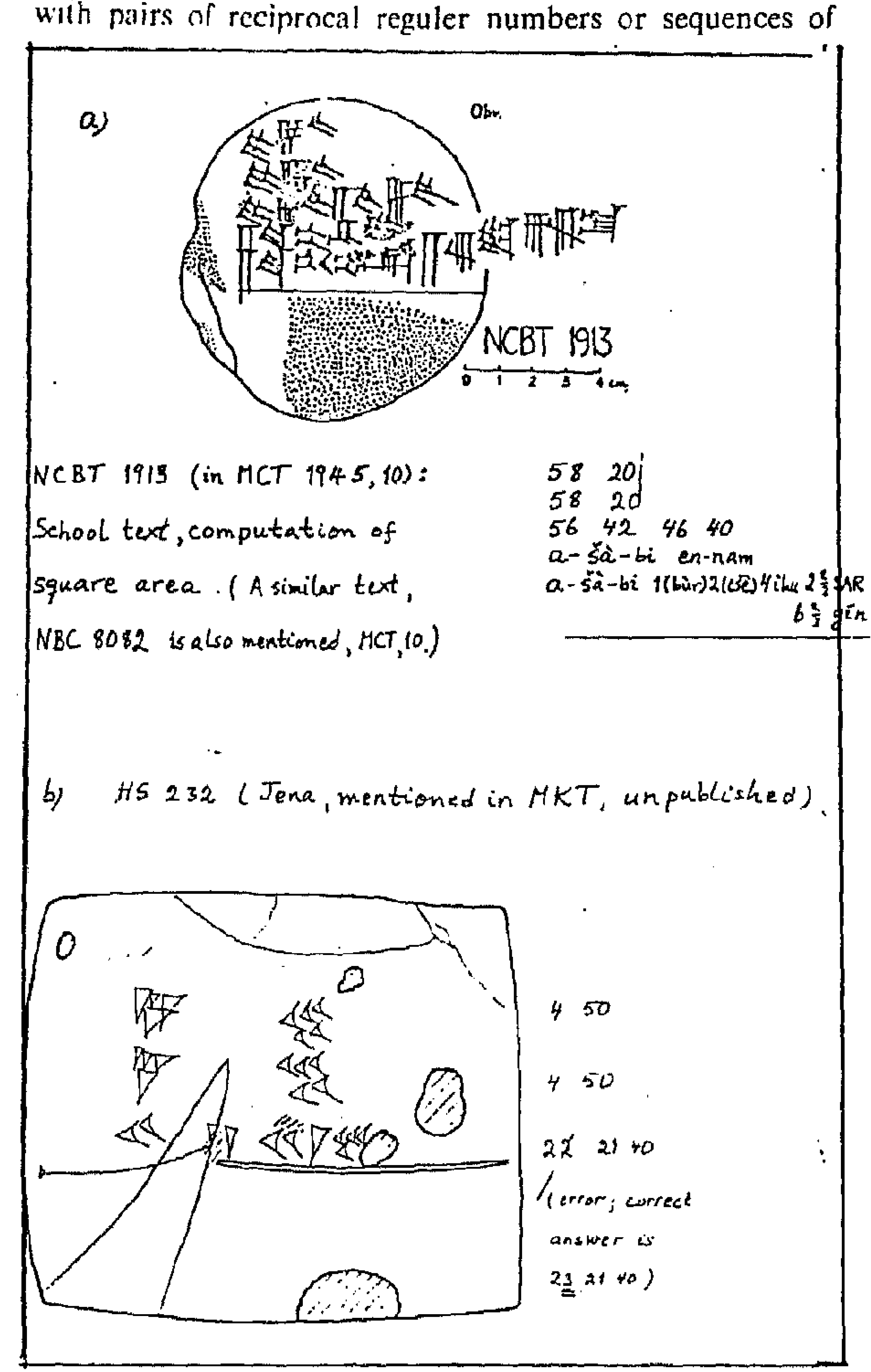


The characteristically Babylonian use of regular sexagesimal numbers to avoid difficult division problems may have had its origin in the handling of the *Sumrian metrological systems*, which intentionally were constructed in a way that invited the use of *factorization methods* in multiplication and division. The earliest known example may be given by a *proto – Elamite* tablet published by Scheil in *MDP* 2 (1900).

The important mathematical *problem text Tšš* 50 is a rare example of *division* of a *non – regular* (sexagesimal) number (Powell 1976, Guitel 1973) . The earliest known examples of the use of *regular numbers in division problems* are from the Agade period, for instance the Jena text *pohl* 1935 ,65 (= Westenholz 1975. 65)[6a] where the regular Side 107 $\frac{1}{2}$ GAR. DU is given for one side of a rectangle of area. 1 iku . The unrealistic ratio of the sides (1 07: 1;25...) shows that this is a school text .

The *oldest known mathematical algorithm* – for the systematic construction of pairs of reciprocal regular sexagesimal numbers – was published by *Hilprecht* is 1906 .[6b] This early Old Babylonian text is the precursor of many tater Old Babylonian texts examplifying the same algorithm with the same (or related) examples, notably the text *CBS* 29.13.21. (publ. in MCT 1945, pl. 24)[7].

The popularity in the Old Babylonian schools of problems related to this algorithm is shown also by the fact that several examples have been unearthed of *small exercise tablets* with pairs of reciprocal reguler numbers or sequences of



ON THE BIG 6–PLACE TABLES OF RECIPROCALS AND SQUARES FROM SELEUCID BABYLON AND URUK AND THEIR OLD BABYLONIAN AND SUMERIAN PREDECESSORS.

BY:
J. FRIBERG
(GOTEBORG, SWEDEN)

" Babylanian mathematics " is a very interesting object of study for anybody seriously interested in the early history of science, not only because of its extreme antiquity but also because of its *unique and consistent choice of topics*, which is quite different from the topics typical for Greek mathematics.

In this talk I will discuss two of the most important of these characteristically Babylonian topics, their Sumerian and proto – Sumerian roots , and their final convergence in the enormous 6 – place tables of reciprocals and squares from Seleucid Babylon and Uruk.

The two topics I refer to are

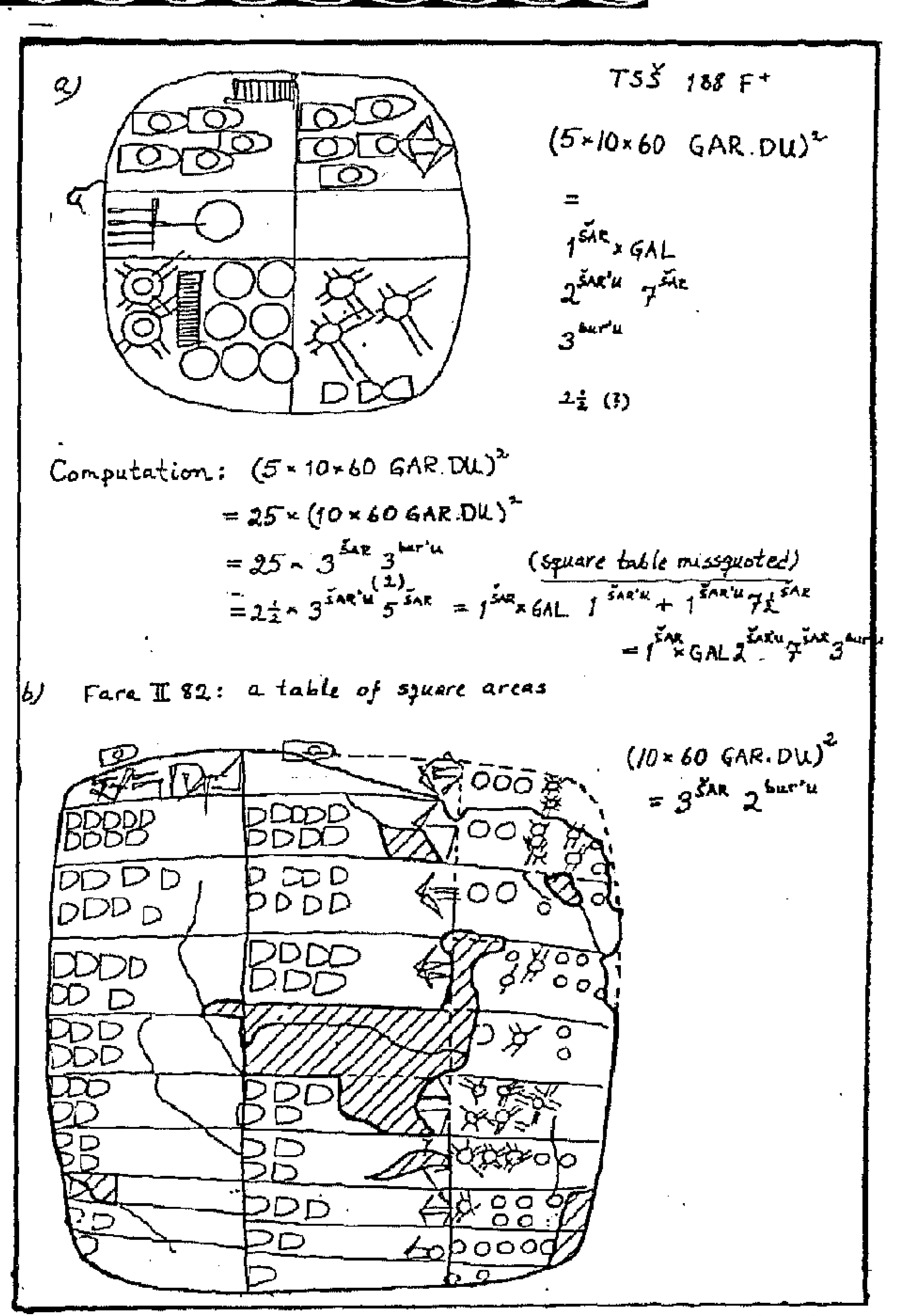
1) the use of *exercises* concerned with the *computation of squares* or square areas in order to train the skill in handling complicated sexagesimal or metrological numbers;

2(the *use of " regular sexagesimal numbers* "to facilitate the solution of division problems ; this use of regular sexagesimal numbers led to the compilation of special " *tables of reciprocals* "to be used together with the well documented Babylonian " combined multiplication tables " , which as a rule contained also information about squares and reciprocals .

The use of the *Sumerian special metrological system of number notations for area measures* is known from even the early proto – Sumerian *Uruk* IVa texts (Ex.: IIIIII, unpublished).The earliest known *computations* involoing area measures are from the proto – Sumerian *Jemdet Nasr* period (Ex.: *OECT* 7 100 : area computations and *non – regular* division by3.)

The oldest known mathematical table is the *table of large square areas Fara II* 82.[3b] (A somewhat younger table of *small* square areas has been publised in Luckenbill, Adab 1930 .) The use of the Fara table for further exercises is documented by the school text (?)TSŠ 188[3a], one of the four oldest known mathematical (metrological) school texts (Jestin 1937).

Among the oldest mathematical exercises known are



also some computations of square areas on small tablets from the Agade period, published by *Limet* (1973) and *Gelb* (1970) and interpreted by Powell (1976). These computations can be recognized as exercises because of their (sometimes

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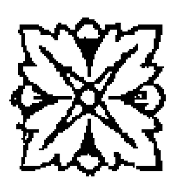
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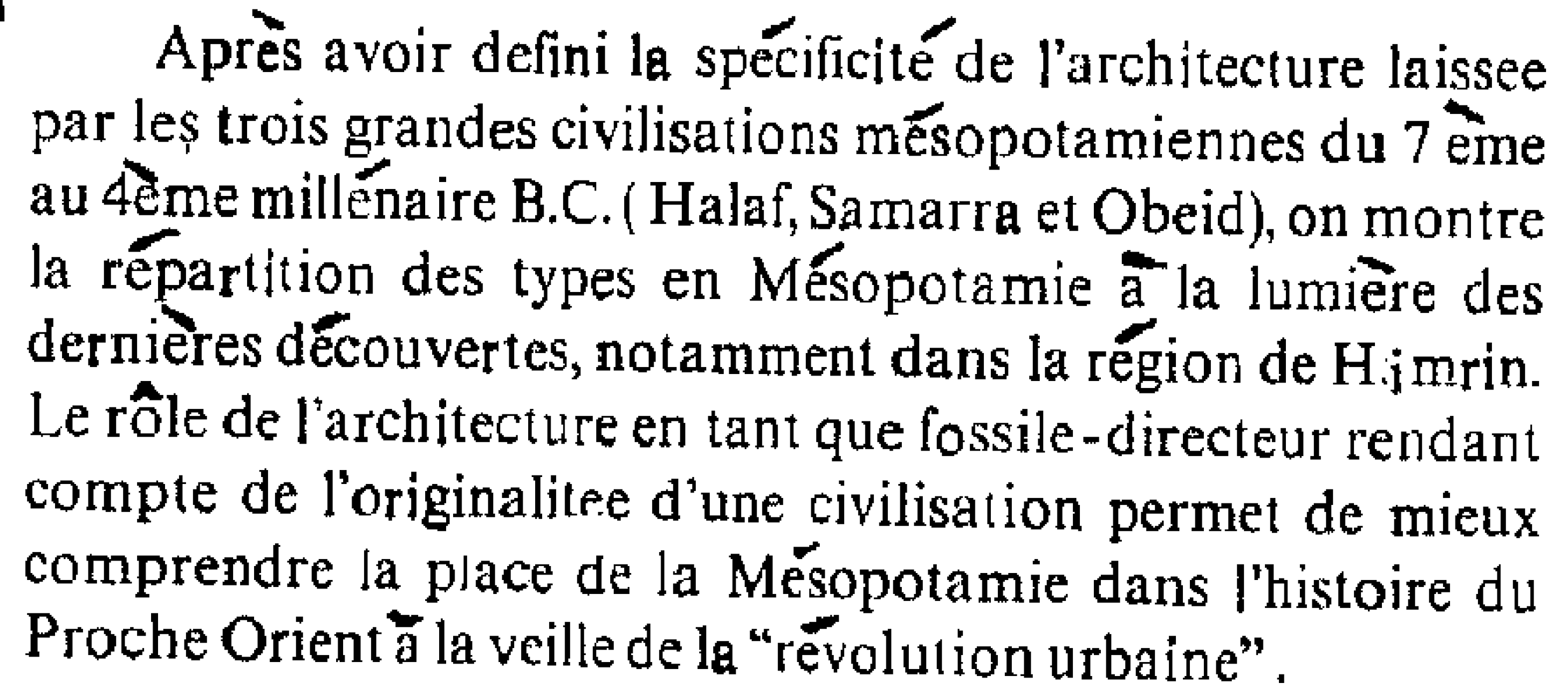
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RESUME



Après avoir defini la spécificité de l'architecture laissee par les trois grandes civilisations mésopotamiennes du 7 ème au 4ème millénaire B.C. (Halaf, Samarra et Obeid), on montre la répartition des types en Mésopotamie à la lumière des dernières découvertes, notamment dans la région de Himrin. Le rôle de l'architecture en tant que fossile-directeur rendant compte de l'originalitee d'une civilisation permet de mieux comprendre la place de la Mésopotamie dans l'histoire du Proche Orient à la veille de la "révolution urbaine".

Thus, whatever these types of plans are called (tripartite, cruciform, T–shaped, etc...) the essential fact is they all belong to the same "family " of architecture. The various phases of the Obeid cultures cannot yet be relatively situated, however, due to the imprecision of the nomenclature which is still occasionally used to designate them. Nonetheless, two major points should be emphasized.

First, one is immediately struck by the homogeneity which characterizes Obeid architecture throughout its geographic extent, at least in its final phases. For example, this is demonstrated by a comparison of the structures of level XIII of Gawra in the north (fig. 19) with those in Levels VI-VII of Eridu, to the south (fig. 15). Second, recent discoveries in the Himrin region have now made it possible to discern regional variants within one group, although it is too early to determine whether these variants also have chronological significance.

In a general sense, it seems the Obeid culture, as well as the Samarran, contain examples of architectural "differenciation". Next to the "monuments" discussed above, there are " ordinary", smaller structures with a less characteristic internal organization found at sites such as Gawra an Abaddeh. However, this does not mean that these "monuments" should be systematically considered to have been "temples" which is the opinion expressed throughout all the archaeological literature, beginning with the first archaeologists having seen these structures at Gawra, Eridu or Uruk. Using discoveries made at Madhur, the English excavators felt that these structures were living quarters, and offered the same interpretation for the buildings at Gawra. It seems correct to accept this interpretation, with the hypothesis that these buildings could have been communal houses similar to the present day *mudhif*, which serve as meeting halls for the village men and reception rooms for guests (Aurenche 1981 a, 224–225).

These structures seem to represent prestigeous architecture used for common or civil purposes: despite the fact they can range from simple dwellings to elaborate monuments of obvious importance in the community, the same principle governs their occupied space. Consequently any differences to be found beginning in the Obeid era between "domestic" and "monumental" architecture are, at this stage, not differences in nature, but rather differences in degree.

CONCLUSION

These considerations have been made to show, first the architectural practices peculiar to each of the major Mesopotamian cultures, which are usually defined only in terms of movable objects (ceramics, lithic industry, art etc...). Architecture should also be able to serve as a "type-fossil" in this manner. It also has been attempted here to show the role played by certain regions in the contacts between these cultures. For example,

the Sinjar and the Himrin regions, where archaeological remains of Halaf, Samarra or Obid architecture are found at the same or at neighboring sites, played a privileged role in this interchange. Although chronological and stratigraphical evidence is still inadequate to define details of these processes, certainly traces of architectural traditions have another order of cultural value than the presence or absence of movable objects, which could have been due to trading practices.

Finally, the role of Mesopotamia in bringing about the "urban revolution" at the end of the 4th millenium should be emphasized. The architectural creations of earlier cultures help to elucidate the process leading to the birth of the first cities. Rather than in term of rupture, opposition or conflict, architecture appears to explain this process more in terms of cultural continuity, with roots extending back to earlier traditions.

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although,here again,stepped walls are present (Al Jadir 1979 and 1980).

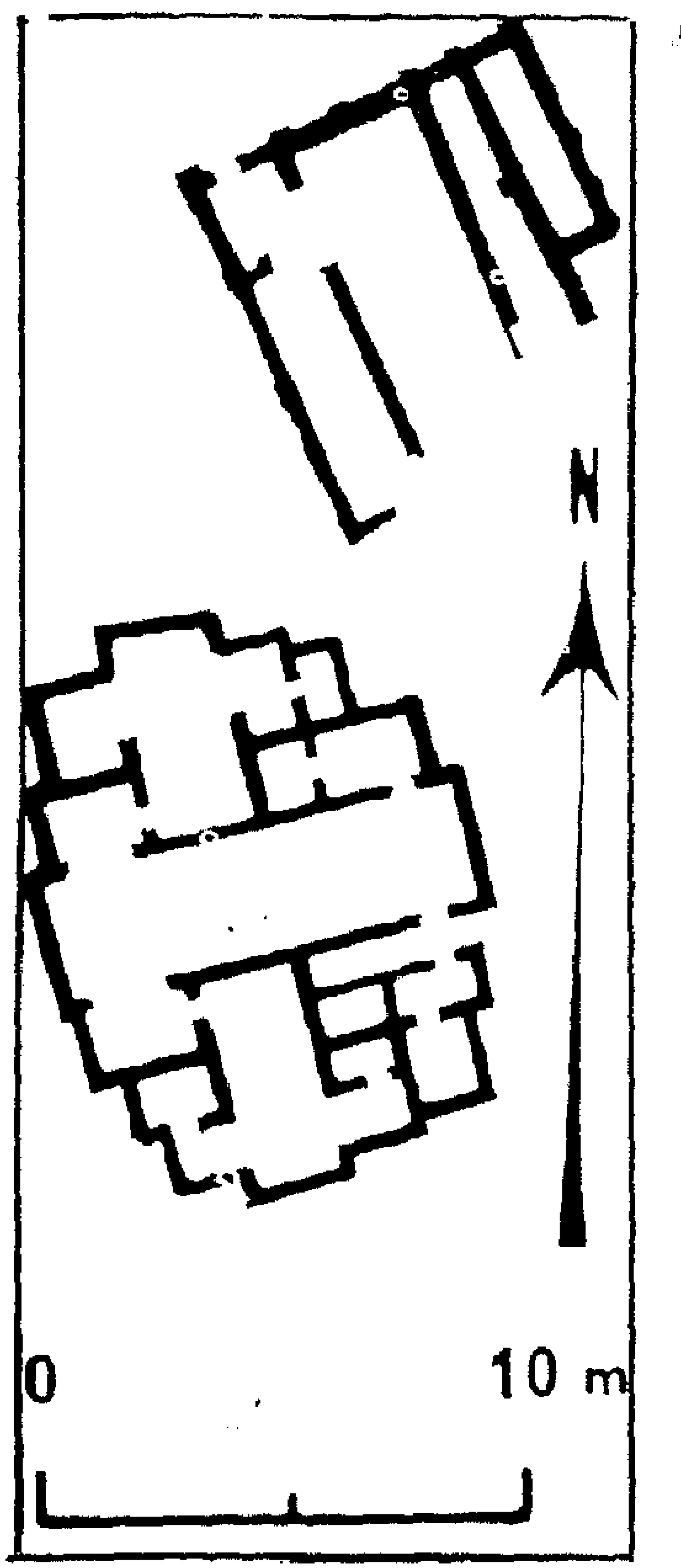


Fig. 22- Plan of structures at Kheit Qasim III (after Forest-Foucault, in press)

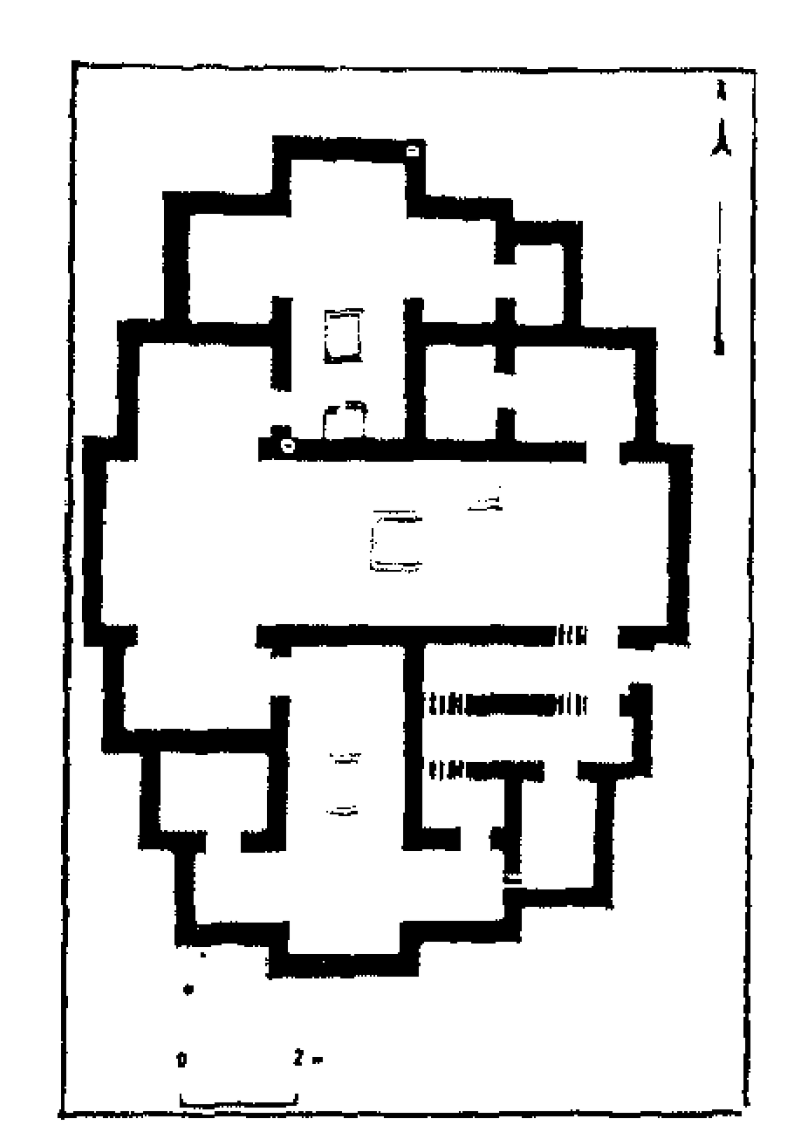


Fig. 23- Plan of the building I at Kheit Qasim (after Forest-Foucault, in Press).

The sites of Abu Hussaini and Madhur, in the Himrin region, date from the final Obeid phase. At the first site,Italian archaeologists discovered greatly damaged architecture having small, square cells (see Oueili, level 4). At Madhur, English archaeologists excavated several rooms of a large

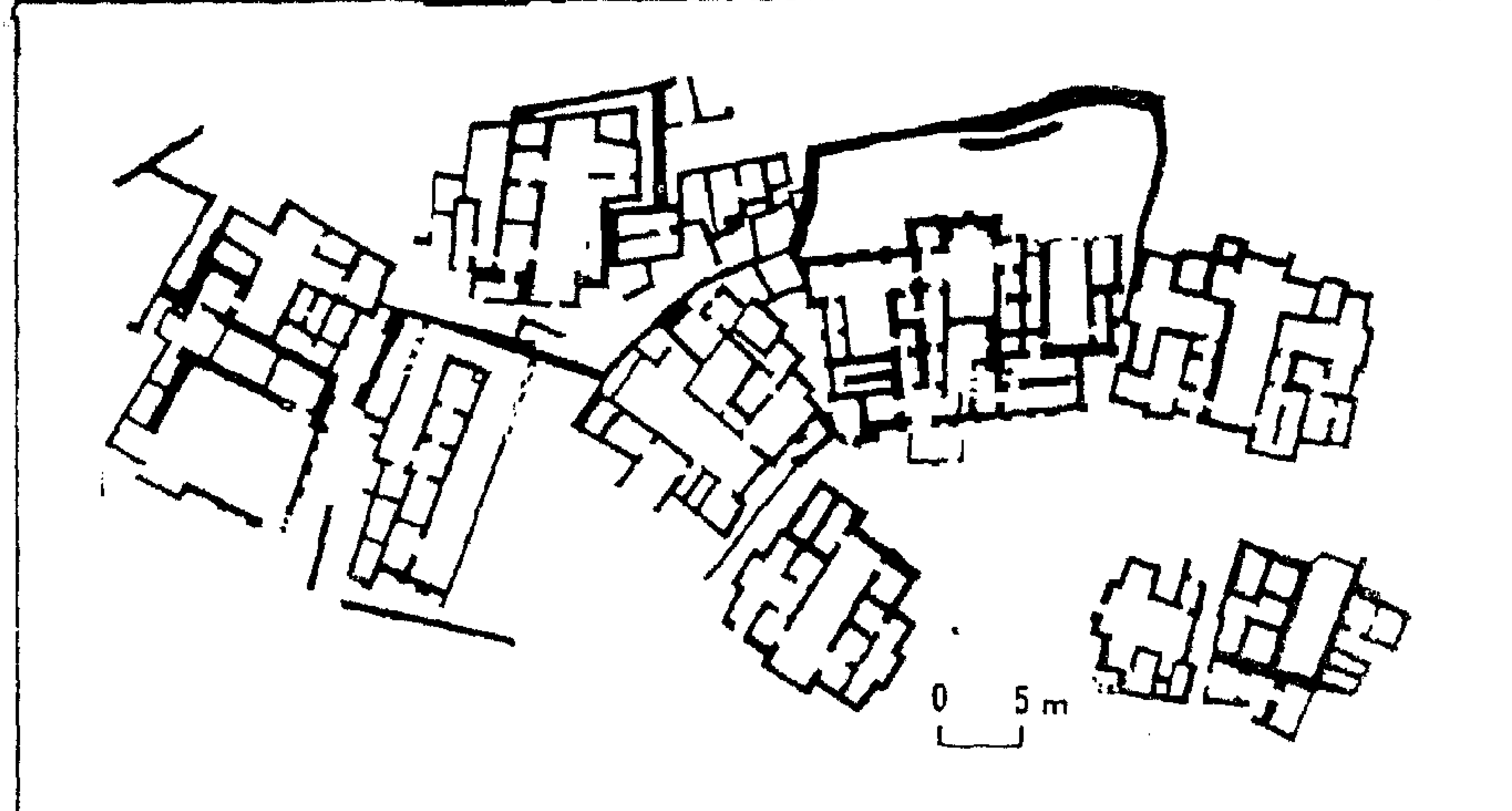


Fig. 24 Plan of the level 2 at Abbadeh (after Aboud 1979).

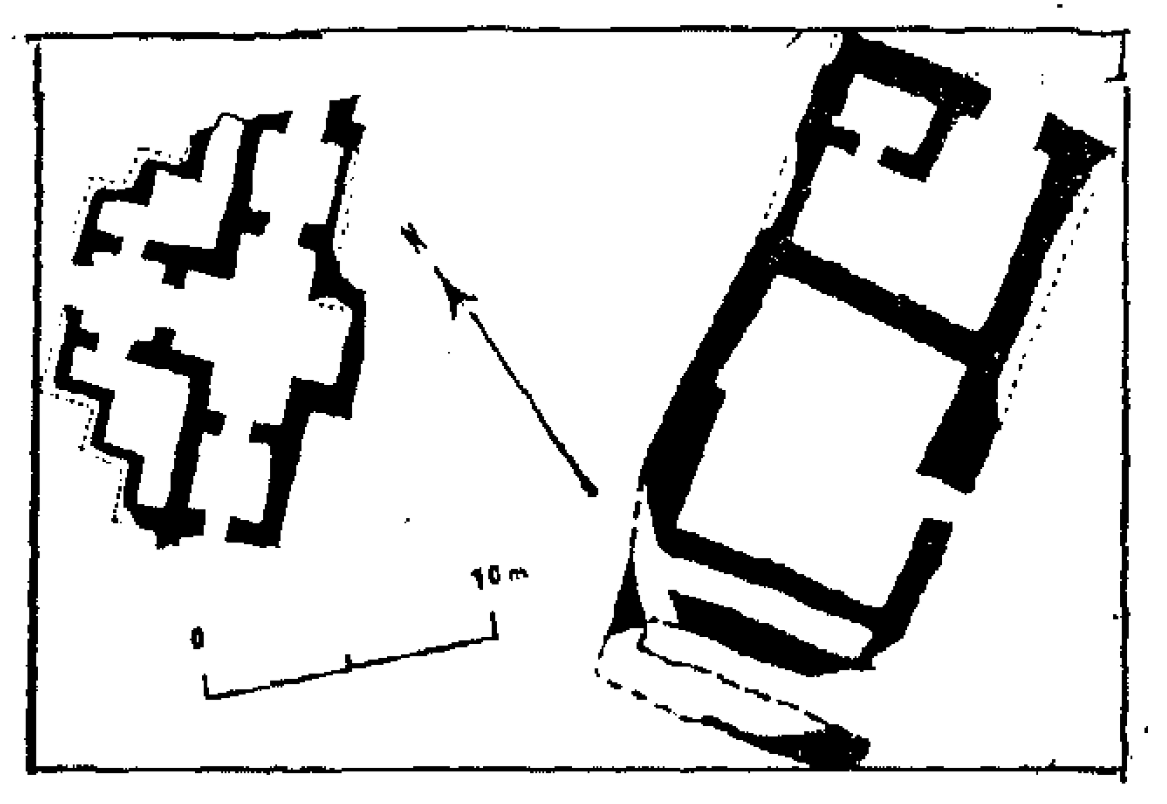
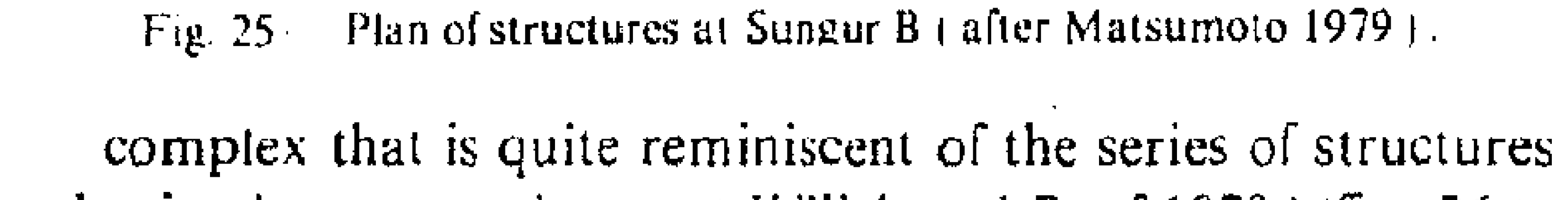


Fig. 25 Plan of structures at Sungur B (after Matsumoto 1979).



complex that is quite reminiscent of the series of structures having large central room (Killick and Roaf 1979) (fig. 26).

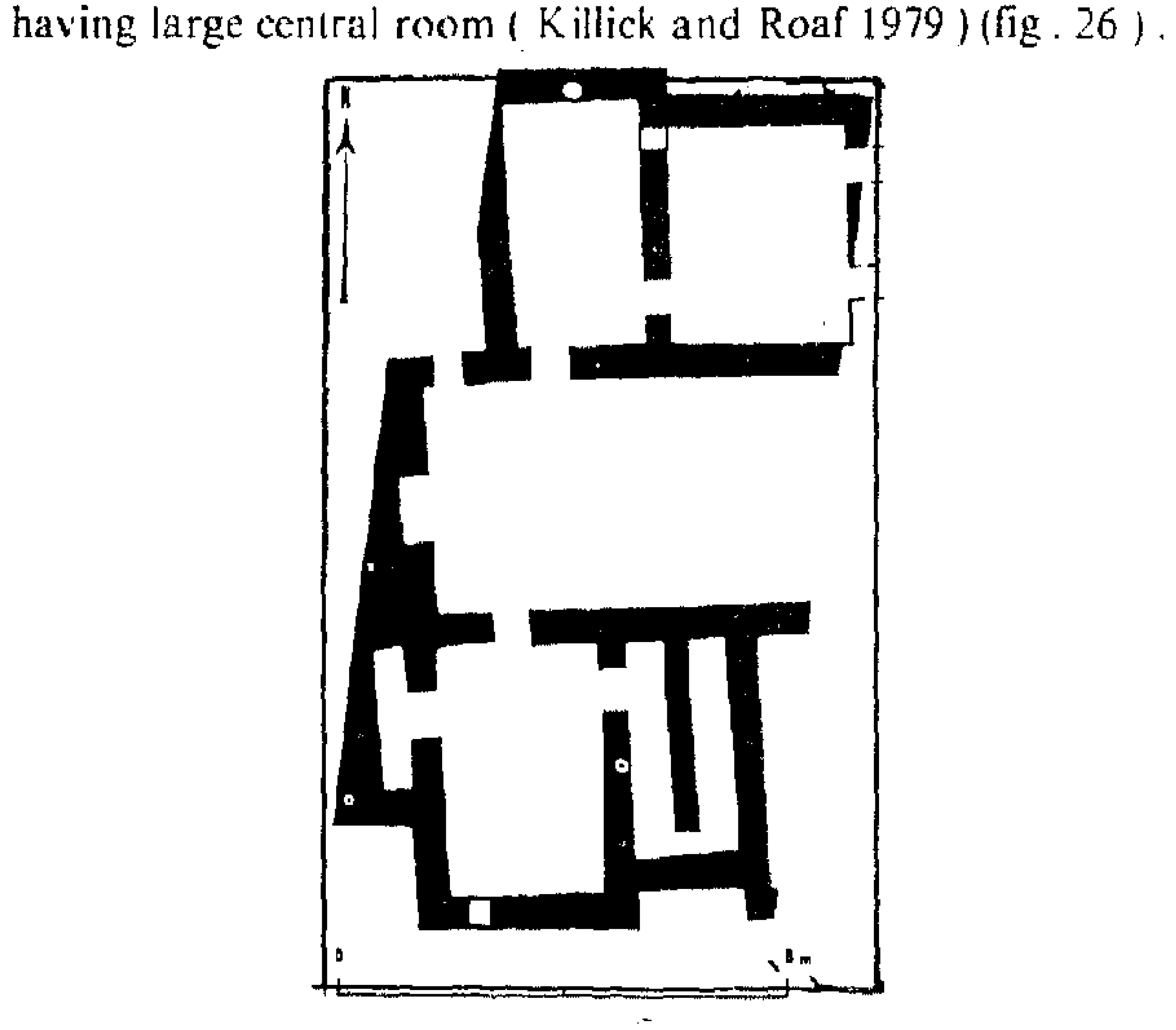


Fig. 26 Plan of a house at Madhur (after Killick and Roaf 1979).

Several " monumental " structures were unearthed at Eridu, levels VII-VI (fig. 15) which date from the final phase of the Obeid culture (4.300-3, 700 B. C.). Level XIV at Gawra (fig. 18), dating from the same phase, contains exceptionaly

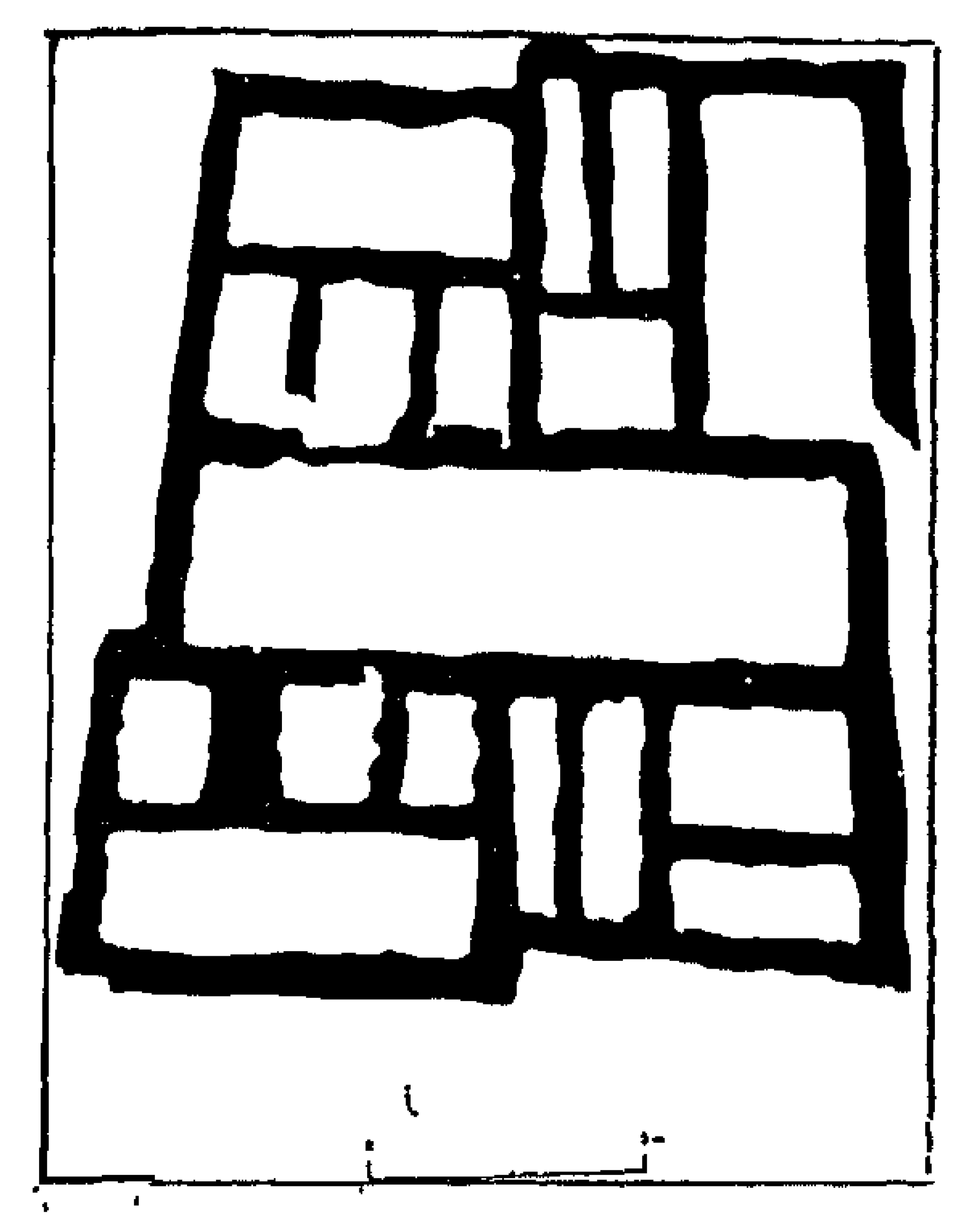


Fig. 18 – Plan of a house from the level XIV at Gawra (after Tobler 1950).

a building set on a dry-stone foundation, whose structural pattern otherwise followes the same principles of symmetry as those described above. Level XIII, also from the same phase, contains three " temples " (fig. 19), whereas in level XII in M–O / 4–5 there are principles of construction that were already present beginning in levels XVII–XV.

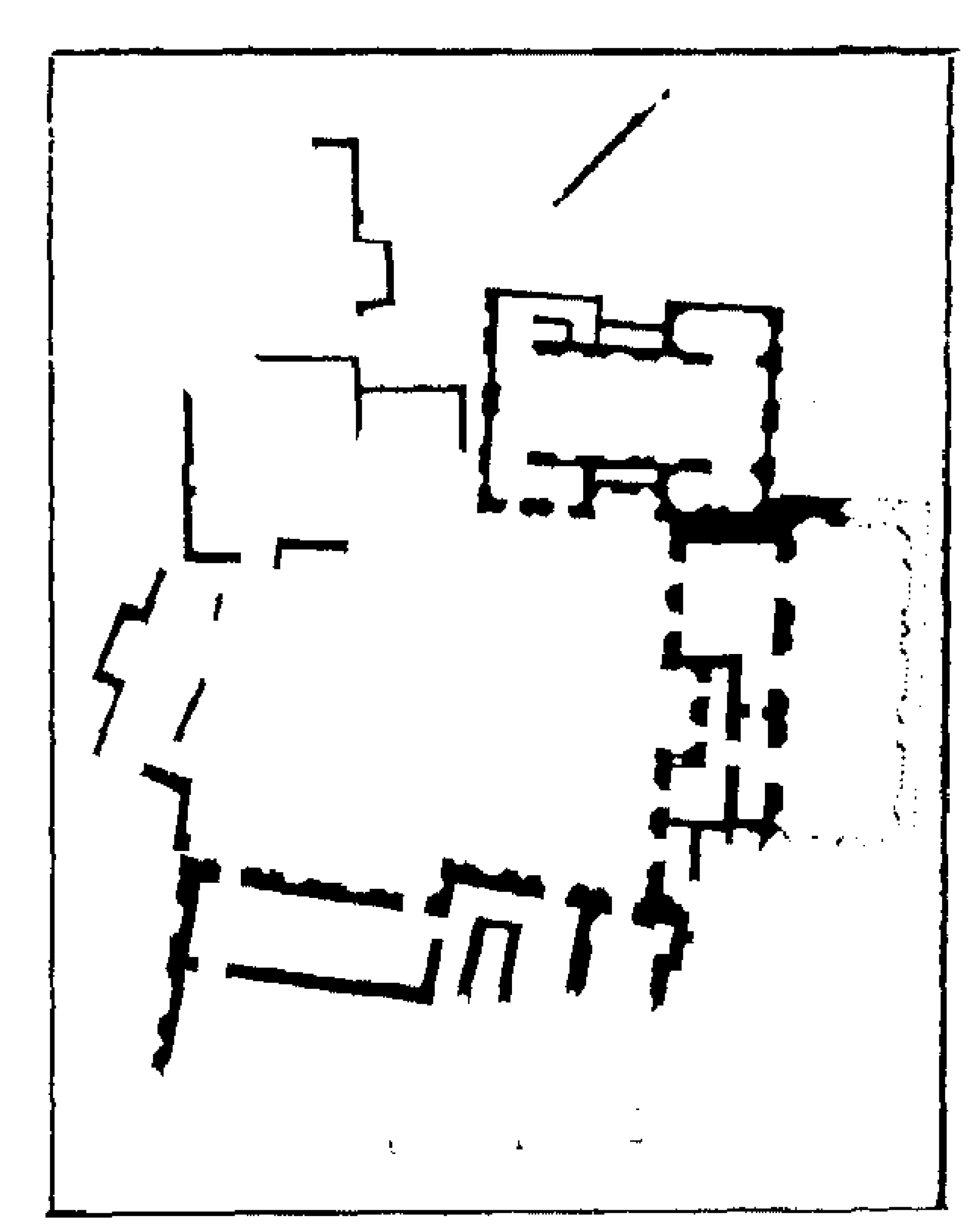


Fig. 19 - Plan of the level XIII at Gawra (after Tobler 1950).

Structures of this architectural "family" have been recently cited at oueili (Huot and others. in press) (fig. 20) and at Uruk (Schmidt 1974) (fig. 21). Finally, the most recent discoveries in the Himrin region have contributed greatly to architectural documents known from the Obeid period, and even introduce a possible regional variant.

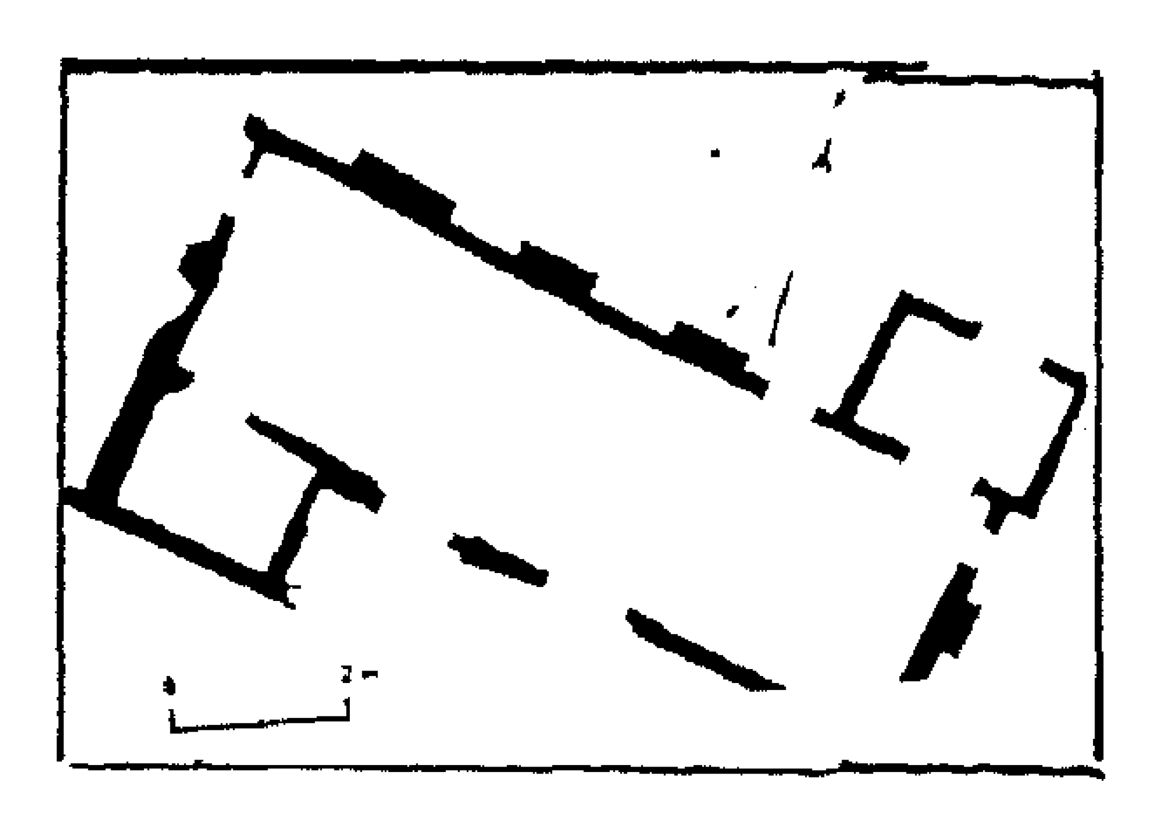


Fig. 20 - Plan of a structure from the level 5 at Oueili (after Huot and others, in press).

At KheitQasim III (Forest-Foucault in press) a structure was found (14 × 10,5 m) having a cruciform plan, composed of three principal units built in the form of a "T" and

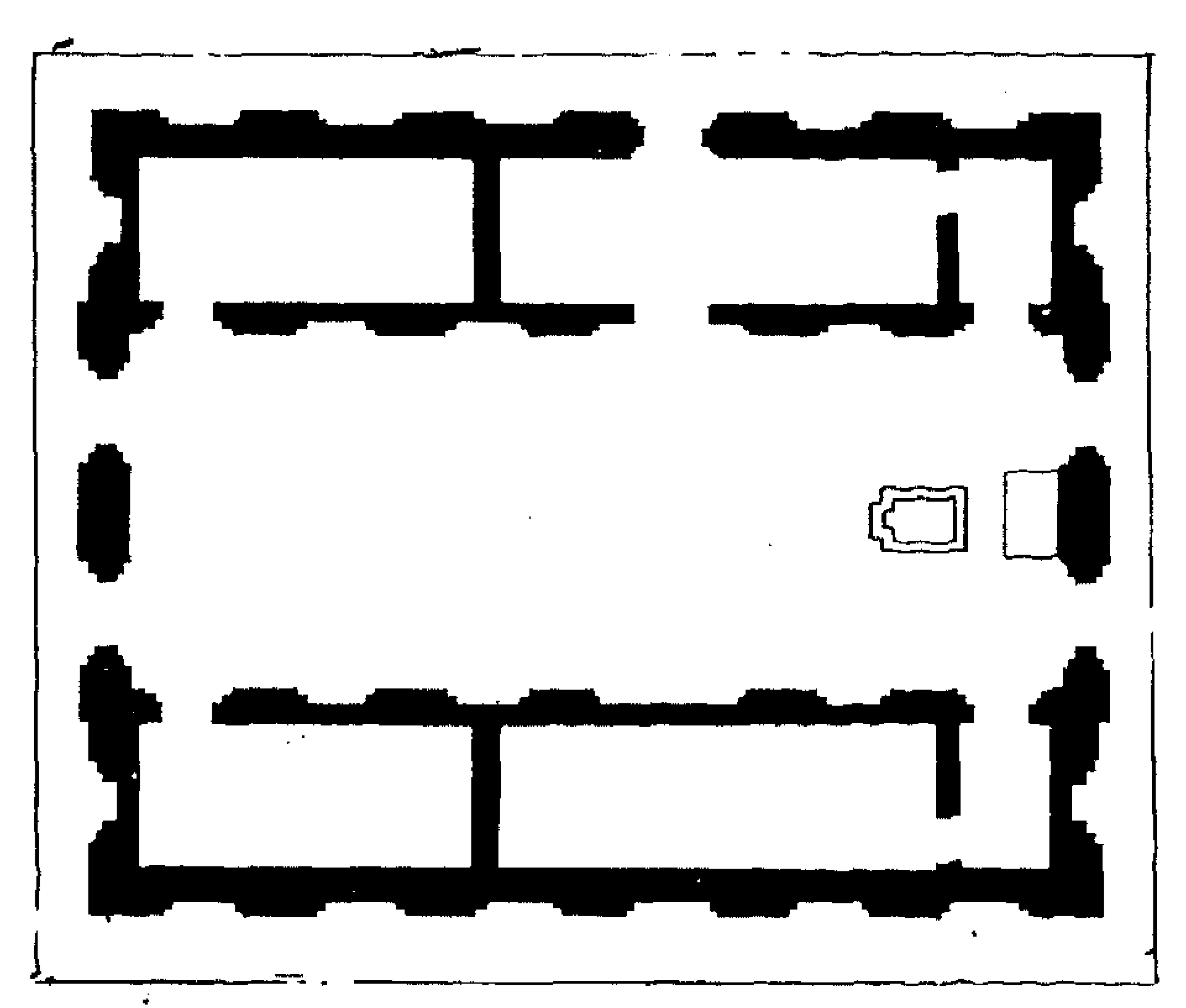


Fig. 21 - Plan of the " temple I" at Uruk (after Schmidt 1974).

oriented perpendicularly to one another fig. 23). This structure was associated with another building having a " classic " plan and stepped walls (fig. 22–23). Nonetheless, the excavator emphasizes, correctly, the fact that " despite minor irregularities in symmetry, the long axis of the principal hall dominates the ensemble; the lateral units do in fact reflect one another (unit N/ unit S), as well as the elements comprising unit I" (fig. 23). Thus the general principle of Obeid architecture is found also in such modular architecture.

Several examples of this architectural variant of varying similarity to an idealized model were found in different levels of the site of Abbadeh (Aboud 1979) (fig. 24). As at Kheit Qasim III, they are associated with a structure having stepped walls. Rashid has architecture analogous to that from Abaddeh, although it is known in lesser detail (Aboud 1979). An incomplete (?) cruciform building was found at Sungur B (Matsumoto 1979) (fig. 25). The remains unearthed at Sungur C do not a very coherent plan, as do those from Ayyash.

collective purpose (a storage building, store etc ...) this would constitute oneof the first examples ofarchitectural differenciation Thusthearchitectural "specialization" suspected to be present also at sites such as Choga Mami or Sungur A, would have been first practiced during the 6th millenium in northern Mesopotamia .

Thus, given present evidence, it seems the origin of Samarran architecture must be sought along the Euphrates valley and in the Singar region , where rectangular, complex architecture makes its first appearance . This hypothesis leads us to reconsider the relationship between the various cultures involved.

THE OBEID TYPE

Altough the Obeid type of architecture is complex, it applicates antithetical rules, which are , in a sense, less original . All appears to be directed towards a search for symmetry. The principle consists ofdistributing roomsofvarious shapes and sizes around a central area, which was quite likely to have been covered . In the most developped form, the structures thus obtained are large (15–20 x 5–15 m) and the disposition of the element comprising them, such as mud-brick , contributes to the overall architectural decor . Thus a stepped wall decor constitutes one of the most noticeable traits of the Obeid architecture . The distribution of internal spaces is such that this type of plan has sometimes been refferred to as a " tripartite plan " . However, this convenient definition does not summarize the assence of this architectural plan : its characteristic is the practice of symmetrically placing a certain number of rooms of various shapes and sizes on both sides of a central rectangular area which is much larger than any of the other rooms (fig . 15) . As for Samarran architecture , an

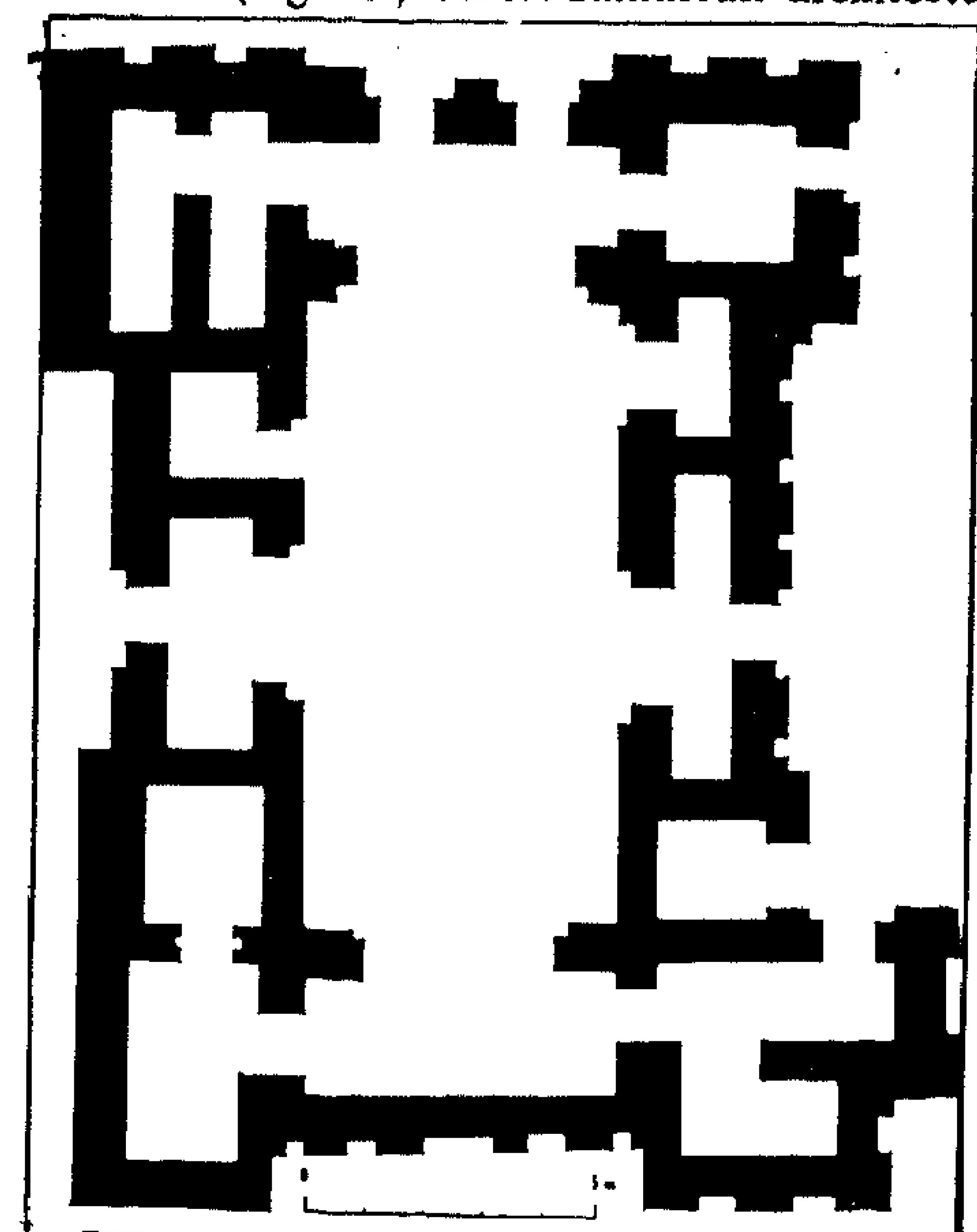


Fig. 15- Plan of a structure of Obeid type (after Aurenche 1981 a)

upper level probably existed . The presence of such a level is suggested by the presence of certain narrow, elongated rooms of stairwells (Aurenche 1981 a , 211) .

The large number of sites occupied and the duration of the Obeid cultuer , which extended over about two millenia (5, 600-3, 700 B. C.) show that the architectural perfection attained varied for each period and place .

The lower levels at Eridu (XVII-XV) dating from about 5,600-5,000 do not contain highly characteristic structures (Lloyd and Safar 1948) , and comprise rectangular or square monocellular houses . However, a central hearth was erected in these levels, and in level XVI there is a recess in one of the walls . The latter traits recurr in an amplified ., transformed version in the upper levels. However, a building found in level XVIII at Gawra (Tobler 1950) which dates from about 5,000-4,500 B.C., and has the characteristics described above overlies (square J_G / 5) a similarly conceived but less well - preserved structre (fig. 16).

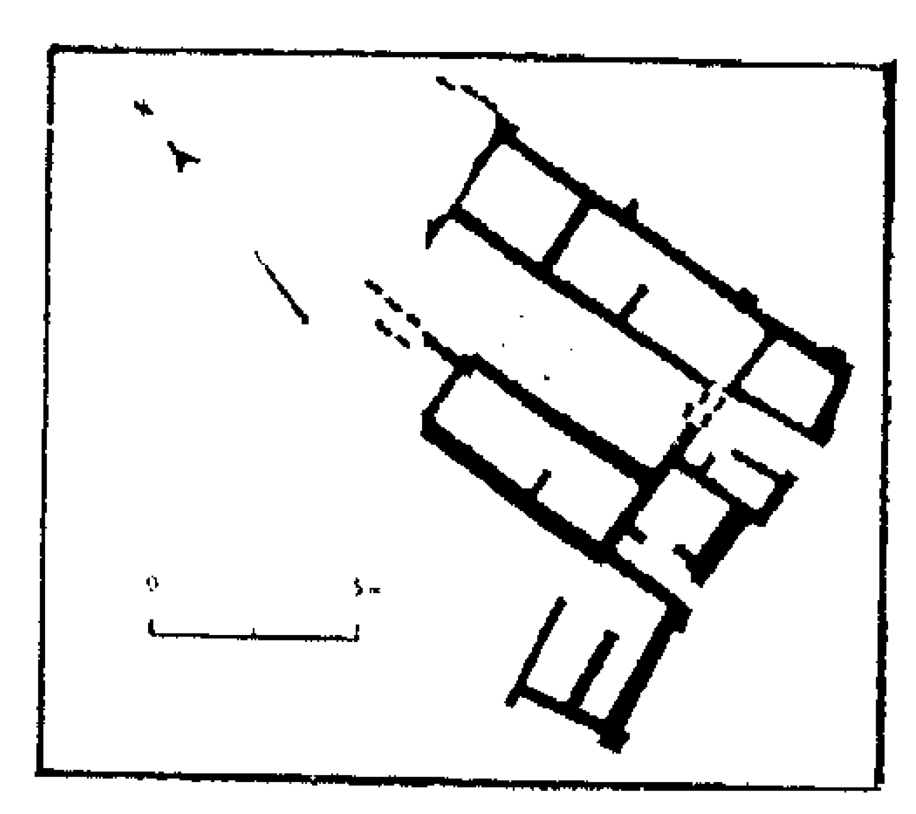


Fig. 16- Plan of a house from the level XVIII at Gawra (after Tobler 1950).

Although only partial structural plans were found in levels XI-VIII of Eridu (4,500-4, 100) , the overall organization of the ensemble may be deduced . During this time , two structures from level XV of Gawra (squares K/ 4–5 and G/5) exhibit the same principles those preceding them (fig . 17) .

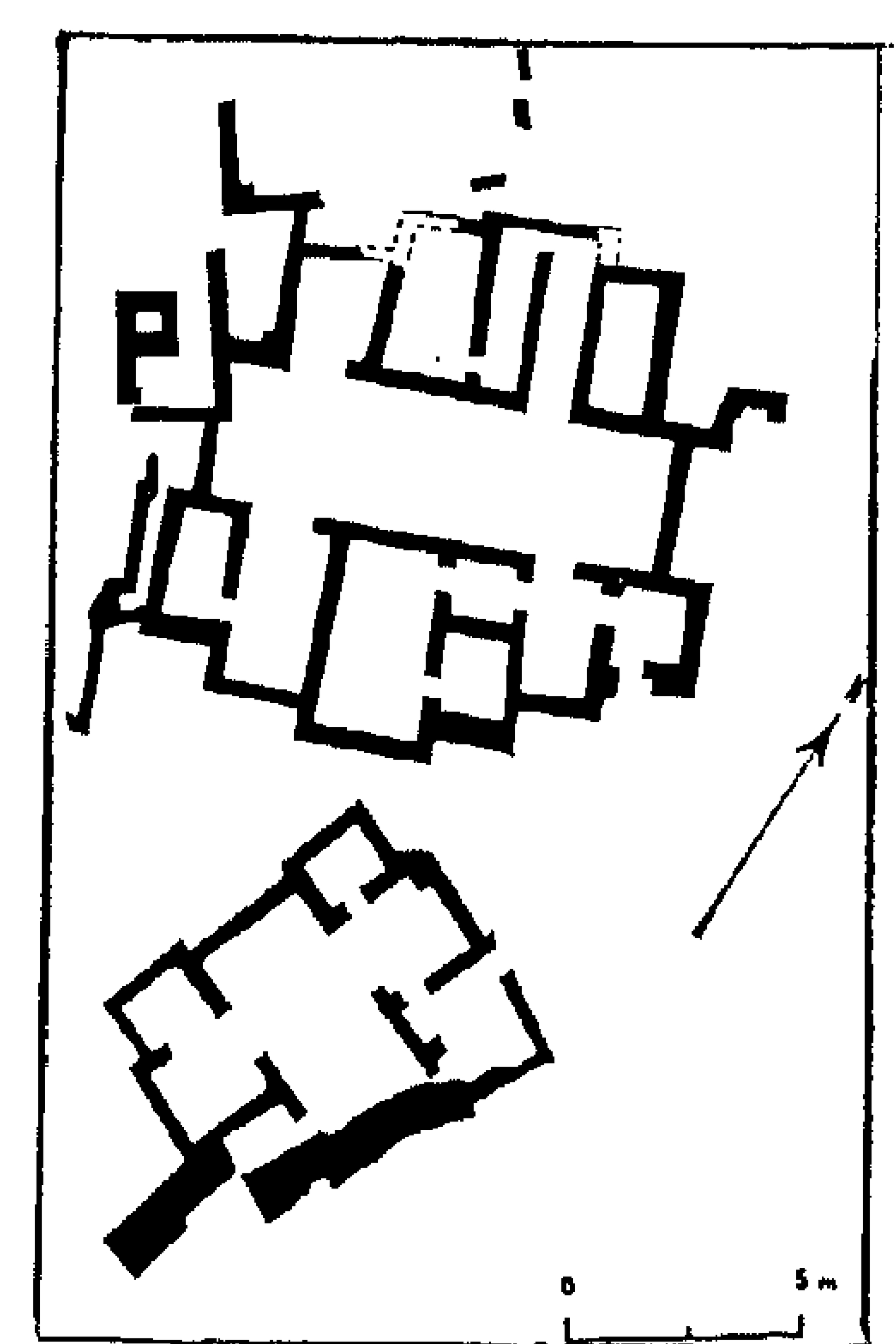


Fig. 17- Plan of houses from the level XV at Gawra (after Tobler 1950).

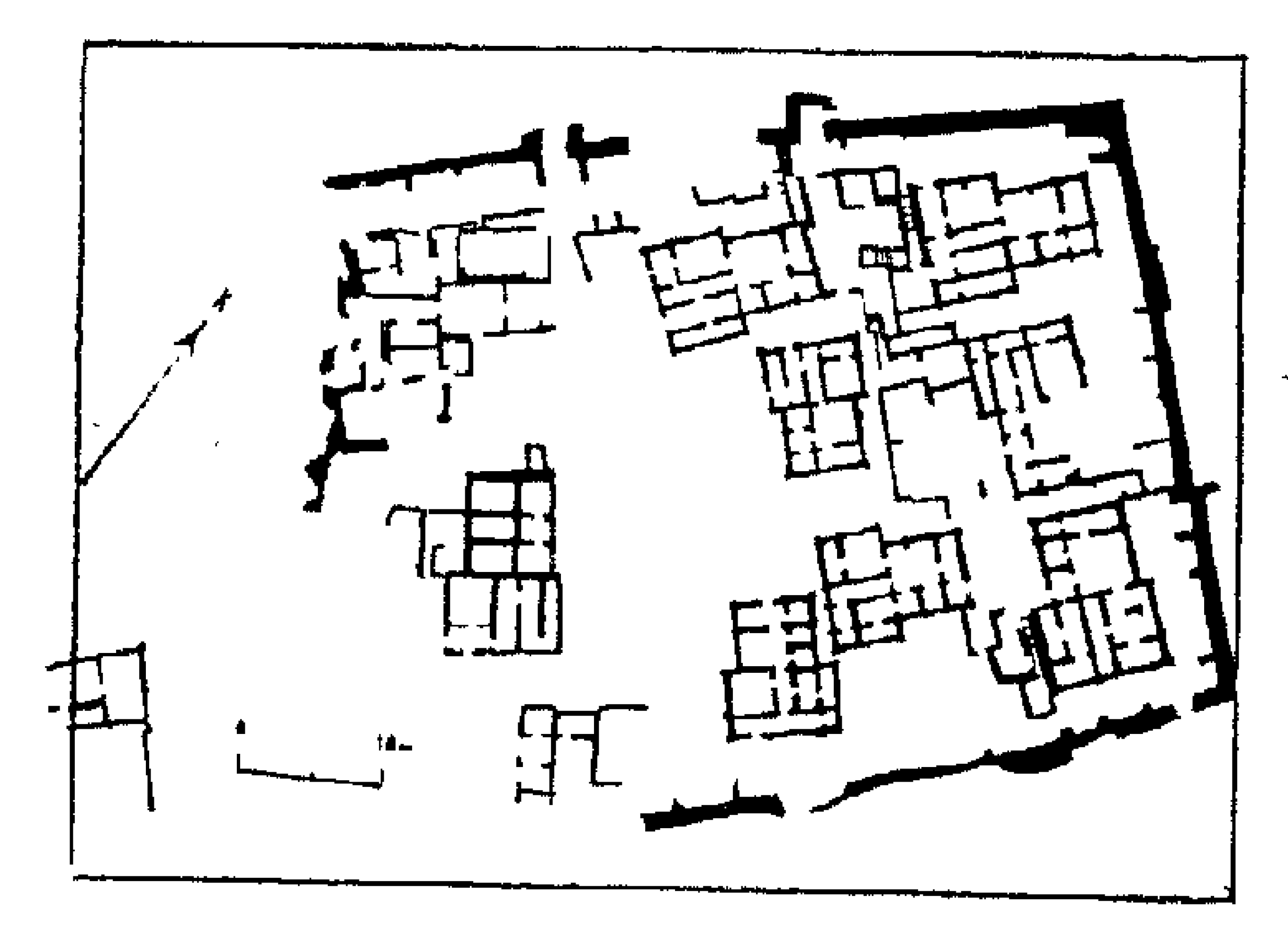


Fig. 11 - Plan of the level III A of Sawwan (after Yasin 1970).

ld be difficult to conceive of a village comprising only sanctuaries or storage buldings .

However, the interpretation, of the structures found at Choga Mami or Sungur A is a more delicate matter, as here the rooms seem too small (1, 50–2 m) to have been inhabited. Thus it may be that either the dwellings were elsewhere on the site (the extent of the surface excavated makes this hypothesis a possibility), or the living quarters were found on the upper level, and the ground – level rooms found during the excavation were used for storage.

The geographical distribution of sites with Samarra-type architecture , which was at its height around 5, 600–5,000 B.C. (Aurenche, 1981 a, table 25) shows its implantation was more centralized in Mespootamia than that of the Halaf culture. However, the Samarran architectural tradition seems to originate from the north or from the west . In fact , the two structural principles upon which it is based are already present in Neolithic structures from the second half of the 7th millenium (6,600-6,000 B. C.) in the Middle Euphrates valley, at the sites Abu Hureyra (Moore 1975 and 1981) (fig. 12) and Bouqras (Akkermans and Fokkens 1978: Akkermans, Fokkens and Waterbolk 1981) (fig . 13 . It would appear that the plans (fig . 12-13) and consequently the internal organization

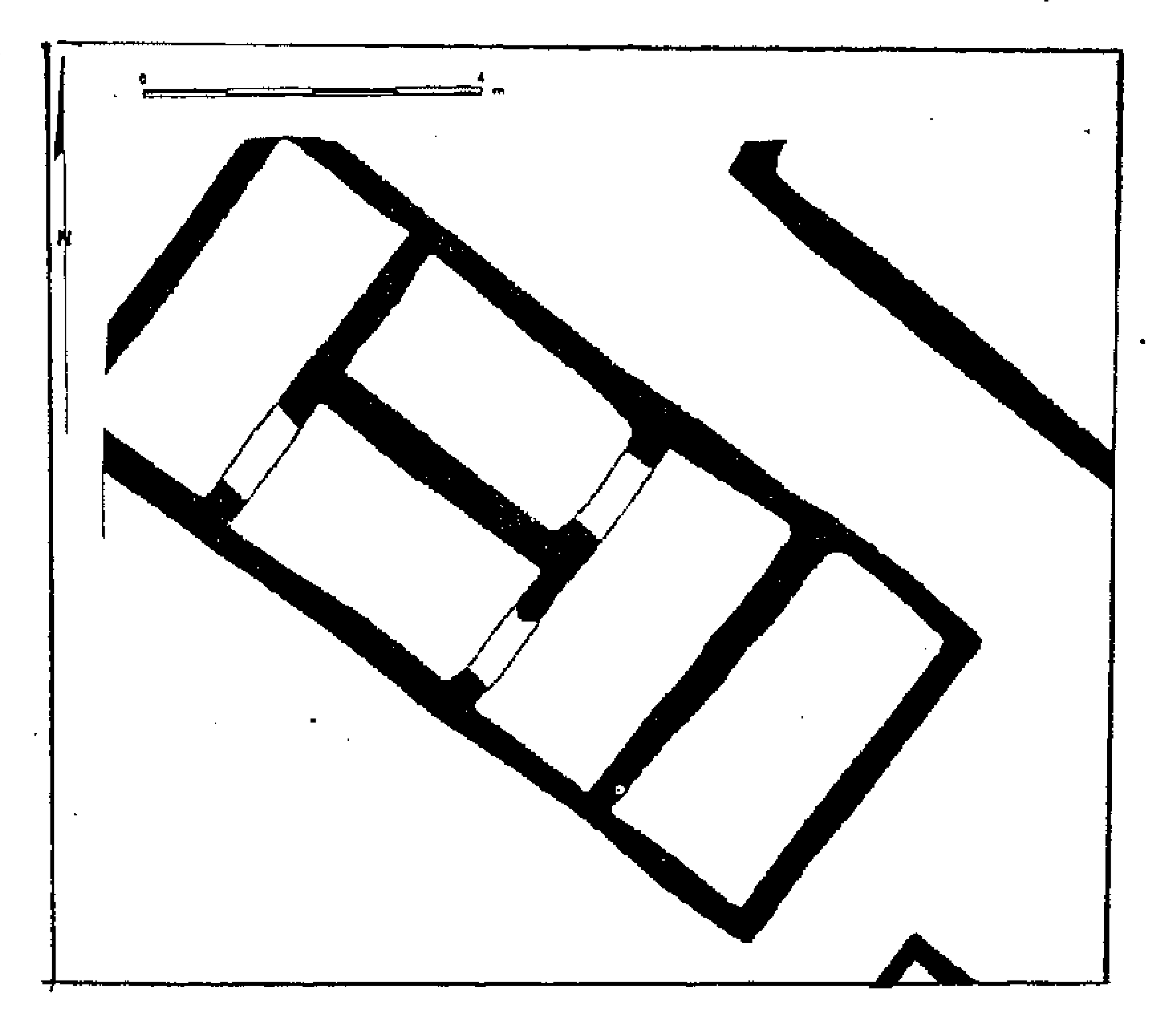


Fig. 12- Plan of a house from Abu Hureyra (after Moore 1981).

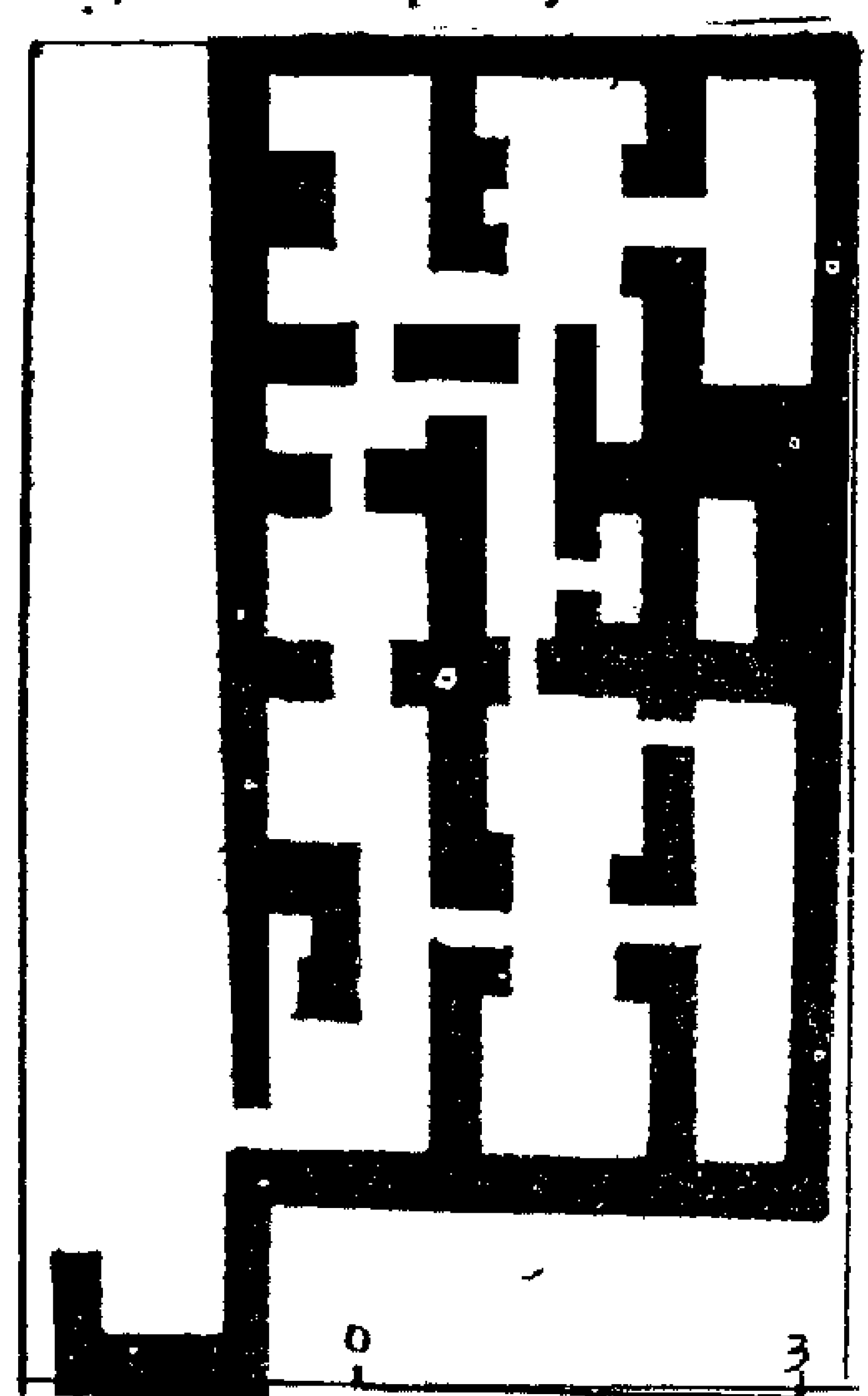


Fig 13 - Plan of a house from Bouqras (after Akkermans and Fokkens 1978

of the structures, are similar enough to be related . The system of " relay " that would have allowed this architectural concept to spread, existed at sites in the northern Mesopotamia, in a region already mentioned in connection with Halaf (see map). Architecture having a simple plan and that with a com plex plan, composed of small, juxtaposed cells, do in fact co-exist towareds the beginning or the middle of the 6th millenium (6, 000-5, 600 B. C.) at Umm Dabaghiyah (Kirkbride 1973 and 1975) (fig . 14) and at Yarim I (Merpert and

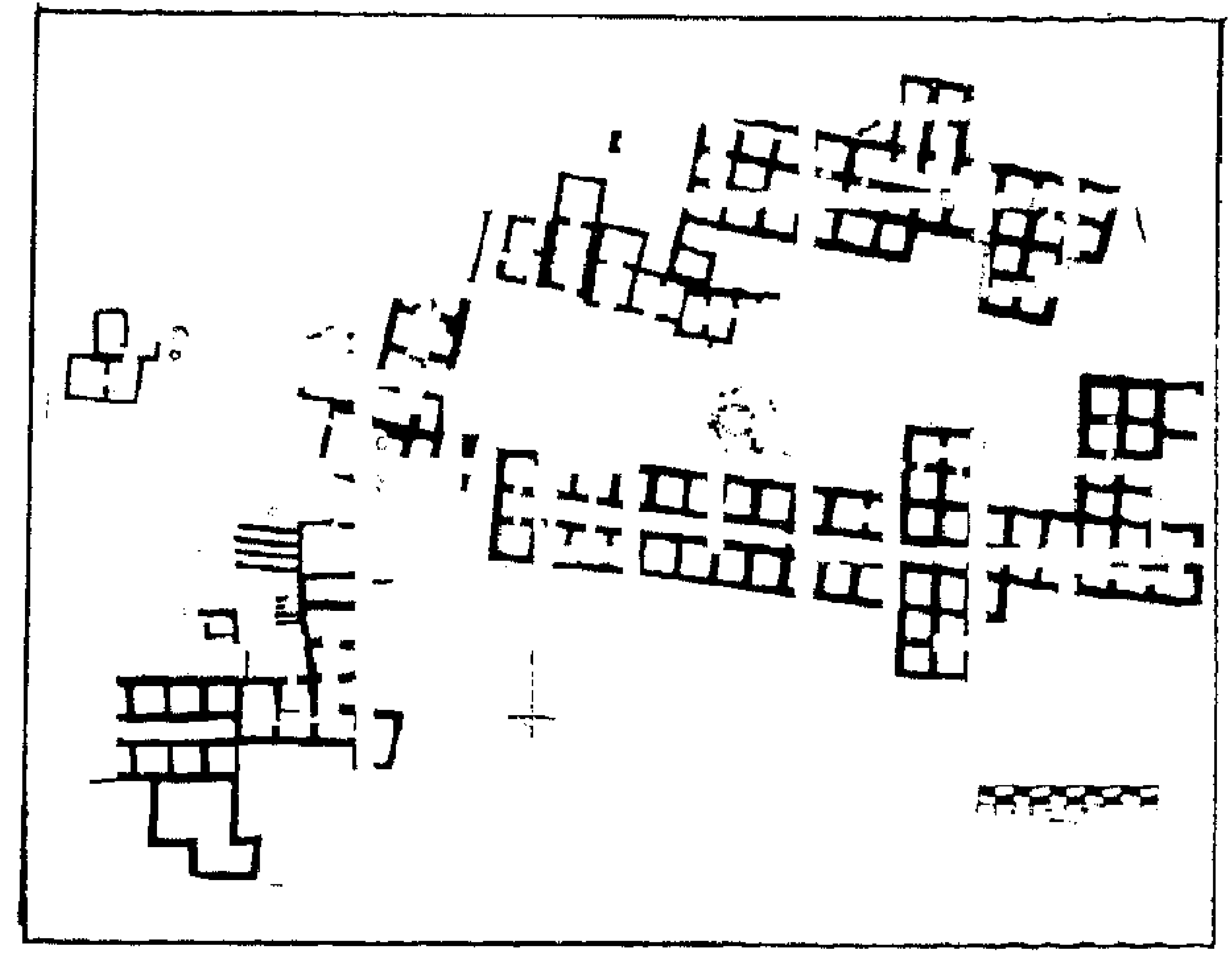


Fig. 14- Plan of the level IV of Umm Dabaghiyah (after Kirkbride 1973).

Munchaev 1973 : Merpert, Munchaev and Bader 1976) (for further details see discussion in Aurenche 1981 a, 200–201). If the hypothesis is correct that this second type of architecture represents , rather than a dwelling, a building used for

with cupolas are present in areas dominated by houses with flat roofs (Banse 1911 – 1912). By a curious phenomenon of convergence, the present extent of houses with cupolas coineides in part with the region where the Halaf culture reigned eight millenia before.

ARCHITECTURE WITH COMPLEX PLANS.

The two other architectural types found in Mesopotamia are fundamentally different from the first, and represent a decisive step forward in the history of architecture in that they are the first to have complex plans. In addition to the spectacular increase in structure size (8–25 × 6–15 m) or of number of rooms (10 – 15), a system of organization of internal circulation appears which allows movement within the building itself, with the latter thus becoming a truly "monumental" architectural unit. This architectural "revolution" appears to be linked to a technological innovation, the use of molded mud – brick. The Sammarra and Obeid cultures are in fact responsible for the large – scale manufacture of this kind of building material (Aurenche, 1981 a, 64 – 67 and 200, 1981 b). The manfacture of these bricks "in series" provides a sufficient number of elements of the same or defined sizes to allow preconception of the finished structure, which is thus, in a sense, standardized.

However, although the Samarra and Obeid cultures follow the same principles of archiectural organization, they apply them in strikingly different manners.

THE SAMARRA TYPE

The best-preserved and most numerous examples of Samarra-type architecture have been brought to light by Irakian archaeologists at the site of Sawwan (fig. 8). AT first glance , the dissymetry in the dispositation of internal spaces is striking : in these buildings, broad rooms and long rooms of different size alternate in a repetitive but irregular pattern (for example, in a general T-form). The second characteristic trait of this architecture type is the row or series system of communication, or the alignment of the doorways along the same axis (i.e. for examples see the first plan published by El-Wailly and Abu-es-Soof 1965). The last characteristic trait is technological : buttresses are found in the corners of buildings as well as at the junctur of inside and outside walls . These buttresses may exist due to the presence of a furnished upper level (i.e. a terrace or a story). Altough this hypothesis has seldom been proposed, it would seem all the more plausible due to the presence of the presence of exterior stairways, cited by the excavators (i.e. Aurenche 1981 a , 199–200).

Few sites other than Sawwan have yielded complete building plans. Although the structural plans at Choga Mami (fig. 9) are not as complex as the one cited above, they belong to the same " family " and include, notably, the detail of axial alignment of doorways . A very similar structural pattern is cited for Sungur A (fig.10) in the Himrin region (Matsumoto

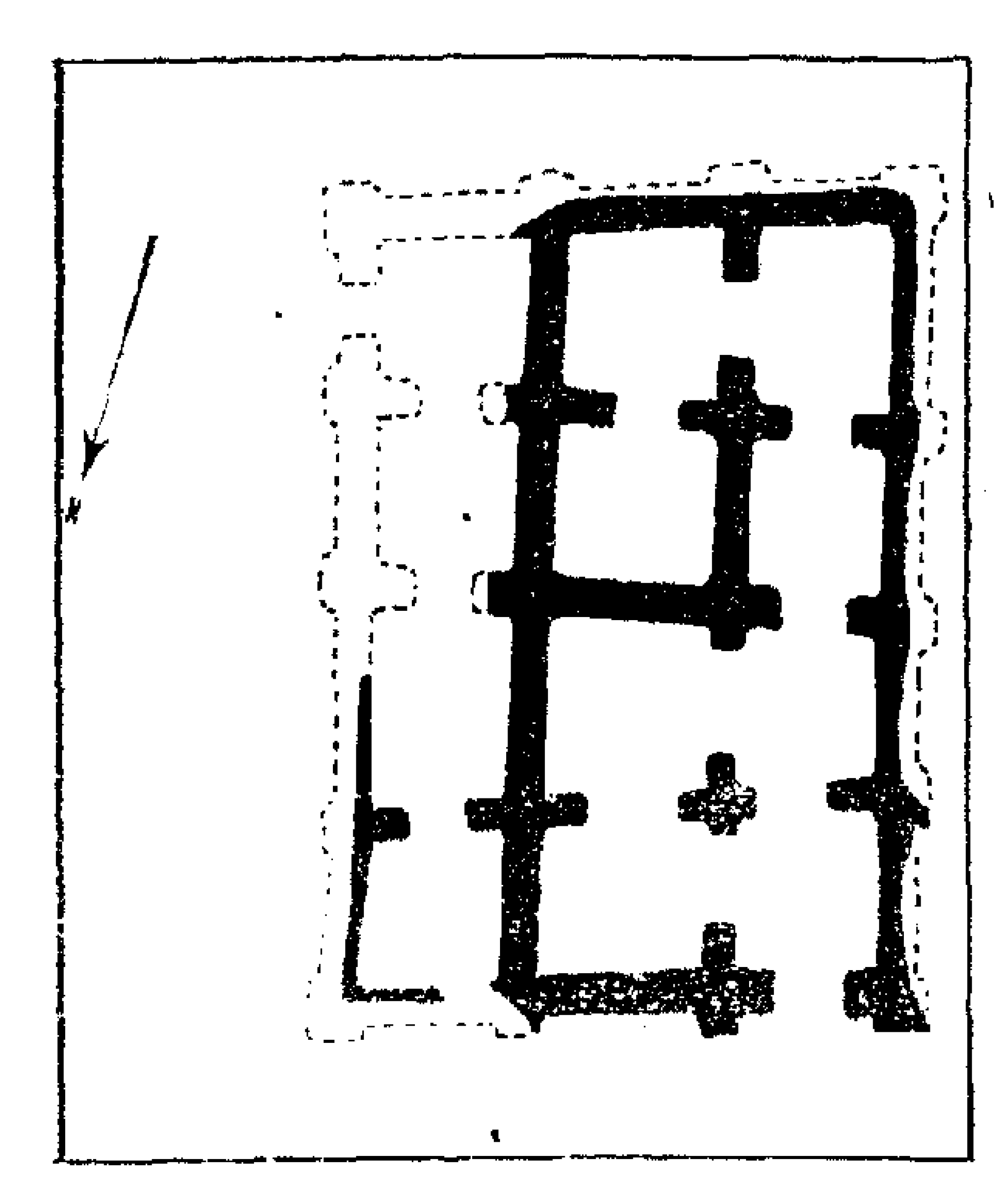


Fig. 9 - Plan of a Samarra structure at Choga Mami (after Oates 1969).

1979). Here, as at Sawwan, the "series" system of dorways is found in addition to long and broad rooms.

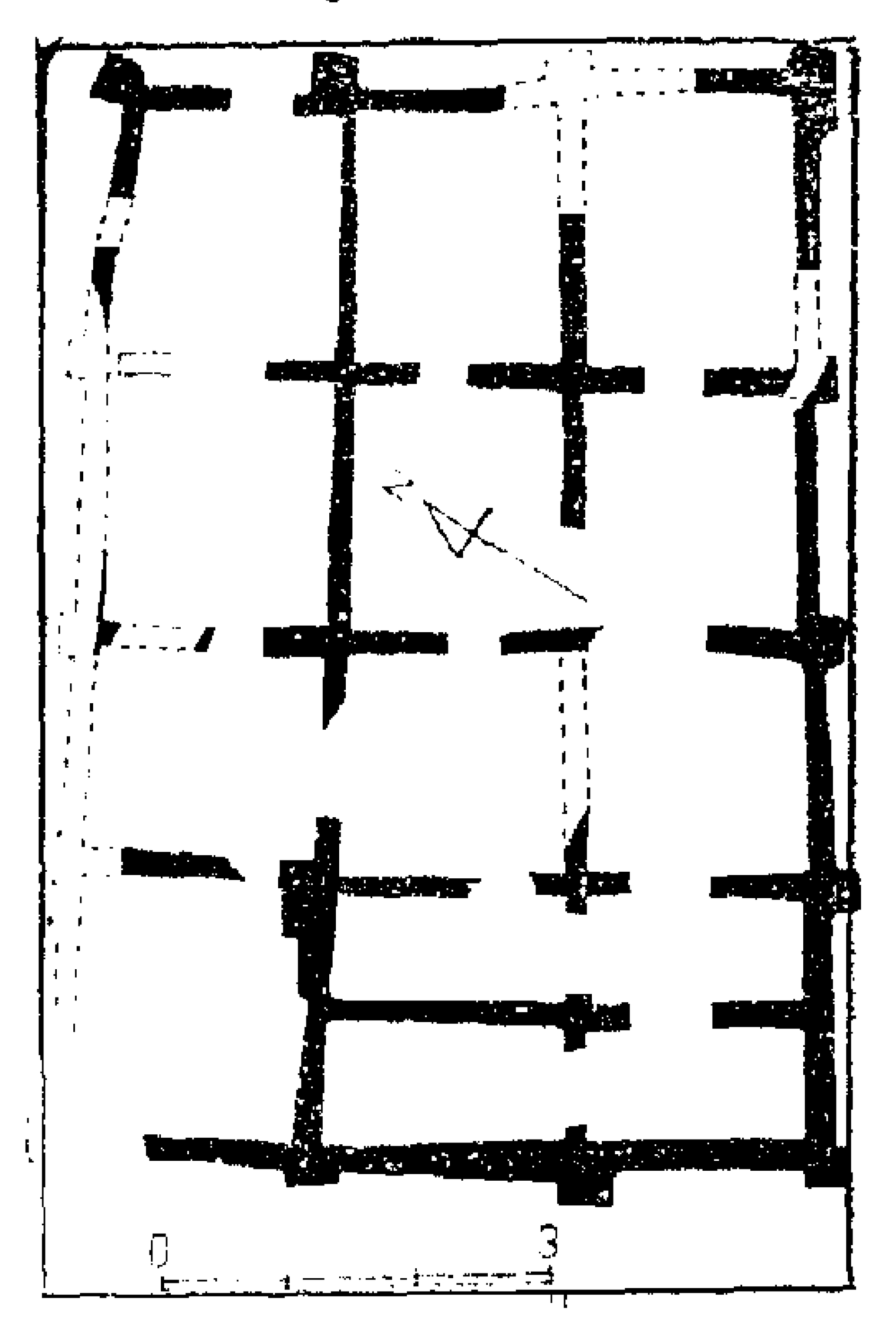
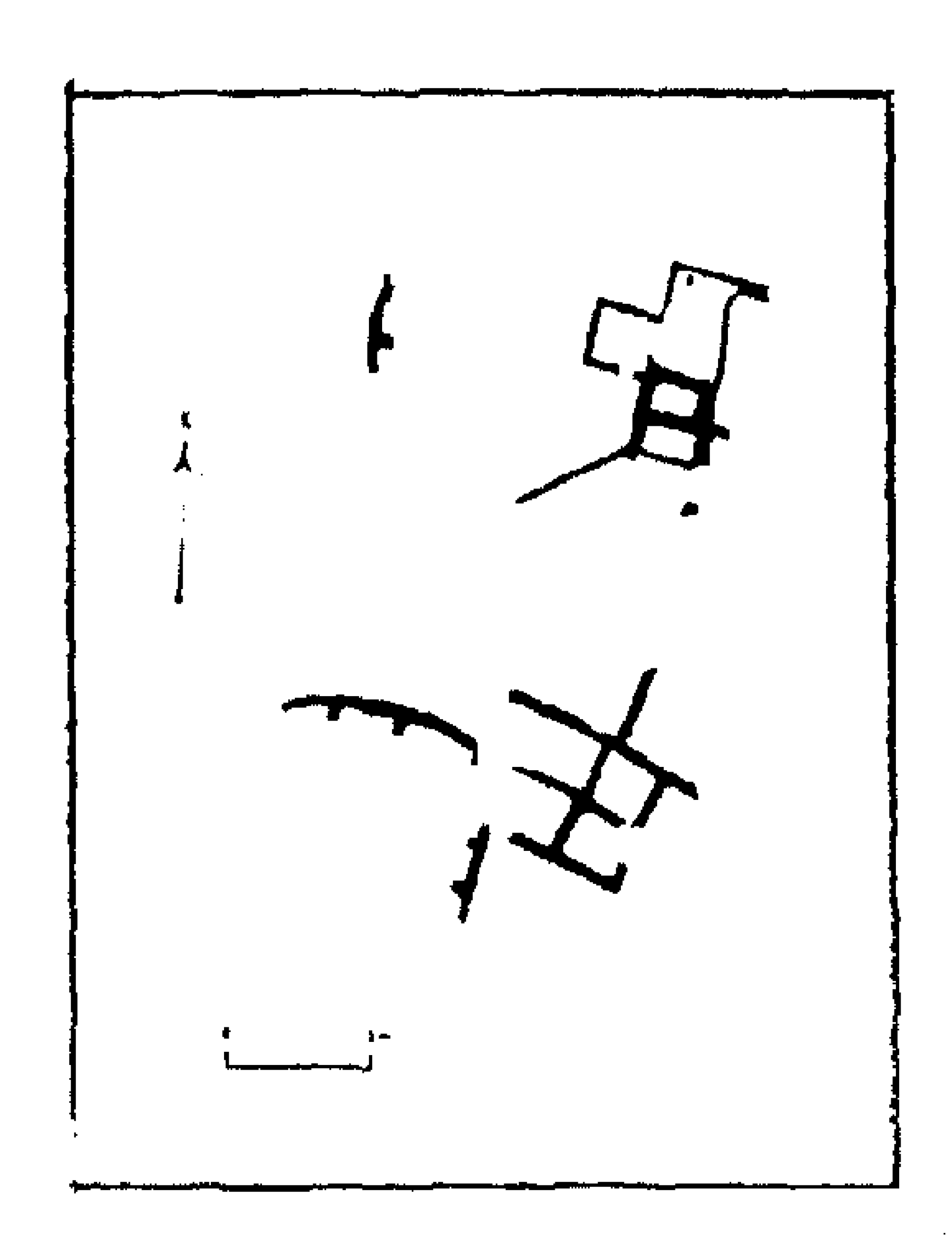


Fig. 10 - Plan of a Samarra structure at Sungur A (after Matsumoto 1979)

Other, incomplete plans can be identified as belonging to the same architectural tradition, such as level V of Hassuna (Lloyd et Safar 1945; see Aurenche 1981 a, 200 and plate 96) and the remains found at Baghouz (du Mesnil du Buisson 1948 ; see Aurenche 1981 a, 200 and plate 67 a).

After having examined the specific traits of Samarra architecture, one may wonder as to the function of the buildings found. According to the different excavators, the Sawwan structures have been interpreted either as granaries or as temples . It would seem more likely they were large living quarters or huge farmhouses, which perhaps were partially covered by an upper story (Aurenche 1981 a, 223–224). The simultaneous existence of many identical buildings in one level (fig. 11) renders the first hypothesis unlikely , as it wou-



'ig. 5- Plan of the level IV of Yarim I (after Merpert and Munchaev 1973).

.945), Turlu (Mellink 1964) and Yarim I, lev. VII – IV (fig. i) (Merpert and Munchaev 1976). They were found around i,000 - 4,500 B. C. at Arpachiyah, Gawra XVII (fig. 6) Tobler 1950), Gerikihaciyan (Braidwood and others 1971), Hassuna VII, Turlu, Yarim II (fig. 7) (Mrerpert, Munchaev ınd Bader 1976) and Chagar Bazar 9 (Mallowan 1936) i. e. Aurenche 1981 a, table 21 and map 17).

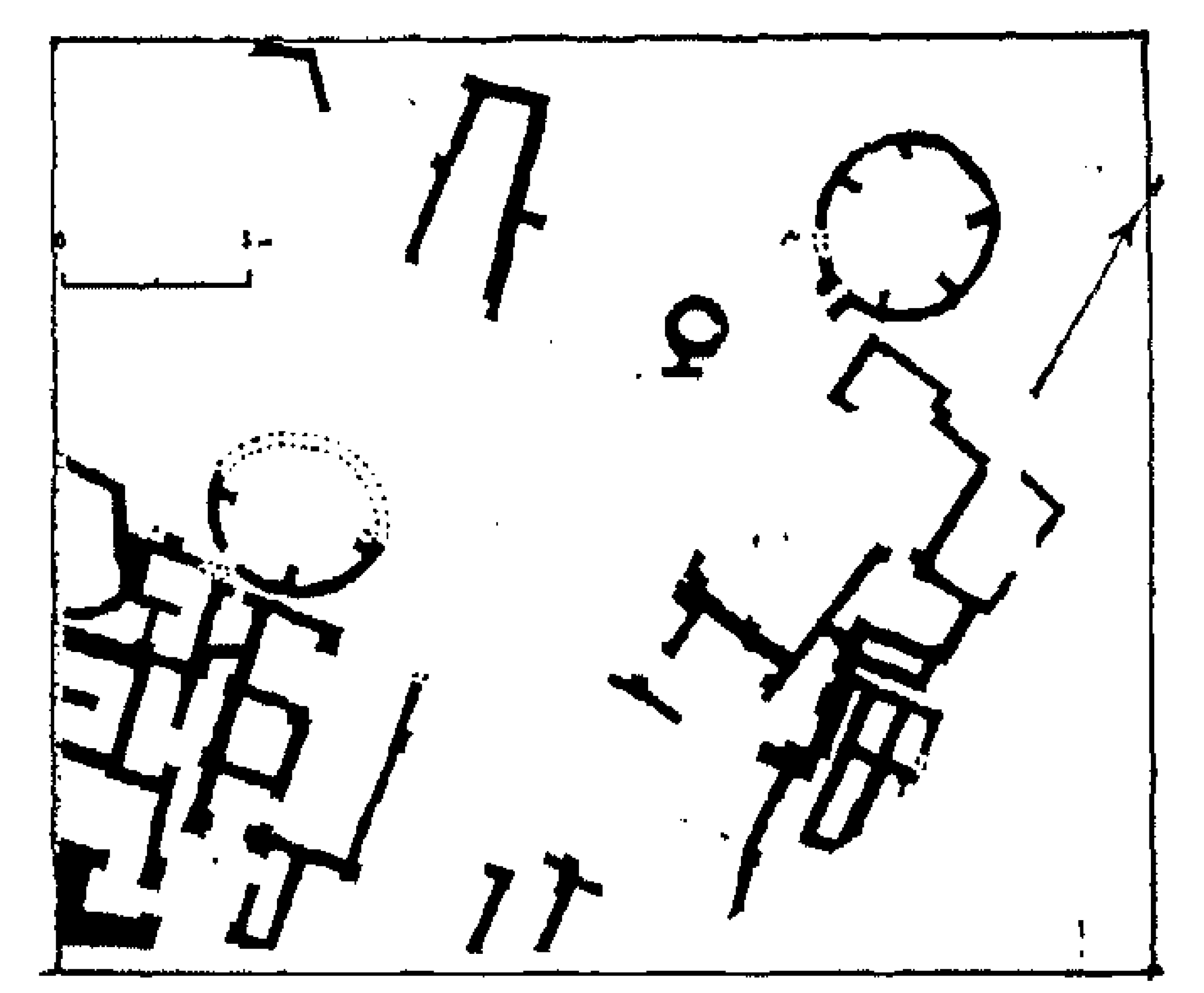


Fig. 6- Plan of the level XVII of Gawra (afterTobler 1950).

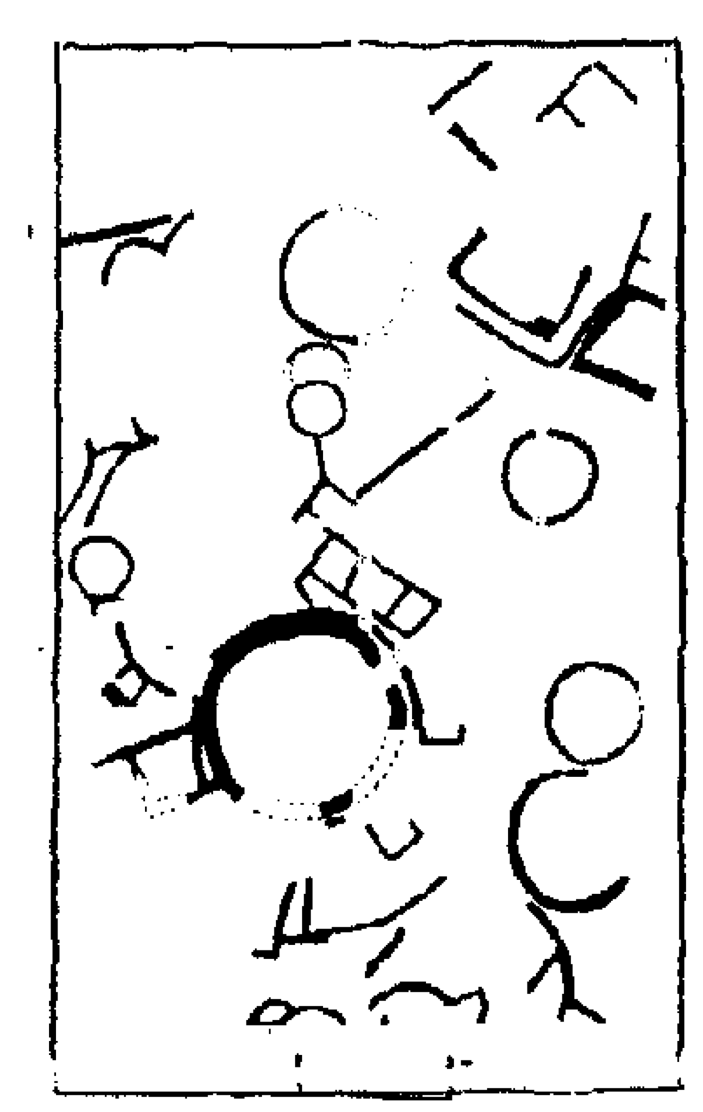


Fig. 7- Plan of the level V of Yarim II (after Merpert and Munchaev 1973).

This distribution shows that the nuclear zone of the Halaf culture could have been the northern Djezirah, between the Khabur, Balikh and Tigris rivers (Copeland, in press), in the same region as the type site (tell Halaf). However, paradoxically, the nature and the extent of the test excavations at tell Halaf were not sufficient to reveal any architecture. The Halaf culture extends southward to Sawwan, where a tholos on a dry – stone foundation was found in levels IV – V (Abu – es – Soof 1971, 5), and in to the Himrin region, at Hassan (Invernizzi 1980). The presence of the Halaf culture in a "new" region testifies to its contact with the other Mesopotamian cultures.

It is often forgotten that tholoi are not the sole characteristic of Halaf architecture. This is clearly shown by excavations at Hassuna, Gawra (fig. 6), Yarim I (fig. 5) et Yarim II (fig. 7) which contain the most extensive Halaf levels known to date. Here, tholoi are present with or without rectangular annexes, and are associated with other, independant structures having a simple rectangular plan or made up of small, contiguous cells. This pattern recurrs at Hassan,

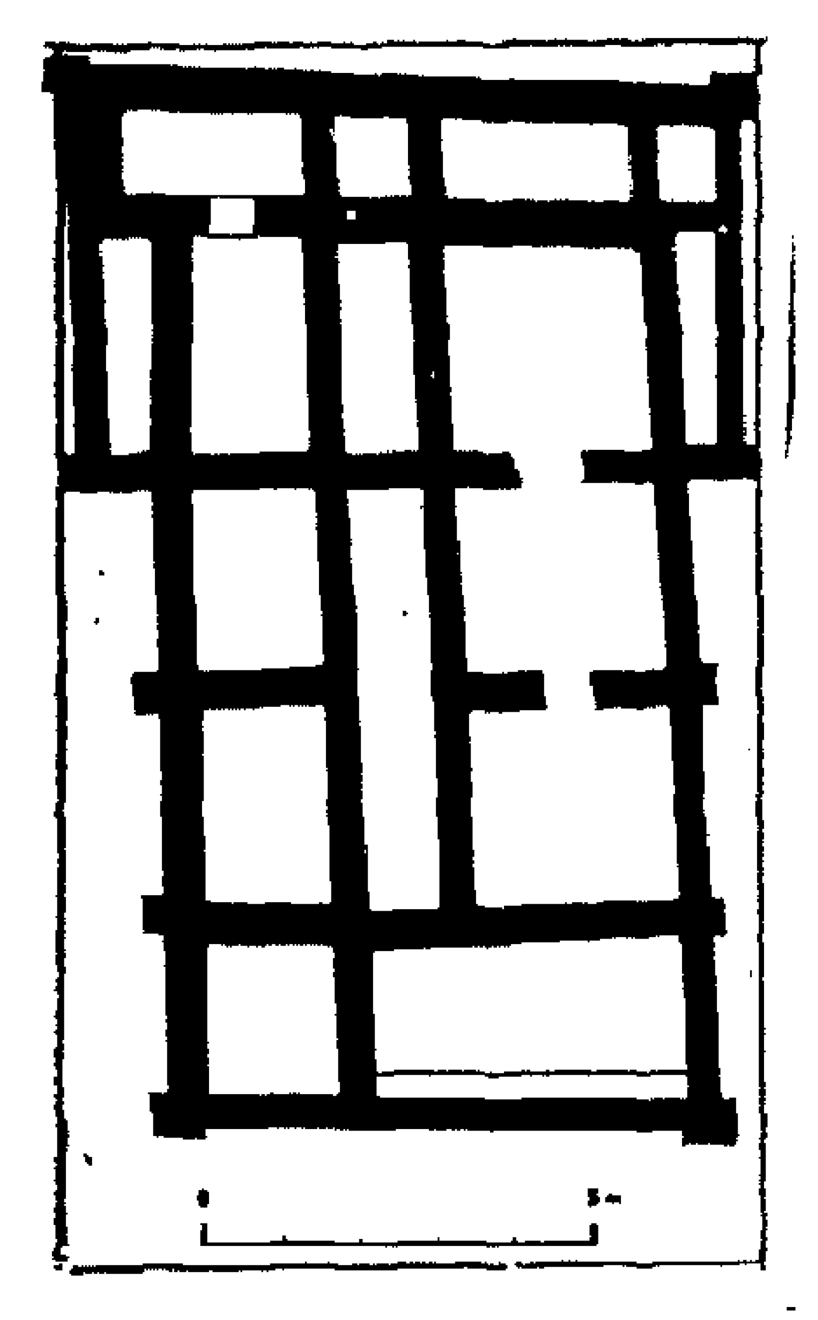


Fig. 8- Plan of a structure of Samarra type (after Aurenche 1981 a).

in the Himrin region (Invernizzi 1980). Although the documents published are not very explicit, it seems that the buildings, thòloi and rectangular structures, are found together inside complexes closed by walls (Merpert, Munchaev et Bader 1977, 90 ; Hijara 1978, 127).

The origin of the circular tholos is not certain : this structural type appears suddenly in fully – developped form amid the rectangular architecture dominating the Near East at this time (Aurenche 1981 a). In addition, the excavations of Hijara at Arpachiyah revealed an older rectangular structure, with long, narrow rooms beneath the oldest tholoi (Hijara 1978).

This phenomenon occuring in the 6 th millenium is comparable to a modern example in northern Syria and southern Turkey where villages of square or circular houses

INTRODUCTION

The role played by Mesopotamia during the 10 th to the 4th millenia B. C. in the development of architecture was brought to light in a recent synthesis of Near Eastern Prehistory (Aurenche 1981 a). This study defines the three main architectural types that were associated with the three great cultures traditionally recognized as dominating Mesopotamia from the 7 th to the 4 th millenia : the Halaf, the Samarra and the Obeid. Architectural development in Mesopotamia was particiularly significant because, although the first type (Halaf) had a simple plan, the other two types, Samarra and Obeid, are the first in history to have a complex plan. Simple and complex plans are defined in the following manner : a simple architectural plan may be mono - or multicellular, with rooms that communicate only from the outside : to go from one room to another, one must exit from the first one to outside the building in order to enter the second (fig. 1). The intermediate external area allowing com-

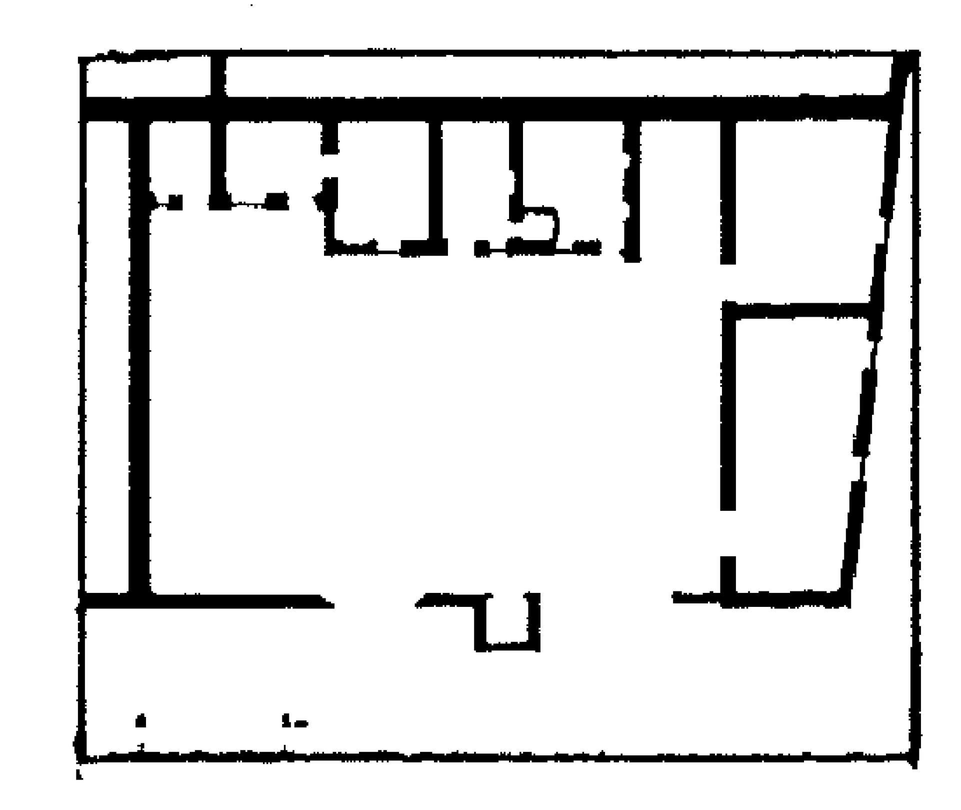


Fig. 1 - Plan of a multicellular house with a "simple" plan (after Aurenche 1981 a).

munication between rooms is generally referred to as a courtyard. In the case of a complex, multicellular plan, however, the rooms communicate with one another directly by mean of an internal network of passages. By means of these passages, one gains access to different part of the building without having to leave it (fig. 2). One particular room often dominates several others (Aurenche 1981 a, 198 - 199).

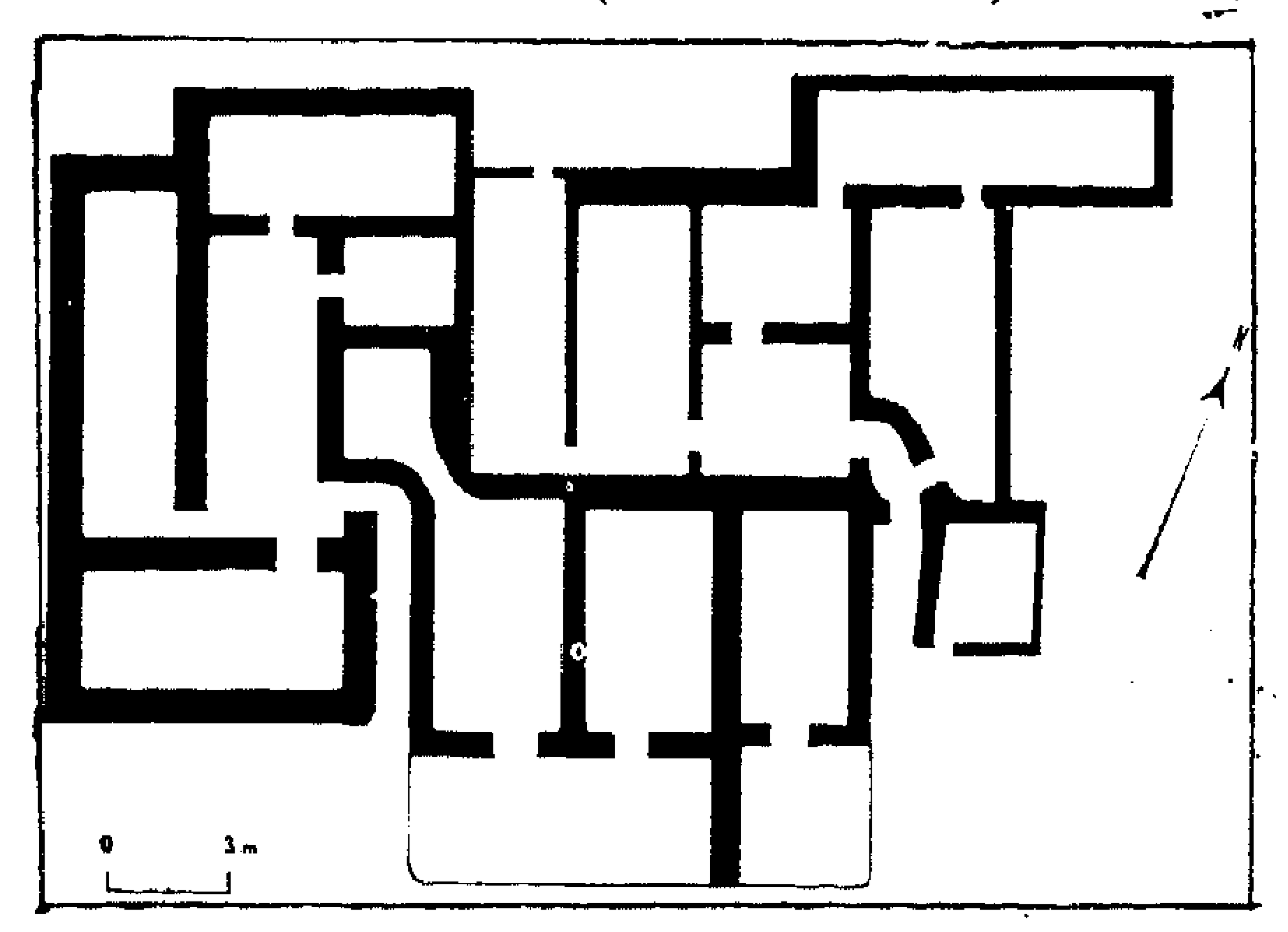


Fig. 2 - Plan of a multicellular house with a "complex" plan (after Aurenche 1981 a).

The definition of this architectural pattern, first obtained using available archaeological documents, was both confirmed and completed by recent discoveries in the Himrin region.

ARCHITECTURE WITH A SIMPLE PLAN

THE HALAF TYPE

Circular architecture plans, of which the earliest examples were found at Arpachiayh (Mallowan et Rose 1935), have long been associated with the Halaf culture. The *tholoi* are made from mud and are sometimes built on a dry - stone foundation. There is good reason to believe they were covered by cupola. The varieties of tholoi structures found include monocellular plans with internal partitions (fig.3) or with

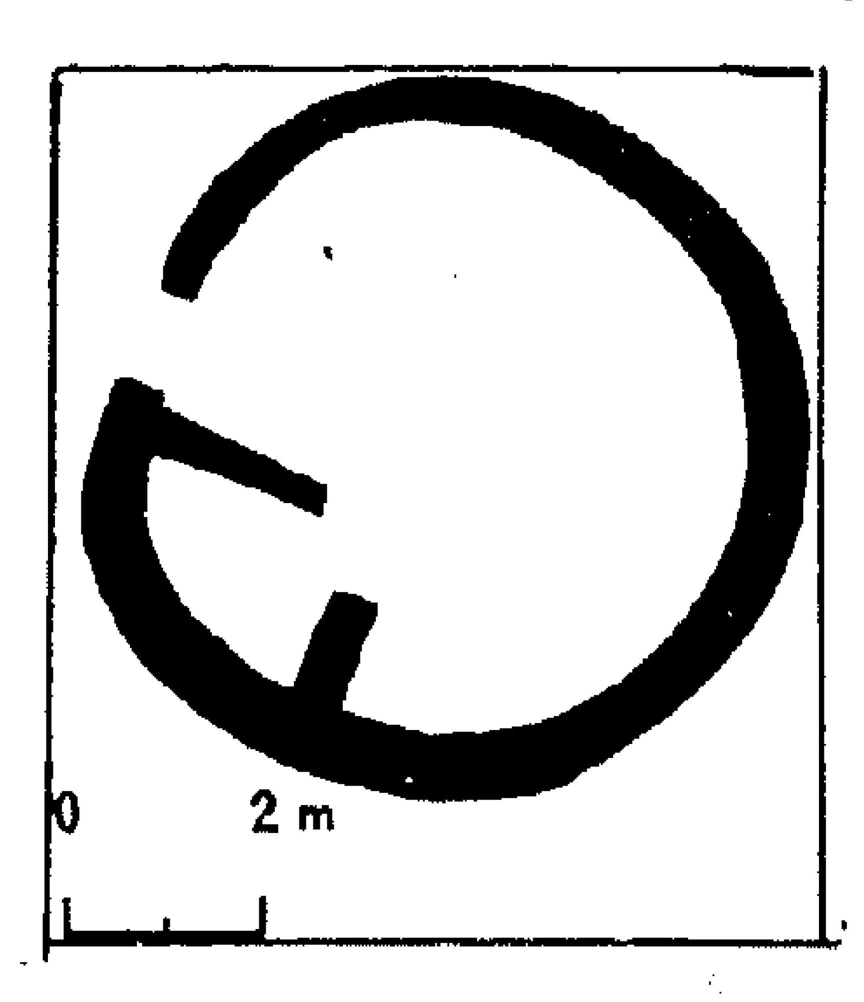


Fig. 3 - Plan of an Halaf tholos with internal partitions (after Aure[illegible] 1981 a).

rectangular annexes (fig. 4). They average 5 to 6 m in diame[illegible] and the largest are 10_12m. Tholoi are used as dwelli[illegible], according to the Soviet archaeologists of Yarim tepe. T[illegible] earlier hypothrsis that they were used as sanctuaries appe[illegible]s unlikely.

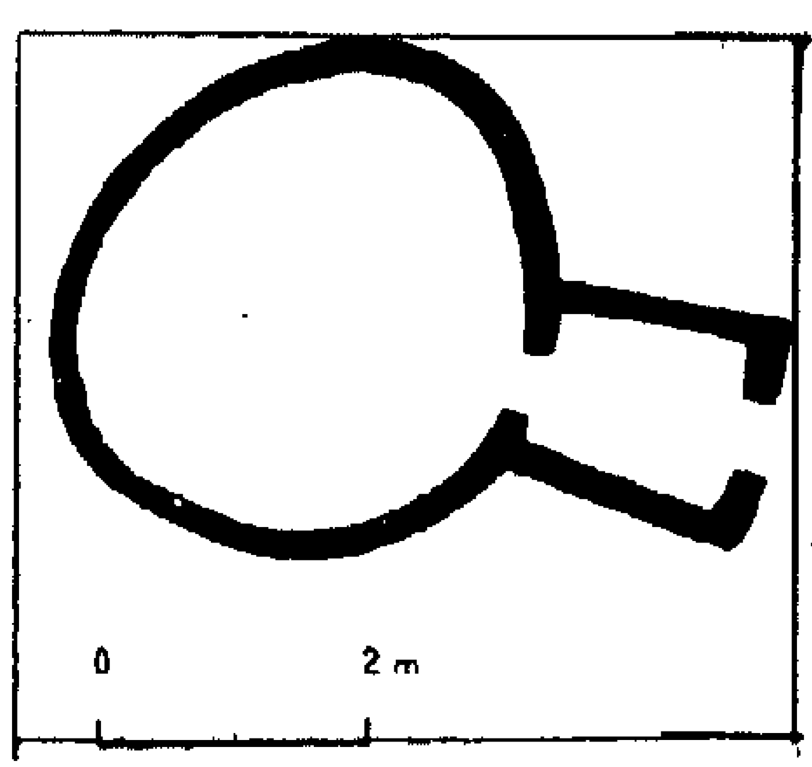
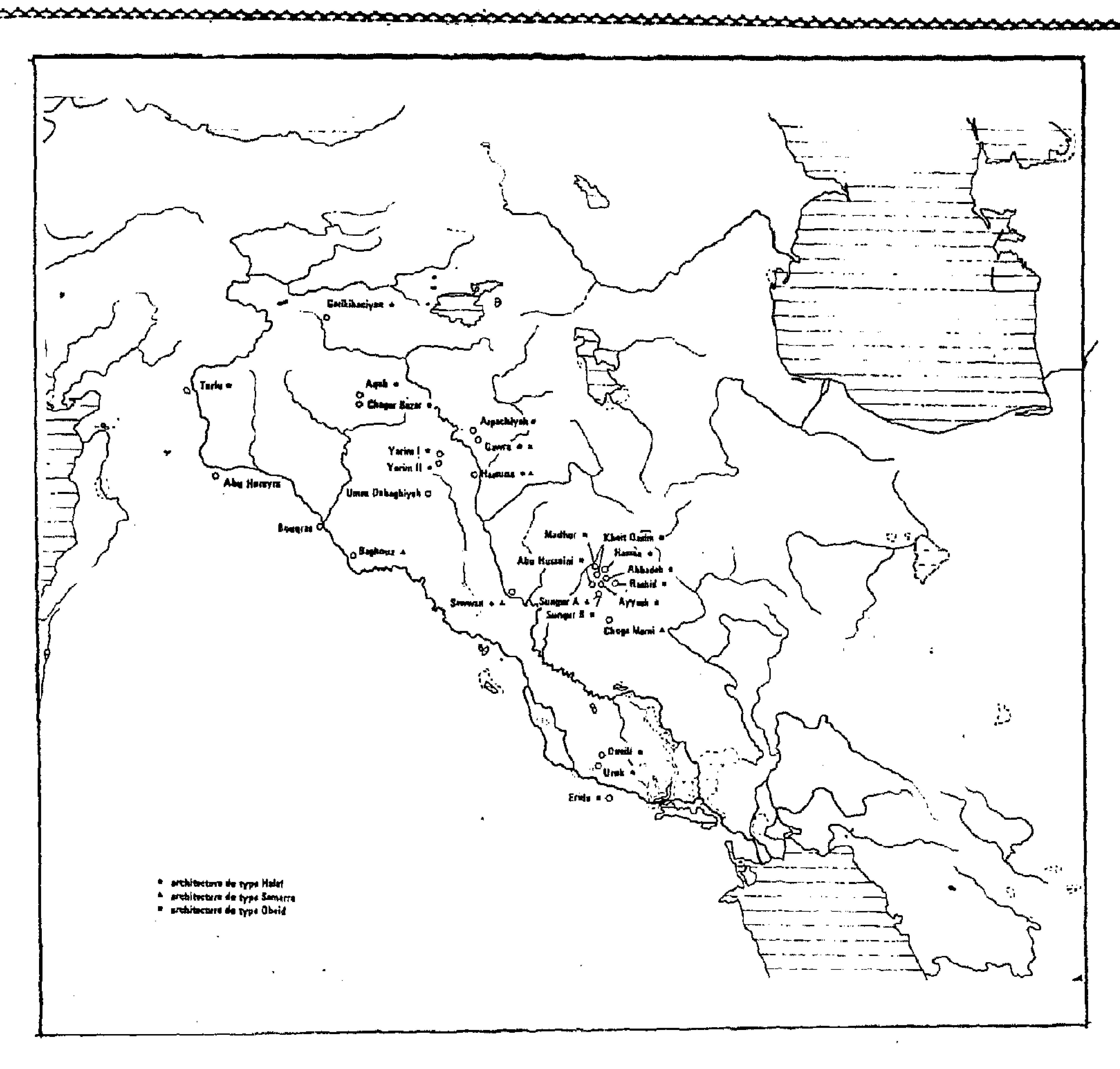


Fig. 4 - Plan of an Halaf tholos with rectangular annex (after Auren[illegible] 1981 a).

The distribution of the Halaf type corresponds to the occupation of the Halaf culture, which extends beyond Mesopotamia *sensu stricto*. It is noteworthy that this type makes a sudden appearance in the Near East, which at this time is dominated by rectangular, mono - or multicellular architectural plans. Tholoi are reported around 5,600 - 5,000 B. C. (uncalibrated 14 C dates, calculated with a short half-life of 5,570 years) at Arpachiyah (Hijara 1978), Aqab (Davidson and Watkins, in press), Hassuna I c (Lloyd and Safar

MESOPOTAMIAN ARCHITECTURE FROM THE 7TH TO THE 4TH MILLENIA

By :
OLIVIER AURENCHE
translated By : P. ANDERSON – GERFAUD



Map of Mesopotamia (sites cited in the text) .

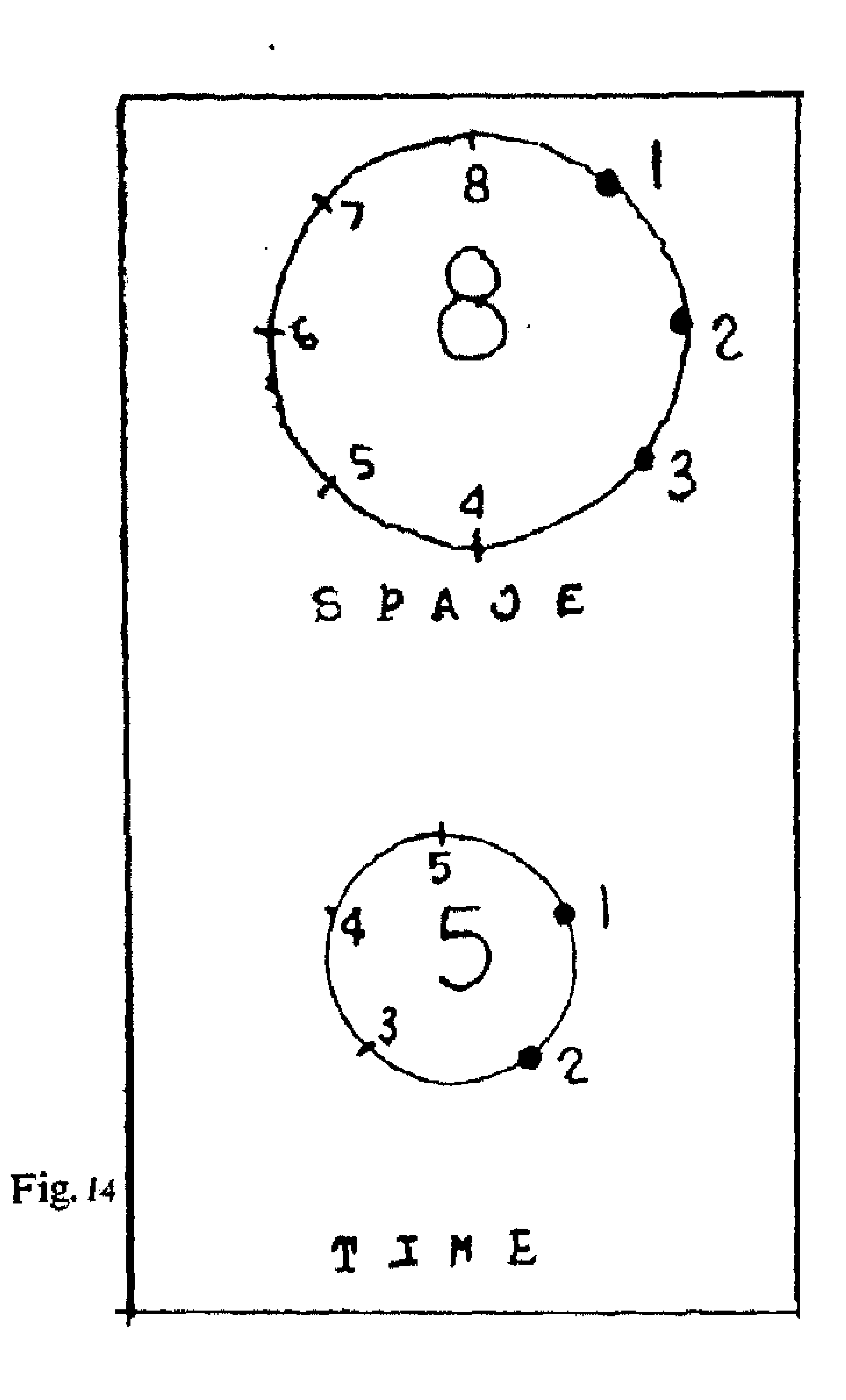


Fig. 14

APPENDIX 2

"The meaning of (1.2.3.5.8)

From appendix 1 speculations on the numbers for time and space shown to be five and eight (5.8).

Now it can be speculated that numbers two, one, and three are more basic to the Mesopotamians, manifested in their idea about their world of three spaces and two natures of time.

SKY	(GODS)	1.1.2.3.5.8.5.5.7.1.8
EARTH	(MANKIND)	2.1.3.4.7.3.2.5.7.4.3.7
UNDERWORLD	(THE DEAD)	3.1.4.5.1.6.7.5.4.1.5.6

INFINITE, TIME OF THE GODS, (UNIVERSAL)
(SEXAGESIMAL) 11235331454432522415
FINITE, TIME OF MAN (TEMPORAL)
(DECIMAL) 2134

These numbers (1.2.3.5.8) have a deeper meaning and represent the economy of natural growth i.e. minimum moves to accomplish maximum gain, and manifested in plant growth and other natural processes.

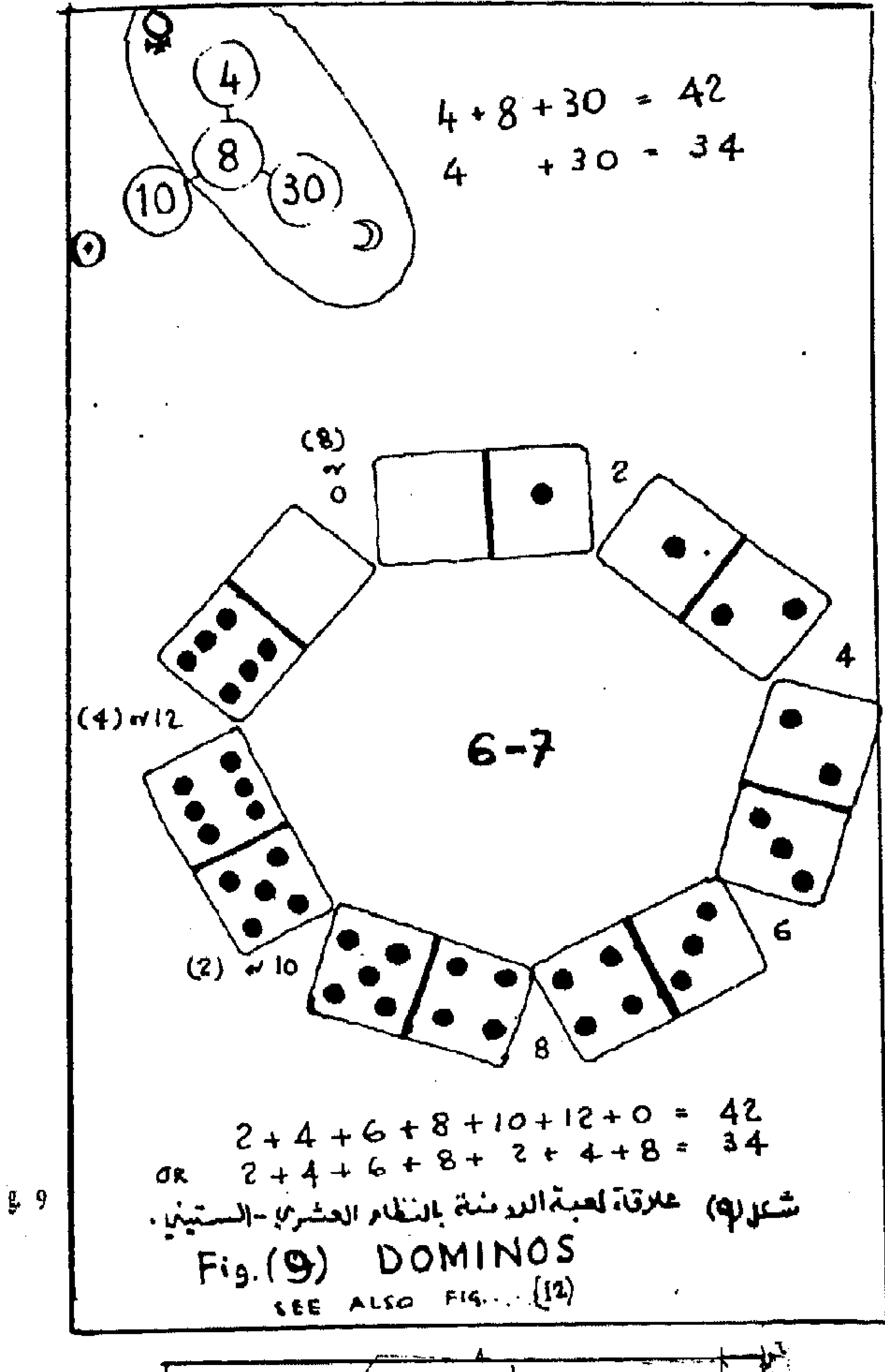


Fig. 9

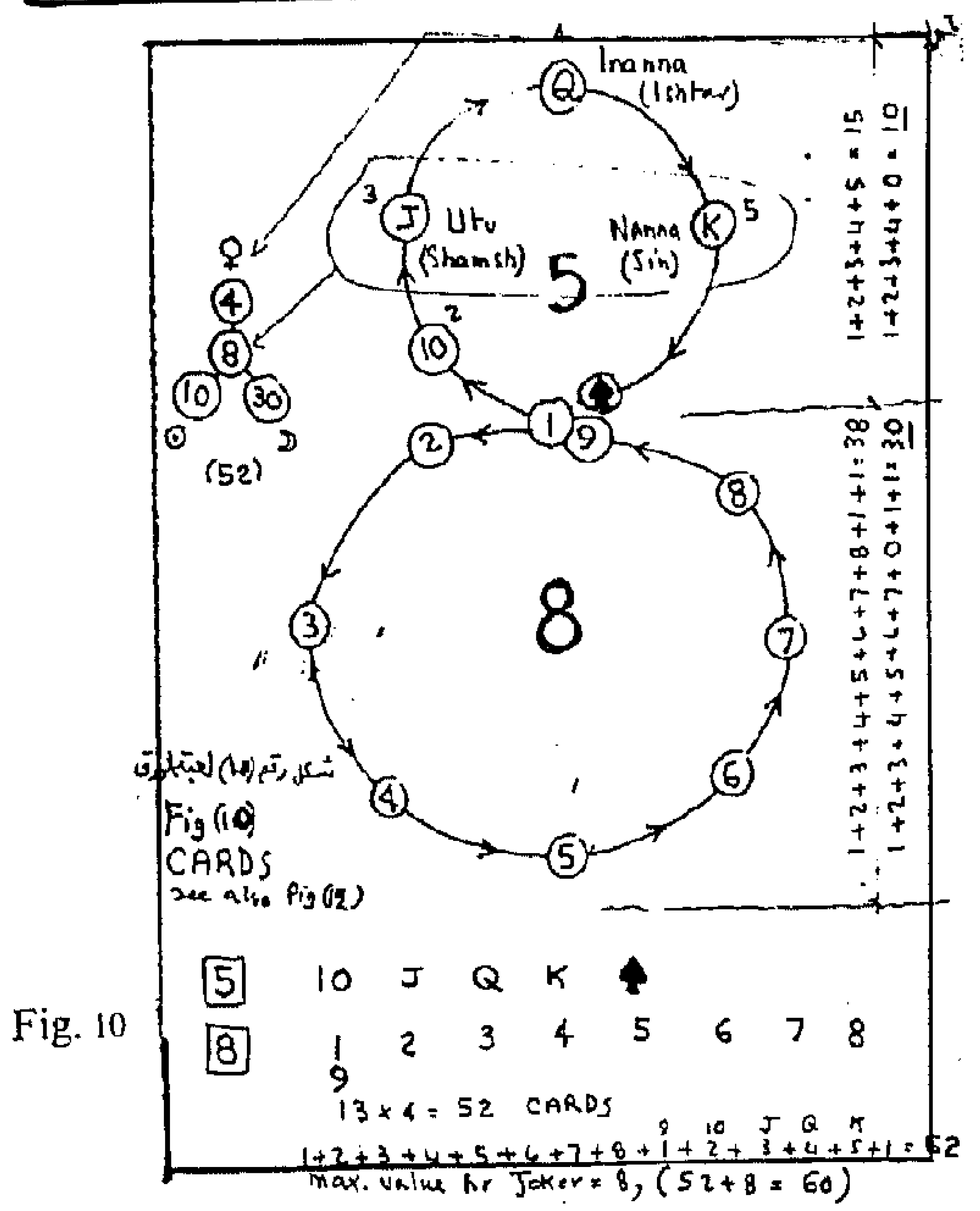


Fig. 10

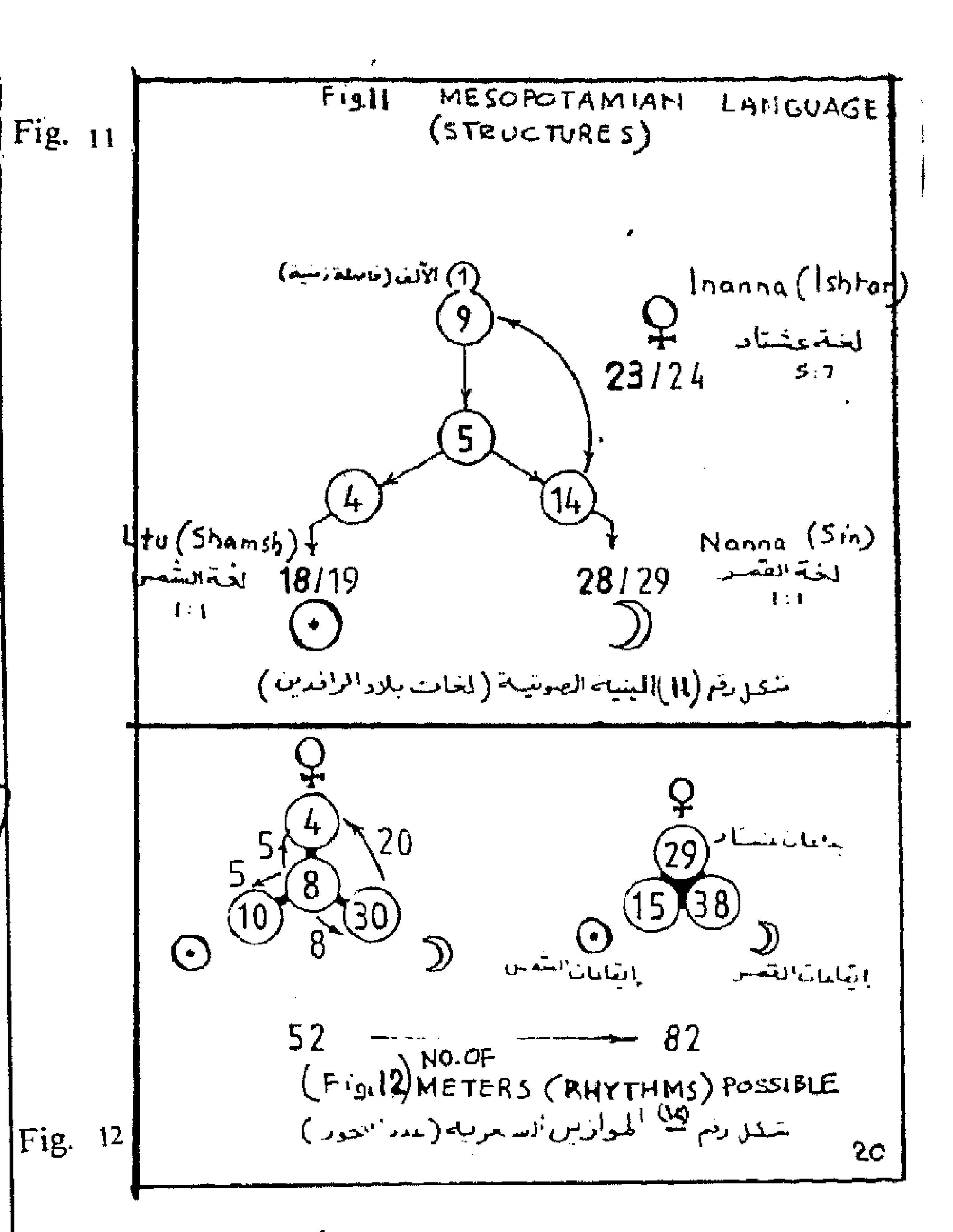
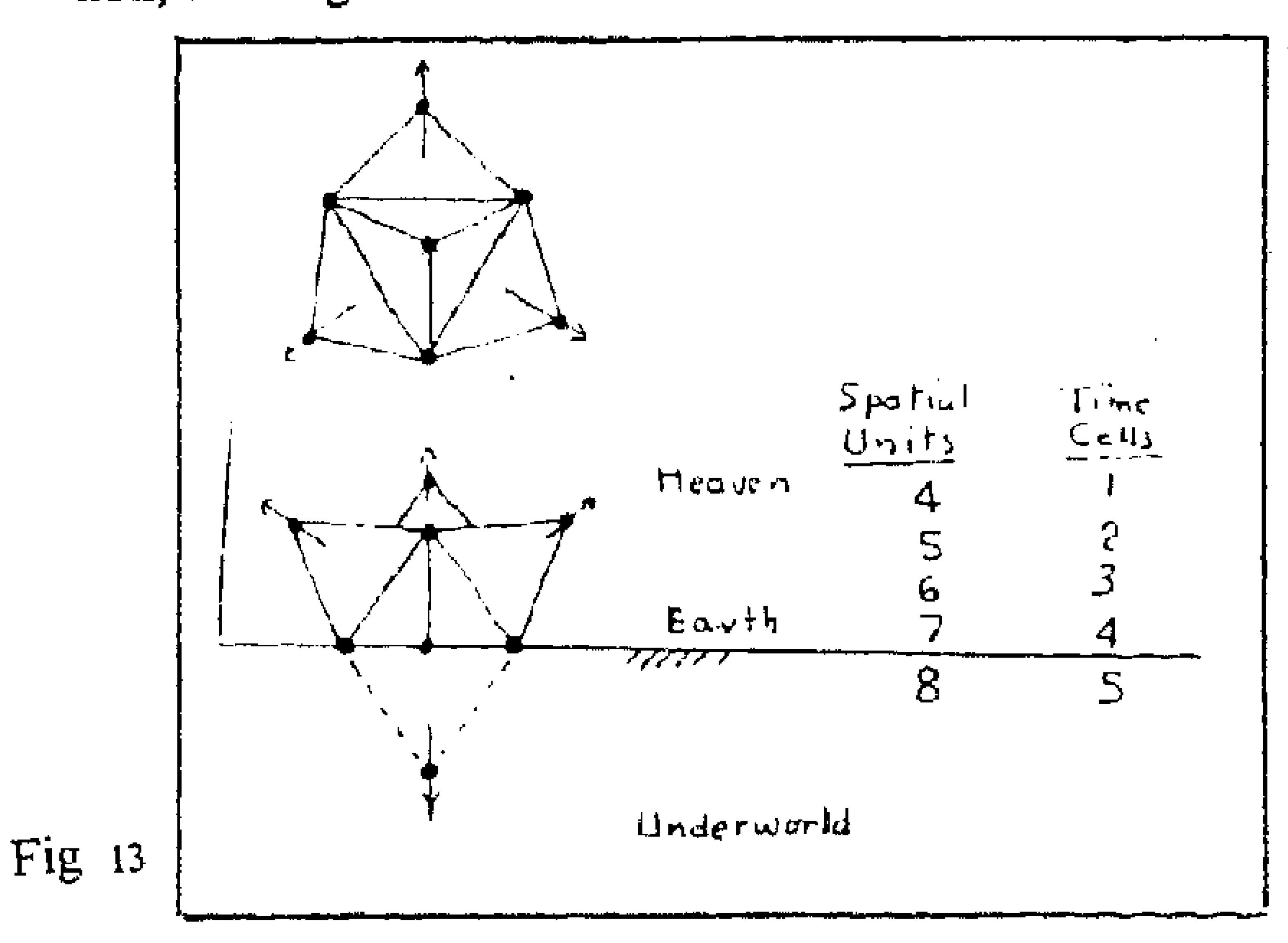


Fig. 11

Fig. 12

APPENDIX 1

Mankind, Dahmu (Adam) and Lahamu (Eve) can be represented as one unit resting on earth. Above earth is Heaven and the Gods, below is the underworld, the domain of the Dead and their keepers. Mankind can pray and communicate with Gods in Heaven but can not reach the Dead thus allowed to pray in three directions towards Heaven, using only seven out off eight nodes forming only four out off five time cells, i.e. ultimate number of spatial nodes are eight and ultimate number of time cells are five in this configuration, see diagrams below.



Spatial Units	Time Cells
4	1
5	2
6	3
7	4
8	5

Fig 13

ABU ESSALABIKH AND TELL MARDIKH : SUMER AND EBLA

BY :

DR. JOHN N. POSTGATE

The royal palace at Tell Mardikh, south of Aleppo, must be since the Tomb of Tutankhamun and the Royal Cemetery of Ur. The palace was destroyed by a fierce fire at the end of Tell Mardikh Level IVB, but the misfortune of the Kings of Ebla is our good fortune, because this fire baked to an almost perfect state of preservation the thousands of clay tablets stored in the archive room. As the world now knows, these cuniform tablets have given Syria another five hundred years of history, but before I move on to discuss the connections between Tell Mardikh and Abu Salabikh, a few words are needed about the date of these tablets,

There are two events which need dating: the writing of the tablets, and the destruction of the archive room. The comparative study of Syrian and Mesopotamian pottery is not well enough advanced to enable us to say from the pottery of Mardikh Level IVB when this destruction took place relative to events in Mesopotamia. Therefore the tablets themselves are the best means of dating . In all the texts published until now, there are no historical mentions of the Dynasty of Akkad, and there are no features of the script or of the language which have to be dated as late as the Akkad Dynasty. Some of the tablets, especially the lexical ones, appear identical with those from Abu Salabikh which belong to the early ED III period. Probably these are the oldest in the archive, whether written at Ebla or imported from Sumer. Several Kings of Ebla are mentioned in the texts and the accumulation of the archive surely spanned more than a century; but there are no administrative texts either which scholars would date as late as the Akkad period. Prof. Pettinato now accepts an Early Dynastic date for the archive, and this seems to be accepted by most other cuneiform experts.

However, on archaeological grounds Prof. Matthiae prefers to date the destruction of the palace to the reign of Naram-Sin of Akkad - 150 years after the start of the Akkad Dynasty in Mesopotamia. To me it seems unlikely that the archive would contain no reference to events in Mesopotamia during those 150 years, and if it were the only alternative, I would prefer to assign the destruction to Naram - Sin's grandfather, Sargon. However, while it is true that both these kings say that they received the submission of Ebla, neither claims to have defeated the King of Ebla in battle, nor is anything said about destroying the city or the palace. It is quite likely that Akkadian supremacy over Ebla was very transitory , and it is perfectly possible that the destruction of the palace was accidental, or perhaps more likely caused by a different enemy, closer to Ebla - there are several possible rivals. In this case, there would be no need to date the destruction to either the reign of Sargon or that of Naram - Sin; it could be earlier, later, or between the two. Prof. Matthiae's reason for preferring the later date is based partly on the style of certain carvings found in the destruction level of the palace. One has the charactaristic Early Dynastic fleeced skirt, but is admittedly of excellent execution, reminiscent of the artists of the Akkdian Empire; other pieces show warriors with a short skirt and a helmet familiar from Akkadian art. However, it seems quite possible that these items of military dress and the naturalistic style that we associate in Mesopotamia with Akkadian art, both have their origins in Syria, with a people closely related to the Akkadian rulers of South Iraq, but risen still earlier to political power.

I have discussed the dating of the Ebla archives and of their destruction at some length, because comparisons with Mesopotamia do suggest that they give us a picture of Syria *before* the Akkad period and not *during* it, and this obviously affects the way we see the relations between Ebla and Sumer, which are the main subject of my talk. The Mardikh texts are not only basic to the study of ancient Syria, but of the greatest interest to those studying the early history of Sumer. They show very clearly the great influence exerted on Syria by Mesopotamia during the Old Sumerian period, but they also reflect light back on Sumer itself, and force us to reconsider many points. Our own excavations at Abu Salabikh, one of

was therefore able to improve on the old Babylonian parameters, because this observational material collected over such a long time made possible more precise results. For instance, in Babylonian astron. texts a value of 1,49,45;19,20^{d} is given for the length of 223 synodic months. We find this value mentioned by Ptolemy as an " estimate of earlier observers ", but he then adds his own improved value.

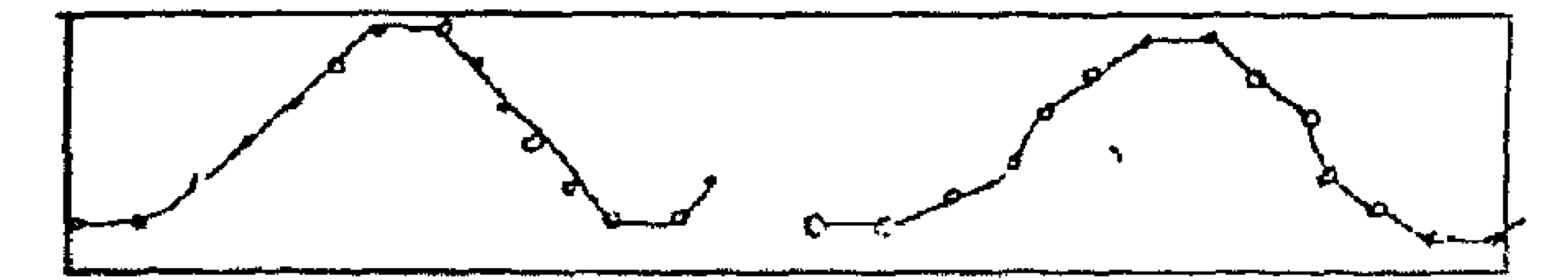
Continuations of the basically arithmetical treatment of astronomical problems which the Babylonians developed, are not found in Ptolemy's Almagest. Ptolemy always first develops a geometrical model and then derives from it the required arithmetical procedures. In simpler astronomical treatises on Greek papyri we find, however, completely different methods which, much like the Babylonians, do not use geometry but rather devise numerical schemes for computing the phenomenon of interes. These writings persist in old methods dependent on Babylonian influence, and it is this same tradition rather than that of Ptolemy which Hellenistic astrologers followed in preparing horoscopes. When astrology spread over the Mediterranean world and beyond, it carried along the ultimately Babylonian methodology that it had adopted. In this way Babylonian scientific procedures were transmitted as far as India by means of such an unscientific intermediary as astrological doctrine.

To view mathematics and astronomy as something special, to consider them exact sciences, is of course only a modern approach. For the Mesopotamians, these fields of knowledge did not imply an attitude basically different from that which leads to the collection and systematization of natural phenomena in the form of omens. I have focussed on mathematics and astronomy in this paper only because Babylonian influence is so clearly demonstrable in these areas.

III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III—III

chosen because of its simplicity. It is correct for a geographical latitude of 35 whereas Babylon lies at 32 1/2.

At first, linear variation is assumed between the two extreme values, so that the length of daylight is represented by a simple zigzag function. Later, the theory is improved by introduction of the so-called rising times. By rising time we mean the time which a certain arc in the ecliptic takes to rise completely above the horizon; usually the arc considered is one zodiacal sign of 30° length. Since both the ecliptic and the horizon are great circles, they intersect at points exactly opposite or 180° apart. Therefore, there are always 180° of the ecliptic or in other words 6 × 30° or six zodiacal signs, above the horizon. The length of daylight is the time from sunrise to sunset. The sun, being always at some point of the ecliptic, moves during this time from the Eastern horizon across the sky and sets when it again reaches the horizon in the West. Since half of the ecliptic is always above the horizon, during the daytime half of the ecliptic or six zodiacal signs have risen while the sun has crossed the sky. If one knows how long it takes each single zodiacal sign to rise, one can compute the length of daylight by adding up the rising times of those six zodiacal signs which rise during the day in question. The rising time is of course different for each zodiacal sign, depending on the angle between the ecliptic and the horizon at the time when the sign rises. There is however a certain symmetry: signs equidistant from the equinoxes have the same rising time. Furthermore, days equidistant from the solstices have the same lengths. If one now knows the value for the longest daylight, one can devise schemes for rising times so that the length of daylight resulting from the scheme fits the desired longest daylight.Two such schemes are known from Babylonian texts: one lets the rising time vary strictly linearly; the other assumes the difference between the rising times of the two signs before and after the solstice to be twice as much as between other signs. A graphic representation of these two schemes looks like this (note that there are no such drawings in the texts): ...



In this way a much better approximation of the length of daylight is reached. It is still not the correct solution which requires the knowledge of spherical trigonometry ; but it is much better than previous schemes.

It is preciaely this scheme attested in Babylonian texts which we find described by the Greek astronomer Hypsikles (around 150 – 120 BC) although his is adapted to the latitude of Alexandria in Egypt. Hypsikles expanded the scheme so that he could determine the rising time not only of whole zodiacal signs but of each single degree of a sign. Whether Hipparchus who lived slightly earlier than Hypsikles used some trigonometric method for the rising times or also relied on a Babylonian scheme cannot be determined.

The system of rising times according to the Babylonian scheme spread far and wide, and is found even in Indian astronomy of the 6th cent. AD, although its numbers do not fit the geographical latitude of India at all. It also survived, mainly in astrological works, in the Mediterranean world into the Middle Ages, although the correct trigonometrical solution was available at least since the time of Ptolemy (150 AD).

This example may suffice to indicate the general way in which these number sequences are used. It was however a rather simple example insofar as computing techniques are concerned. In the cuneiform tablets which predict the time of the reappearance of the moon, several columns of such periodic number sequences are combined to finally arrive at the time and position of the phenomenon. One finds here columns of numbers with the following content: date; velocity of the sun; longitude of the moon; length of daylight; latitude of the moon; magnitude of possible eclipse; velocity of the moon; length of month in first approximation; correction for solar velocity; improved length of the month; date of conjunction; time difference between conjunction and sunset; and finally, duration of the visibility of the new moon.

It is clear that, while a lot of arithmetical ingenuity is required to find appropriate basic values for these functions, they are not dependent on any theory about the actual movement of the moon in space. If one wants to compute such a zigzag function for the prediction of a phenomenon, one has to know certain parameters such as the amplitude of the waves, their length or the constant difference from one point to the next, and one initial value from were to start. All this can be gained from observations, the more observations the better, by simple arithmetics which were well known to Babylonian scholars of this time. However, it should be observed that the values actually used are slightly adjusted in order to both work out nicely and facilitate computation. We cannot therefore determine from the functions given which values say, for the velocity of the moon, the Babylonians actually observed, but only those values they considered sufficiently accurate for predictions. With this restriction, the Babylonian tables give us values for all kinds of astronomical constants which we can compare not only to the values derived from modern observations done with more sophisticated instruments but also to those values used by Greek astronomers, especially Hipparchus, Geminus and Ptolemy. Most of Hipparchus' writings are unfortunately lost; however,Ptolemy frequently refers to him as a predecessor. Geminus (Ist cent. AD) gives values for certain periods of the moon which are identical with the ones used by Babylonian texts, although he mentions the "Chaldeans" only in passing and does not seem to know anything about how they used these values in their tables.

As already mentioned, Hipparchus too frequently used Babylonian values; and Ptolemy, who had Hipparchus' observations and some Babylonian ones in addition to his own,

algebra. Often long sequences of examples are used to illustrate a type of problem from every possible point of view. Certain Greek mathematical authors proceed in a very similar fashion and treat many of the same problems that are already found in Babylonian texts. These authors, especially Heron of Alexandria (lst cent. AD) and Diophantus (date unknown) represent a tradition that survived even into the beginnings of Arabic mathematics. Due to the simplicity of the mathematical problems, connections to Babylonia cannot be proven, but they very well may have existed.

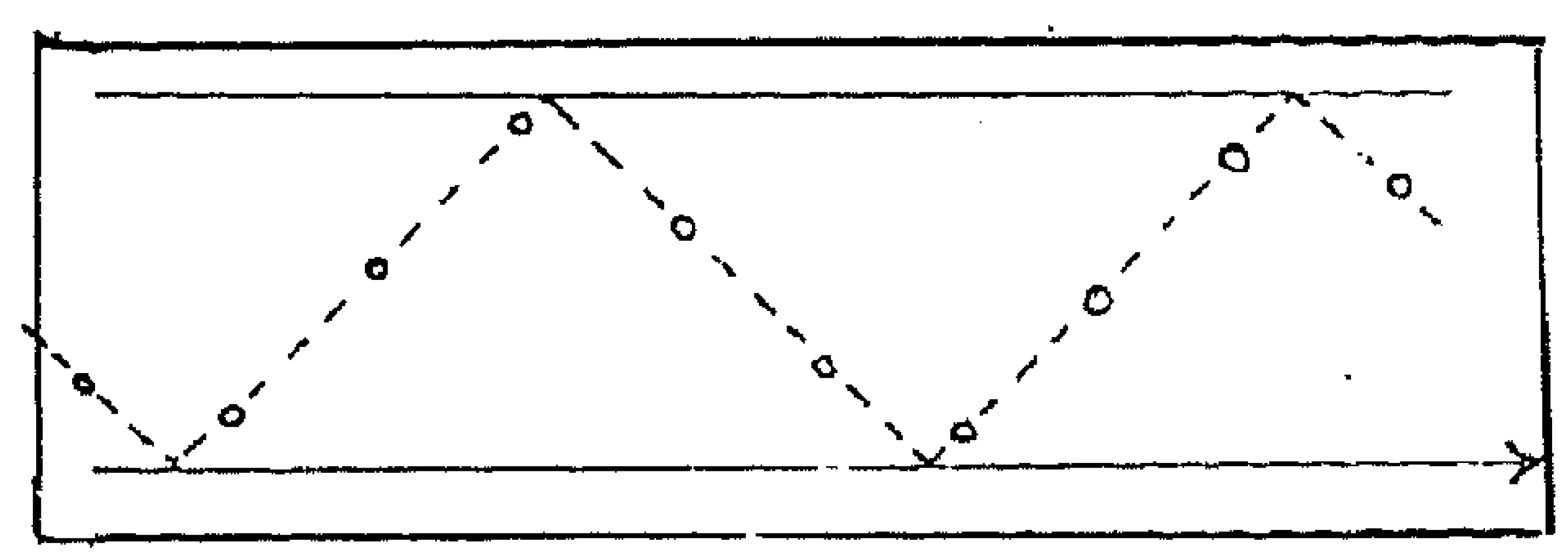
The special Greek contribution to mathematics consists in the idea of proof. This concept added a new dimension to much traditional knowledge which was at least partly of Babylonian origin. But the way in which this tradition was treated had no antecedent in Babylonian or any other mathematics. The further development of this theoretical branch of mathematics is the work of a few outstanding Greek mathematicians and became fully appreciated only in modern times.

For the history of astronomy the situation is quite different. Early attempts by Greek scholars (Euclid, 4th cent. BC) at describing celestial motion geometrically could not rely on any knowledge available from earlier times and other civilizations the development of trigonometry sufficient to handle astronomical problems required some time. Hipparchus in the 2nd cent. BC could already apply these improved geometrical methods to Babylonian material available to him. That he made use of Babylonian material is evident not only from the sexagesimal number system but also from the values of the basic parameters which are exactly the same as those used in the Babylonian texts.

By the 2nd cent. AD, Greek astronomy was perfected by Ptolemy of Alexandria. Spherical trigonometry was then sufficiently developed to provide solutions for the complicated geometrical models devised by Ptolemy for describing lunar and planetary motion. He also replaced the Babylonian values for basic parameters with better ones derived from his own observations as compared with those of the Babylonians; these were at his disposal partly through Hipparchus' writings, partly from other sources. In Ptolemy's system, sexagesimal numbers remain the only sign of the Babylonian heritage.

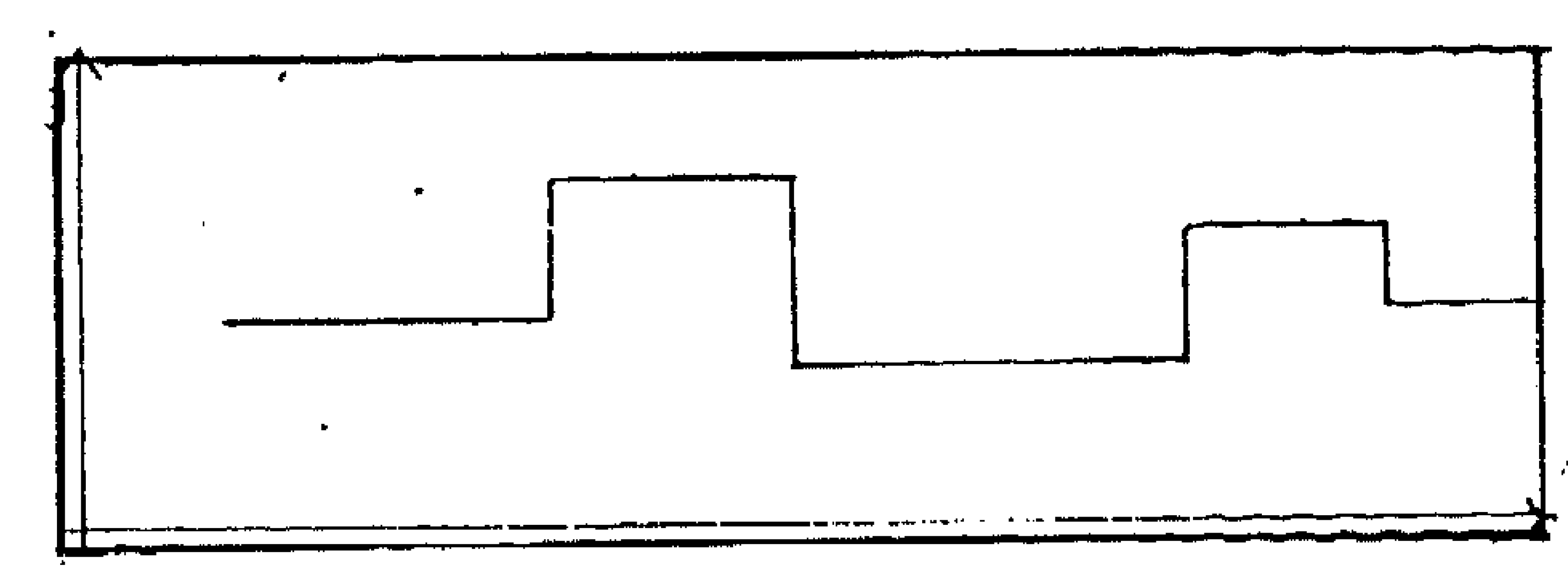
In marked contrast to Ptolemy's use of geometrical models to describe planetary motion, the Babylonians made use of arithmetical procedures to find the time and position of certain characteristic phenomena of the planets, e. g. heliacal risings or stationary points. While the arithmetical procedures are very cleverly worked out and predict the phenomena with high accuracy, there is no evidence whatsoever of any geometrical model underlying these computations. In fact, no actual movement in space would have led one to the construction of the wave-like sequences of numbers which are used by the Babylonian astronomers to express the times and positions of celestial bodies.

Let me describe briefly the methods used by the Babylonian astronomers of the Seleucid period to predict phenomena of moon and planets. In order to approximate periodic phenomena, they developed two types of periodically repeating sequences of numbers which we call zigzag functions and step functions, respectively. A zigzag function consists of equidistant points forming a sequence oscillating between a maximum and a minimum.



It is important to realize that the actual occurrences of the phenomenon which one wants to compute need coincide with the maxima or minima, nor with all other points of the function, but can be spread over its course at more distant intervals.

A step function, on the other hand, shows two or more levels to indicate the difference between the single values o the phenomenon described by it.



While step functions seem to be more primitive, they a much better suited to handle planetary phenomena than a zigzag functions, but the details of this are too complicate to be discussed in a short lecture.

The earliest known application of zigzag functions is i the various schemes to compute the variation in the lengt of daylight . Here such schemes can be found already in th 7 th cent. BC or earlier. The longest day is assumed to b twice as long as the shortest, a simplification that makes i clear that very littel actual observation was used in inventing this scheme. The discrepancy between this number and actua facts becomes less if we know that time was measured by water clocks and that water dose not flow out of a vessel at a constant rate; the error lies in assuming that the time passed corresponds in a linear fashion to the weight of the water from the water clock. In the scheme mentioned the lenght of daylight is given in intervals of half months such that the numbers first decrease with a constant difference until the shortest daylight, which is half as long as the longest, is reached; from then on the numbers increase by the same difference until they return to the maximum.

In later math. - astron. texts a better value of 3:2 for the ratio of longest to shortest day is used which certainly was

THE SPREAD OF MESOPOTAMIAN EXACT SCIENCE INTO THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

BY :

HERMANN HUNGER

In this paper I shall use the term "exact science" in a very restricted sense: meaning an endeavor toward the quantitative description of observable natural phenomena. Such a narrow definition can apply only to two branches of Mesopotamian intellectual life : astronomy and mathematics.

While it is generally agreed among scholars that Mesopotamian science had an important influence on Hellenistic civilization, especially on Greek science itself, the precise paths through which this knowledge was transmitted from Mesopotamia to Greece or to the Mediterranean world as a whole are largely unknown. Occasionally Berossos, the Babylonian author who moved to the island of Kos around 270 BC, is mentioned as a possible source for Babylonian astronomical knowledge in Greece. Unfortunately, the surviving excerpts from Berossos contain no astronomical or mathematical material. The few remarks about celestial matters show that Berossos cannot have known much about them, certainly not as much as his contemporary Babylonian astronomers knew. - In the Seleucid period many persons with Greek names (and therefore presumably with some Greek background) are found in Babylonian documents. Usually nothing can be said about their potential access to Babylonian astronomy, since the names occur in legal documents which indicate nothing about other activities of the persons involed. Only a few knew how to write cuneiform themselves, and even fewer how to handle astronomical problems. That some interest on the part of Greek-speaking persons existed for Babylonian traditions is shown by transcriptions of parts of lexical texts into Greek. A few Babylonian expressions found their way into Greek compilations of a later time. Unfortunately this does not indicate how much else might have been transmitted. Names and terms do not automatically provide an understanding of the corresponding concepts.

Since we cannot reconstruct the path of transmission (at least not for the time being, unless sensational finds improve our knowledge), we must restrict ourselves to those elements common to both Babylonian and Hellenistic science which are of a sufficiently complicated nature that they would not have been developed independently by the two cultures. The most obvious element of this type is the sexagesimal number system which was developed by the Sumerians and later used and perfected by the Akkadian-speaking peoples of Mesopotamia.

That Greek astronomers from the 2nd century BC on employed the method of writing fractions by a sexagesimal number system attests to their knowledge of Babylonian mathematics and astronomy; the Greek number word system was nevertheless a decimal one. It was not so much its base 60 but its positional character which recommended the Babylonian sexagesimal system to mathematicians; we use an analogous positional system today. In Babylonian numbers, the use of a sign for zero (originally a separation mark) was introduced only in the 5th cent . BC . When Greek astronomers learned about Babylonian numbers and methods they also adopted the separation mark to indicate zero. Greek astronomical procedures were later transmitted to India and with them the place value notation of writing numbers. In India, the sexagesimal base was replaced by a decimal one; it is this decimal system which later came to Europe through the mediation of the Arabic culture.

A large number of mathematical cuneiform texts are preserved from the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. They show that Babylonian mathematicians of that age were capable of solving many problems. They could deal with what we today call quadratic equations and knew the later so-called theorem of Pythagoras. This same level of mathematical knowledge is still found on tablets of the Seleucid period. By this time the body of Babylonian mathematics must have spread over most of the Near East.

The Babylonian mathematical texts always show the solution to a problem by means of examples, never by a theoretical explanation or by symbols, as we do in our

in a fatal desaster : The raid of the Anatolian king Muršili of Hatti brought about the end of the last successors of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, namely the 1st Dynasty of Babylon. In a Similar way the invasion of the Huns under the command of Attila caused the final breakdown of the Roman Empire. In either case the aftereffect was a "dark age" determined by migrations of peoples and repeated shifts of power.

Thereafter the scenery of history is changed to such a degree that it is hardly possible to find and show paralled political structures between the Greco - Roman civilization and Ancient Mesopotamia beyond the fact that chieftains of kings of barbaric tribes founded various realms in the areas of the former "empires" On the other hand the tradition of cultural assets were continued, though mostly in an unproductive way and extended even beyond the scope of the actual civilizations. It happened for instance after the "dark age" that Babylonian was widespread in the Near East as the most important language of communication between the Great Powers of the so-called Amarna Period, and Latin was used as official language in the realm of the Franks and further up to the Middle Ages in the whole of Europe. Another remarkable parallel is the fact that the last centres of the last "imperial stage" in the Greco Roman civilization, that is Rome, and in Ancient Mesopotamia, that is Babylon, were - notwithstanding all the changes of environment - still of eminent cultural - and sometimes even political - importance for about one millenium.

But these analogies, however interesting they may be, are only isolated phenomena with regard to the new historical structures they belong to . They must be taken note of, and may be helpful for mutual elucidation, but they cannot serve to reconstruct or interpret the respective civilizations as a whole. This insight brings us back to the premis that for the sake of efficient comparison the similar and paralled historical events and developments must not be isolated or fortuitous, but elements of a larger structural pattern.

This being conceded it would be impossible - for instance - to compare the Sumerian epics and hymns on Gilgameš and Lugalbanda with the Homeric epics of the early Greek literature. For these Sumerian epics as handed down to us are obviously a kind of courtly poetry of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, and served to a large extent to propagate the royal ideology especially of Urnammuk and Šulgir. The setting of the Homeric epics on the other hend is a period more than half a millennium before the analogous imperial period of the Greco - Roman civilization. Consequently the type of literature analogous to the Sumerian epics on Gilgameš could be only the courtly poetry from the time of Augustus and his dynasty, as for example the Aeneis of Vergil.

But what is more, it is not even possible to compare the exploits of Gilgameš and Lugalbanda to the events as told in the Iliad and the Odyssy. Gilgameš, so far as he is assumed to have been a historical king, would have been a person of the Early Dynastic period (about 2700 B.C.), that is about half a millennium before the time of Ur III. The siege of Troy, however, and the other evants of the Iliad would have happened at the end of the Mycenean epoch, that is more than one millennium before the time of Augustus and even still before the beginning of the actual Greek history. Therefore it is not possible to c[illegible] a "Sumerian Heroic Age" from the epics about Gilgameš only with regard to a "Greek Heroic Age" as represented by the events of the Iliad .

From this example can be seen that the methodical principle of considering not only similar elements, but also their respective structural patterns is efficacious also in the negative It can serve as a control against the mistake of comparing events only in view of their seeming similarity, which is not a help, but actually an obstacle to the understanding of historical developments.

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ies.This holds good also for the constitution of larger political units as for instance the important state of Athens, after it had incorporated a number of the surrounding areas and was actually a territorial state.

The Greek 'poleis' and their mutual relations in peace and war show a pattern that is obviously also underlying the system of the Sumerian states of the pre-Sargonic Periods. Those states consisted - in a similar way - primarily of settlements around a temple estate belonging to a god or goddess. And probably the ideal concept of such a 'temple city' was likewise a territory as large as to be surveyable from the zikkurrat of the main sanctuary at a glance. Like the Greek 'poleis' the states of the Early Dynastic period were autonomous units, rivalling in warfare and other exploits, but also being connected by 'brotherhood' [nam. šeš and other forms of treaties . The inhabitants or 'childern' [dumu] of such a state had the 'status of child' [nam. dumu] or citizenship of their community. as for instance the 'citizenship of Nippur' [nam. dumu inbru (k)^{ki}]. And up to the end of the Early Dynastic period dome of thoses 'temple states' had developed into territorial states [ki] as for instance the 'state (or land) of Uruk' [ki unug^{ki}], by annexing minor communities to a main city. In this way the " state of Lagas " [ki lagas^{ki}] at the time of Gudea consisted of three major towns, namly Girsu, Lagas and Nina, and a great number of minor places and settlements.

Irrespective of their independent status the Sumerian states of Southern Mesopotamia were linked together not only by their common language and writing or other cultural conditions, but also by recognizing certain supraregional authorities, especially the priests of the god Enlil in Nippur. It has been suggested that the area around Nippur was the primary region called by the name of *ki. en + gi (r)* 'Sumer'. At any rate the name of *ki. en + gi (r)* was-in Early Dynastic II at the latest- a common appellation of Southern Mesopotamia, including besides Nippur also -at least- Uruk, Adab, Šuruppag and Umma. Apparently the territory of *ki.en + gi (r)* was never a political entity, as there is no evidance for a 'king of Sumer'.But the common political consciousness of the states of Sumer was strong enough as to unite them for the sake of resistance against the kings of Agade.

A phenomenon analogous to the implications of the name of *Ki.en + gi (r)* is in turn the name of 'Hellenes' (or panhellenes') as a common appellation for all Greeks.'Hellenes' was primarily the name of a tribe in Northern Greece, which was extended to other tribes and their 'poleis' in correspondance with the development of a 'national'consciousness.It is not known how this very name attained the function of a general appellation. A possible reason may be seen in the influence of the Delphian Oracle. For Delphi was the seat of an 'amphiktyony' or assembly of the representatives of the neighbouring tribes, which surpassed all similar organizations by importance. The original seat of this 'amphiktyony' was , however, not in Delphi, but farther north in a place near the territory of the 'Hellenes' proper. The 'national' feeling of being 'Hellenes' was not so deep as to prevent the various 'poleis' and tribes from fighting each other every now and then .Yet it was not only a cultural link, but also a uniting idea in case of common danger, as from the Persions in the 5th and from the kings of Macedonia in the 4th century B.C.

In spite of the differencies of peoples and languages, of time and geographical conditions the states of Ancient Sumer and of Ancient Greece show a striking similarity of structure up to a certain event in the historical development. This turning – point is marked by the interference of political powers from the fringe of the dominant cultural area, which are represented by the kings of Agade and the kings of Macedonia respectively. The Sumerian states as well as the Greek "poleis" were defeated and hereafter incorporated into a political unity of an entirely new type that can be characterized as a kind of empire". Representative of this new political conception is in each case an outstanding personality ,Sarruken of Agade and Alexander,later called "the Great". It is surely not coincidential that both were provided with a special birth – legend and became heroes of romantic exploits that were told and retold for centuries.

An integral part of the "imperial" policy of both Akkadians and Macedonians was the aspiration not only to hold dominion over the central area of the respective civilization, but also to extend political and military activities farther beyond even to distant countries. Šarruken went to war against the cities of Syria - among others – and possibly reached the Mediterranean; Alexander destroyed the Persian empire and marched with his army as far as India. The effect of their campaigns was not only a glorious military success, which could be only temporary, but what is more, the spread of cultural influence and the expansion of trade relations, which survived the breakdown of their policy. For however different the personal fates of Šarruken and Alexander may have been, both their empires were but ephemeral .

About two centuries later the "imperial" idea was realized again in a political entity by new political powers.The results were the "empire" of "Sumer and Akkad" of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur and the Roman Empire as founded by Augustus and his dynasty. It is a remarkable characteristic of both these emires that they actually brought about a period of peace and welfare after more than a century of desaster and civil wars, of invasions of barbaric tribes and general unsafe conditions. A symbol of the "Pax Sumerica" and the "Pax Romana" may be seen in the efforts to strengthen and safeguard the frontier lines against attacks from outside the "empire". Nevertheless it was impossible to keep the adjacent barbarians off the territory in the long run. For these people, as for instance the Amurru or the Germanic tribes respectively, did not enter the territories of the "empires" only as aggressors, but no less as mercenaries or slaves. Thus they were a relevant part of the whole population after a short time, and even rose to leading positions. But even except for that the internal structures of the "empires" fell into decay. And though the power was mostly in the hands of military leaders for several centuries, it was possible about half a millenium after the foundation of these "empires" that a casual attack from the outside resulted

STRUCTURAL PATTERNS IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

By :

G.STEINER

It is a regrettable fact that the sources for the earlier history of Ancient Mesopotamia are not so abundant as to enable us even to outline the relevant events and developments with a degree of certainty. This unsatisfactory situation is characteristic not only of the Archaic Period without any written documents of historical concern, but also of later epochs, from which for instance royal inscriptions are known. On that account the evidence produced by written tradition is so scanty that rhe results of historical studies of those periods are rather diverging in many details as well as in the reconstruction and interpretation of the general course of events.

Under the circumstances the attempt to draw a picture of the history of Ancient Mesopotamia in -for instance- the 3rd millennium B.C. is like the task of arranging the elements of a mosaic the greater part of which is entirely lost, the preserved ones being identifiable only to a limited amount. Therefore it is necessary for the method of proceeding to presuppose a model, consciously or unconsciously, and to fit the single pieces into the places that seem to be most probably in accordance with it. Such a model, however, can only be gained by comparison with events and developments of other world civilizations, recent or ancient, and the success of the enterprise depends to a large degree on the skill and experience of the historian to find the closest parallels and analogies with regard of the facts that he can take from his sources. But it is equally important that such analogies are not isolated and merely fortuitous. They are effective only if they are consistent with a larger structural pattern.

Considering for instance the history of Ancient Mesopotamia in the late 3 rd and early 2nd millennia B.B., which shows a pronounced tendency of political unification and central rule, the thought might suggest itself to compare it with the history of Ancient Egypt and to assume the pattern of " empires" interrupted by " intermediate periods". for it is true that the civilization of Ancient Egypt as a whole is almost simultaneous with civilization of Ancient Mesopotamia both entering the stage of historicity at the turn of the 3 rd millennium B. C. and coming to an end in the first millenium B. C. Nevertheless the internal structure and historical development of either civilization is quite different, even with regard to the phenomenon of central rule. An essential aspect of the political ideology of Ancient Egypt was _ from the beginning of history _ the " uniting of the Two Lands" that is Upper and Lower Egypt, whereas the idea of an " empire" obviously did not arise in Mesopotamia before the end of the Early Dynastic period. Up to the 24th century B. C. the political strcuture of Ancient Mesopotamia was determined by a system of independent states of major or minor size and importance. But also the so_called empires,, were characterized by a strong inclination for particularism. On that account Ancient Egypt is not likely to serve as a model for the reconstruction and interpretation of the history of Ancient Mesopotamia.

On the other hand we can find a similar political structure and development in the Greco-Roman civilization. From the beginning of the lst millennium B.C. there is quite a number of political units in Greece, but also in Italy, which for the most part are organized as independent city-states with a limited territory. In the course of time some of them, as Athens or Sparta, extended their territories by conquering and incorporating their weaker neighbours. But though in this way they attained to considerable power and size, the idea and constitution of a city - state or 'polis' was never abandoned. The word 'polis' primarily means a citadel together with a settlement, but also the community of inhabitants of such a settlement. In a political sense the ideal model of a 'polis' was an autonomous territory of limited size, so as to be surveyable at a glance from the 'acropolis' or citadel of the main place. The autonomy of the 'polis' manifested itself in its relations with other 'poleis', which were often regulated by treaties, but also determined by rivalry and warfare. As for the inhabitants, the essential characteristic of affiliation to their 'polis' was the 'politeia' or citizenship, which implied special rights and dut-

emerged is a much more difficult question.

It is in this light that we should view the brilliant article of I.J. Gelb, written shortly after the first news of the Tell Mardikh documents. He showed that Mardikh and Mari both shared many features with the scribal tradition of the north of Sumer which he identified as the "Kish tradition". Apart from personal names, many features have a specifically Semitic connection . He found traces of a calendar with Semitic month-names, attested from Tell Mardikh in the west to the Diyala region in the east, and at Nuzi. Although these are mostly in texts of Akkadian date, two of these same month names have now been identified at Abu Salabikh in the pre - Akkadian period. Gelb places the scribal production of the Abu Salabikh school in the Kish tradition, and we feel sure he is right. Unfortunately very little pre - Akkadian written evidence is known from Kish itself, but the King List tells us that the 1st Dynasty of Kish after the flood was of Semitic stock, and Gelb is certainly right to see Kish as the cultural as well as the political capital of the north Sumerian area which later was called the Land of Akkad, of which Abu Salabikh was the southernmost city.

We have found during our excavations at Abu Salabikh that there is also archaeological evidence for its connections with the north and west. In her paper, Jane Moon shows that in the ED III period Abu Salabikh had a pottery repertoire identical with that of Kish, linking it with the northern region rather than the southern cities of Sumer. Some of the pottery found at Abu Salabikh has links further to the north-west: this group of 4 or 5 pieces, which I suggest was used for washing, is also known from Kish and from Mari. There is a type of finely-made jar, with bands of orange paint, which we find at Abu Salabikh, but is also known at Tell Chokhah (near Fallujah), at Al - 'Usiyah (in the Haditha basin), at Mari, at Terqa (Tell Ashara), and as far up the Euphrates as the area of the Tabqa dam, especially at Tell Hadidi. We also have at Abu Salabikh at least one example of a "caliciform cup", a type well attested in Syria at this date, and one final link between Abu Salabikh and the Euphrates sites is supplied by the large flat stones buried in graves, which are well-known at Kish and Abu Salabikh, and in the Diyala region, and are now also attested at Terqa, north of Mari.

In the tradition of cuneiform writing, and in certain material ways, then, there was a strong link between Abu Salabikh and Kish and the north and west as far as Syria, as early as the beginning of the ED III period. Part of the explanation for this must be that both areas had a population of the same Semitic origin: neither the archaeology nor the history suggest any direct political link, although it is not irrelevant that one of the kings of Mari was recognized by the King List as a king of Sumer. Whether there was a close trading connection may well emerge after the publication of some of the thousands of administrative tablets from Tell Mardikh. My suspicion is that Ebla's relations with Mesopotamia were very similar to those of Yamhad with the Babylonia of Hammurapi's time: close diplomatic links between the ruling Amorite families, but no direct conflict of political interests, and trade principally only in luxury goods as a by-product of political connections. To complete the picture of the links between Syria and Mesopotamia before the Akkad period, what we need now is the archive of Kish, Adab, or another of the cities in which Kingship resided after the Flood. Like the Tell Mardikh tablets, that would give us some surprises too.

the smaller Sumerian city – states during the Early Dynastic period, have, been in progress since 1975, and we are therefore specially interested in the connections between Abu Salabikh and Ebla. These connections have already been discussed by Gelb, Biggs and Pettinato, and here I only intend to take a few specific points and look at their implications. *Texts* One of the lexical texts of the ED III period discovered at Abu Salabikh by Donald Hansen and edited by Biggs, is a geographical list, of which at least 5 copies were found. This list is not known from the contemporary library at Fara (Shuruppak) nor from later lexical sources, but Pettinato has now published from Mardikh a perfectly preserved tablet with a full 289 entries. It is not an exact duplicate, because many of the names written "logographically" in the Abu Salabikh tablets – according to Sumerian tradition – are spelled out "syllabically" in the Ebla tablet. Two examples will illustrate the point :

Akshak : Abu Salabikh : UD. UH^{ki} Ebla : ak–su–wa–ak^{ki}

Assur : Abu Salabikh : a–LAL + LAGAB^{ki} Ebla : a–su–ur^{ki}

Unfortunately a great many of the cities can no longer be identified;but in these two cases it is clear that the text was originally a composition of the Sumerian scribal schools, and that the Ebla text is a simplified version for the use of the Ebla scribes, who could not be expected to reach such a high standard of training in the cuneiform system.

This may seem rather a bold conclusion to make from a single text, but it can be supported by a similar example. A different text first identified at Abu Salabikh in several copies was called by Prof. Biggs the "Names and Professions List". A duplicate has now been found at Ebla, and a line quoted by Pettinato reads, in the Ebla version : *an–zu–me–ru.* At Abu Salabikh the same name is given in the traditional "logographic" writing of ^{d}*IM. DUGUD–me–ru.* Once again, the Abu Salabikh scribes use the special Sumerian way of writing the name, but the single Ebla text has a simpler syllabic writing.

On this basis we can say that the scribes of Ebla borrowed not only the principles and practice of cuneiform writing from Sumer, but also some of the actual texts. Some of the lexical tablets I saw on display in the Aleppo Museum look as though they were written by our scribes at Abu Salabikh. In fact, a connection with Kish is more likely, as Pettinato has quoted a text which mentions a "professor of mathematics of Kish", and there is no doubt that the Ebla scribal school depended on the Sumerian tradition.

Of course the Ebla scribes were not employed by their king for the abstract pursuit of knowledge: they were rather intended to keep the accounts and administrative records of the kingdom. and it is with such things that most of the archives are concerned. Mostly they used the scribal habits that came with the script from Mesopotamia: Sumerian words, written on tablets of the same shape and size as contemporary Sumerian administrative texts. However, there was one very important innovation: the scribes at Ebla had begun to write their own Semitic language in cuneiform. There are lexical texts, giving the Eblaite translations of Sumerian words, and Eblaite words are used mixed in with Sumerian ones in the administrative texts. In the absence of texts from outside the palace, we cannot yet judge how widespread this practice was; but it is interesting that like the Hurrians and the people of Ugarit – but unlike the population of Alalakh which continued to use Babylonian – the scribes of Ebla took the initiative of adapting cuneiform to their own language. This serves to emphasise the point that Ebla was not a cultural colony of Sumer: unlike Habuba Kabira in the Uruk period, where the seals, the pottery, and the writing tradition were exact copies of those at Uruk itself. Ebla owes a debt to Sumer in the idea and the technique of writing, but in other fields it is culutrally independent: we are much further from Mesopotamia here than at Mari, and in architecture, pottery, and decorative arts Mesopotamian influence is not deminant.

There is however one more very important link with Sumer in general, and with Abu Salabikh in particular . The majority of personal names at Ebla are of Semitic origin –we cannot yet say of what actual language. Several of these names are already known from Early Dynastic sites in South Iraq like Fara, Adab, Kish etc. The most striking example is at Abu Salabikh, where Biggs has shown that most of the people engaged in the writing of Sumerian literary and lexical texts had Semitic names. We must deduce that a population of the same Semitic origin lived simultaneously at ~~Abu Salabikh~~ (and other neighbouring cities) and at Tell Mardikh in the early part of the ED III period. At Mardikh they certainly spoke and wrote a Semitic language (though not necessarily the same one), and we now have firm evidence that the same was true at Abu Salabikh. The numerals 100 and 1000 used by the Abu Salabikh scribes were *mi–at* and *li–im,* identical with the Semitic numerals in use at Ebla, and in the administrative texts we also find *u* "and" and *in* "in", the preposition proving that the writer was thinking in a Semitic language and not Sumerian.

There is an obvious parallel to this situation some 500 years later with the Amorites. After the collapse of the Ur III empire most cities in South Mesopotaia were ruled by Amorite dynasties, and they also took over power in Syria, including at Ebla. In North Mesopotamia power was shared between Amorite rulers from the south and the Hurrians from the north, but right across the Near East, from the Mediterranean to the Zagros we find that the ruling class, whose names we naturally meet most frequently in the administrative texts, have Amorite names and presumably belong to the recent incursion of Semitic nomads of that race. It seems probable that the population at Abu Salabikh and Ebla had a rather similar origin, although when they first

The whole sequerce can be show in the diagram below, transposed on nunber series. (see also appendix 2).

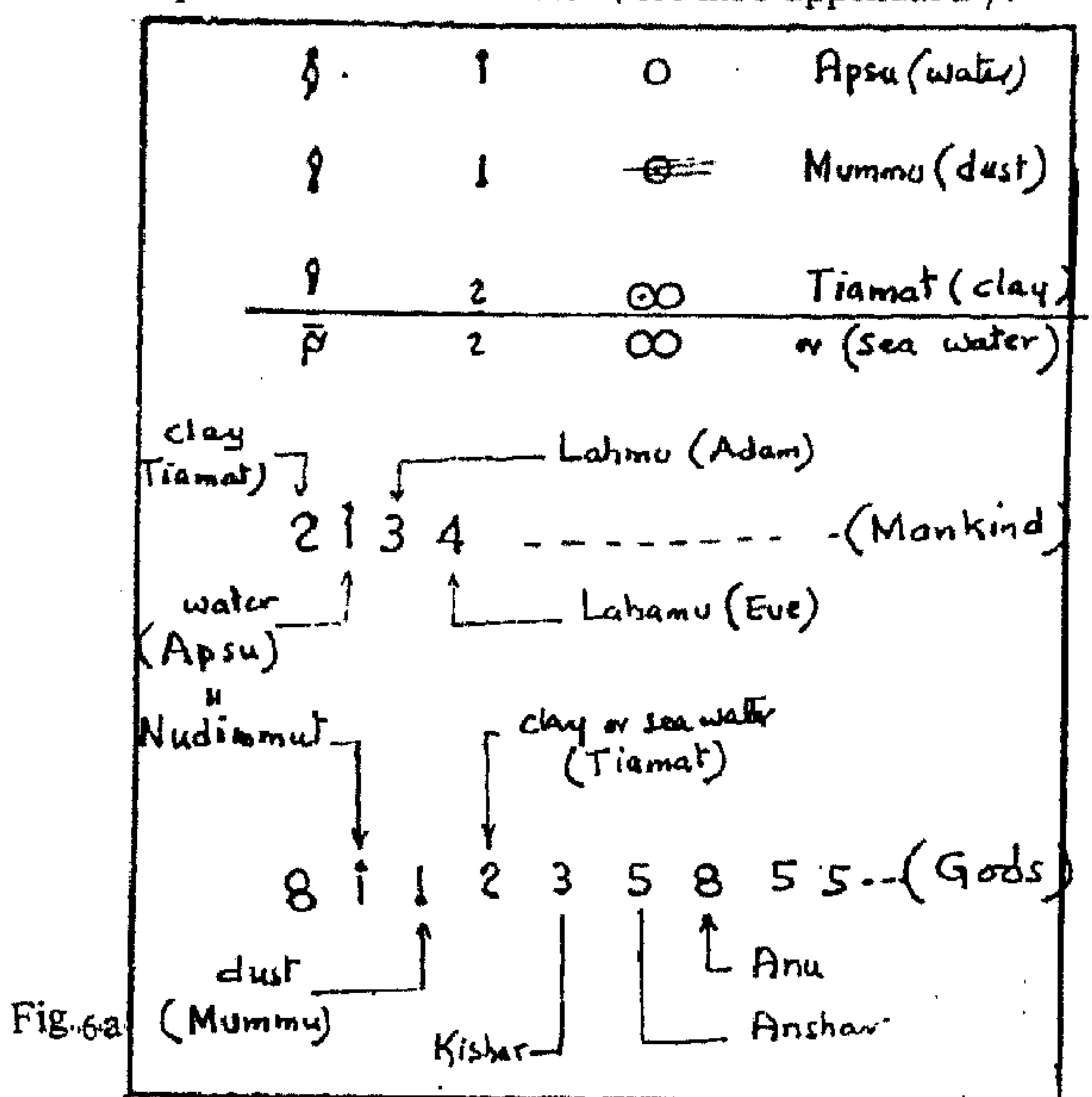


Fig. 6a

nature, subdivided into twenty squares representing thirty-four numbers with groups of two and three eyes around the four edges representing six other numbers.

There are basically seven types of squares and motifs, (see fig. 7).

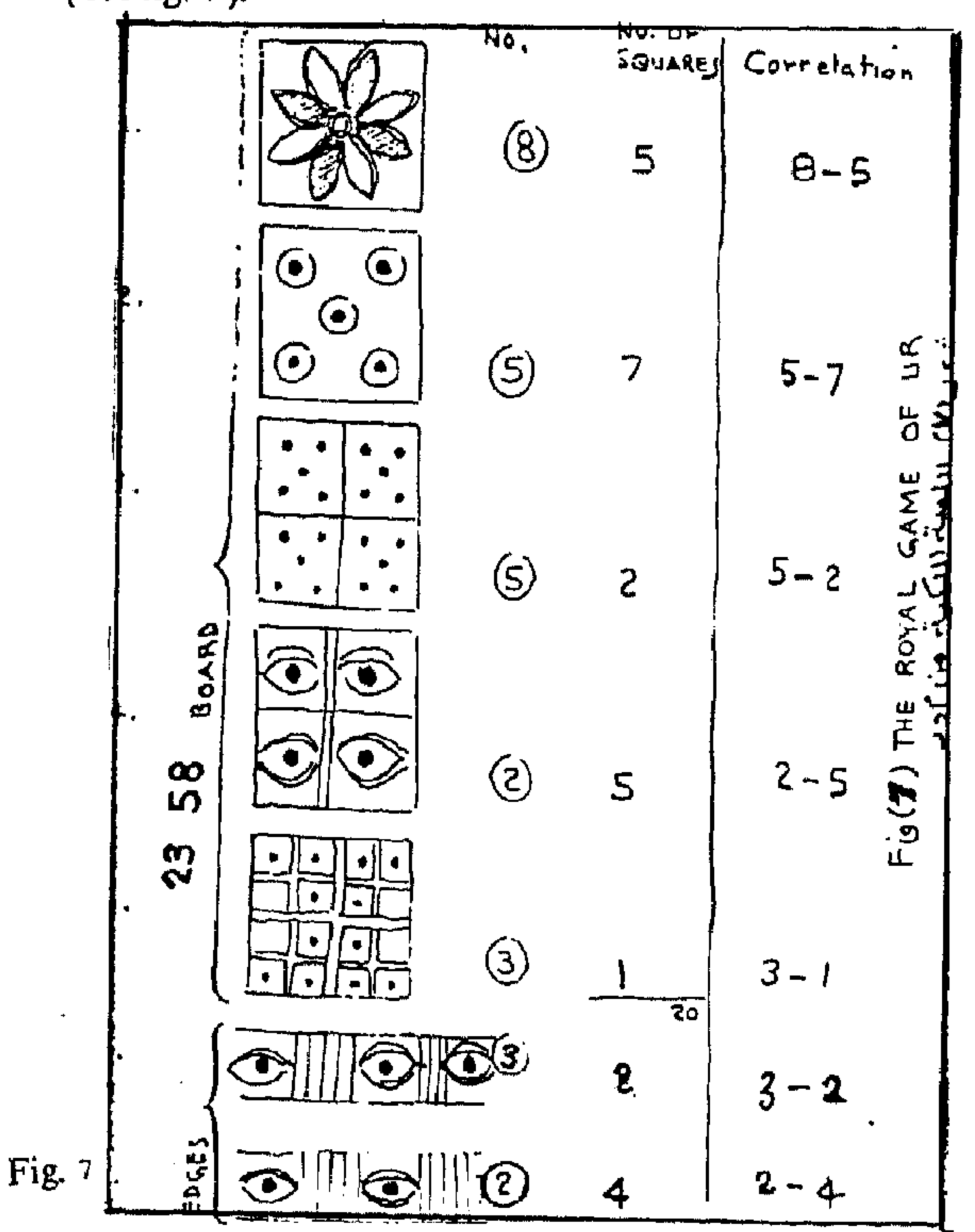


Fig. 7

Numbers of the game seem to correlate with this study of the Mesopotamian Numerical System speculated on above.

Two other methods can be devised for playing the game based on binary notation (0,1) & (1,2), in addition to the method suggested in the leaflet provided by the British Museum Publications, which will be the subject of a separate paper under preparation explaining in detail the relationship of this game as well as Chess, Dominos and Cards with the decimalsexagesimal system. By investigation all showed positive relationships.

An outline on the concepts investigated is sketched below :

CHESS : Solar Game
6 stones – 8 squars
32 = total no. of parts
(see fig. 8)

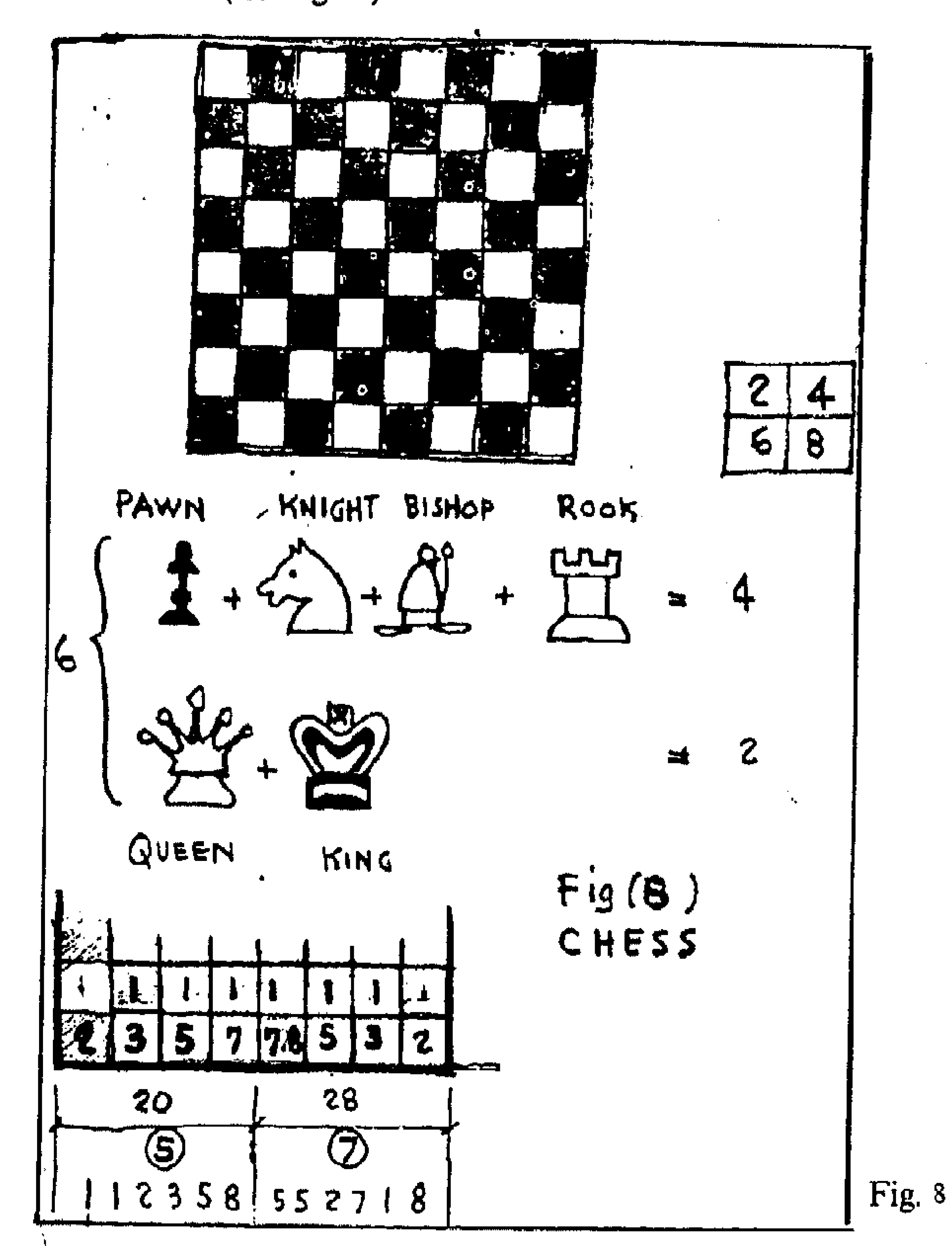


Fig. 8

DOMINOS : Lunar Game
6 Numbers

adding to seven with blank
28 = total no. of parts
(see fig. 9)

CARDS : The game of the "Queen of the Sky" or the game of Inarna (Ishtar) shows perfect analogy to the system
(see fig. 10).

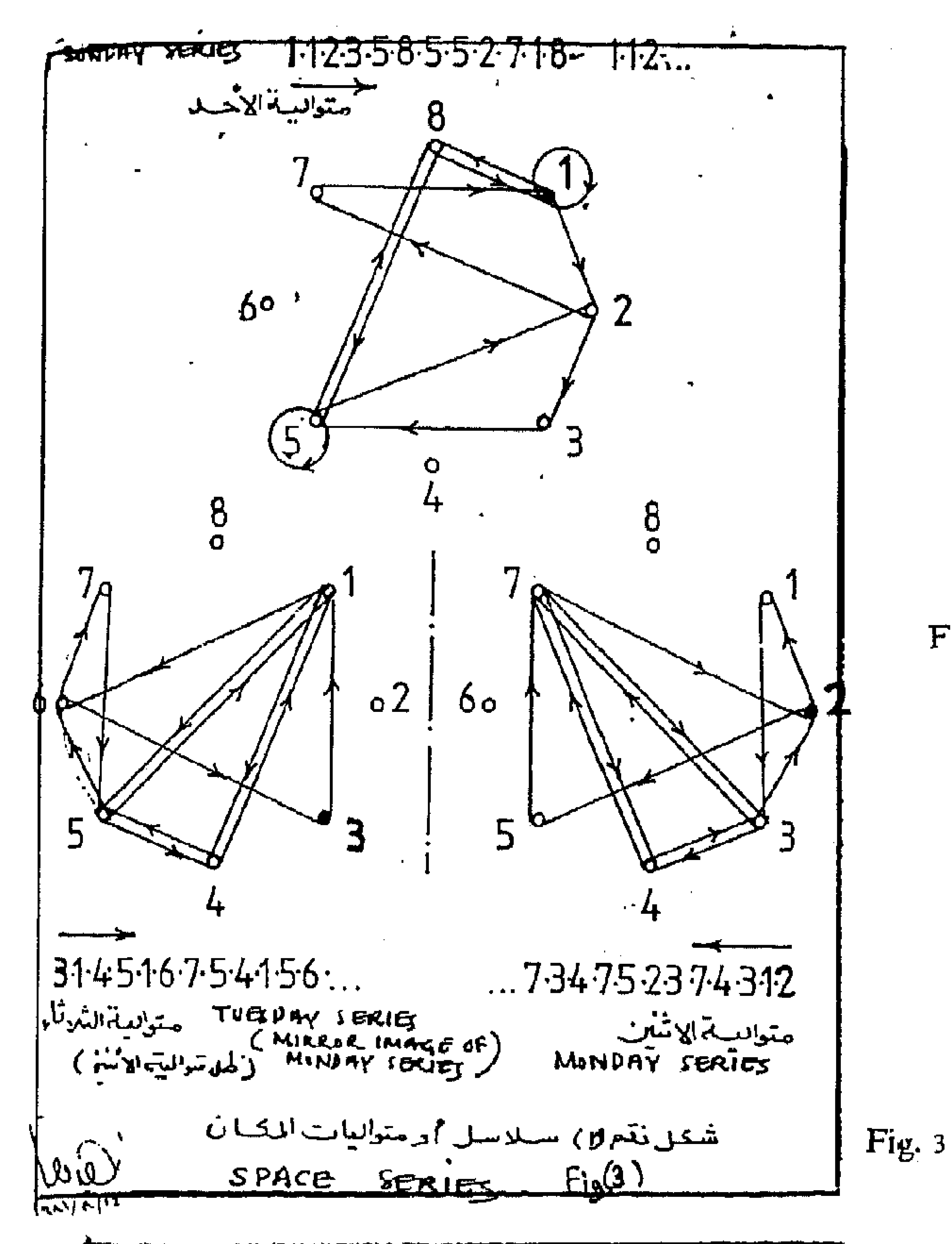


Fig. 3

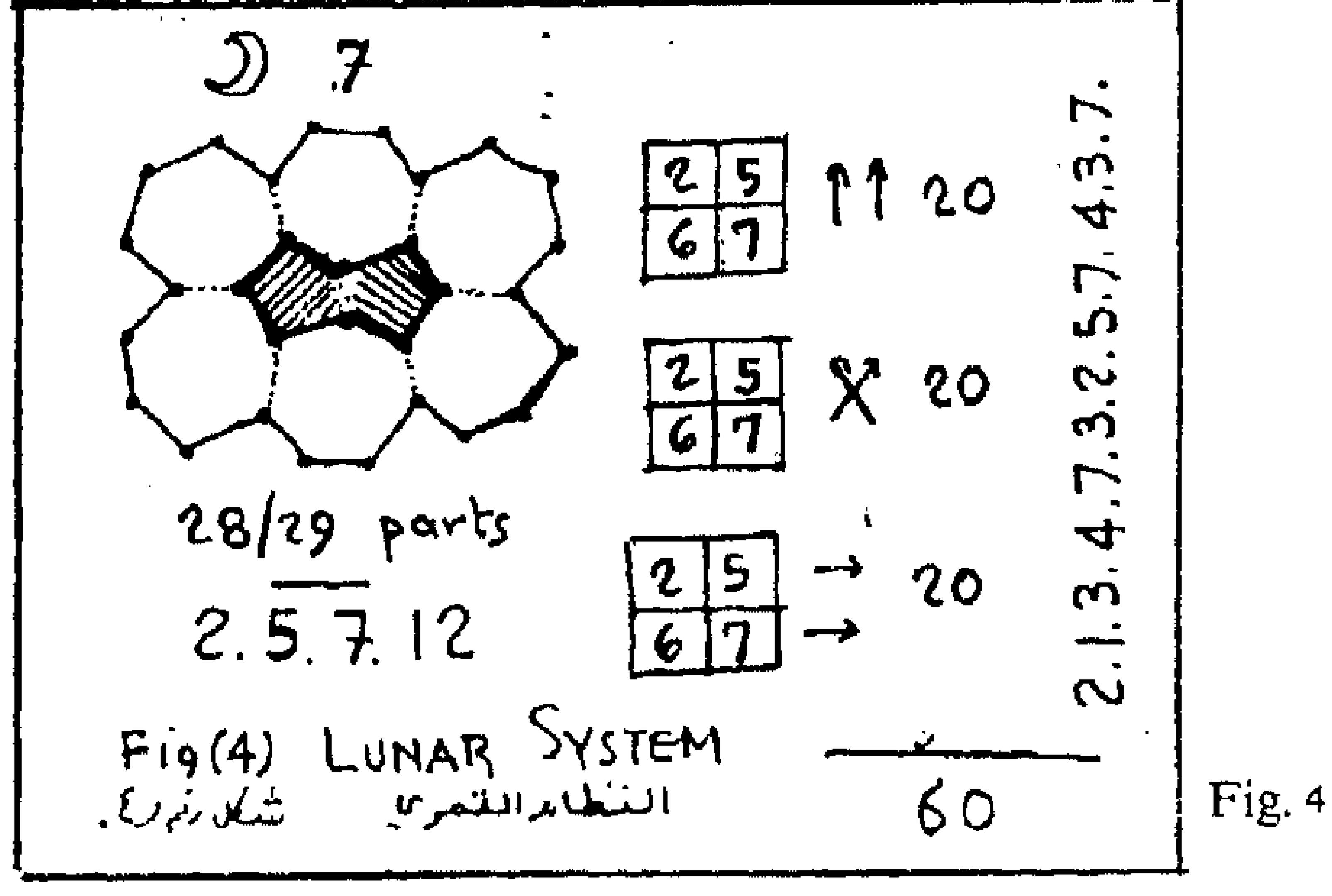


Fig. 4

the epic contains a wealth of numbers[7].

A check showed that the numbers seven, six and three are highest in score. Sinse they are mentioned twenty four, twelve, and twelve times respectively. Seven associated with six appeared seven times. Next, numbers two, twenty and thirty are mentioned six times each.

One, onethird, twothirds, twelve, and one hundred twenty are mentioned four times each.

Many numbers of lesser frequency are also in the epic,

(7) Dr. Taha Baqir the "Epic of Gilgamesh" (in Arabic 4th. Ed.).

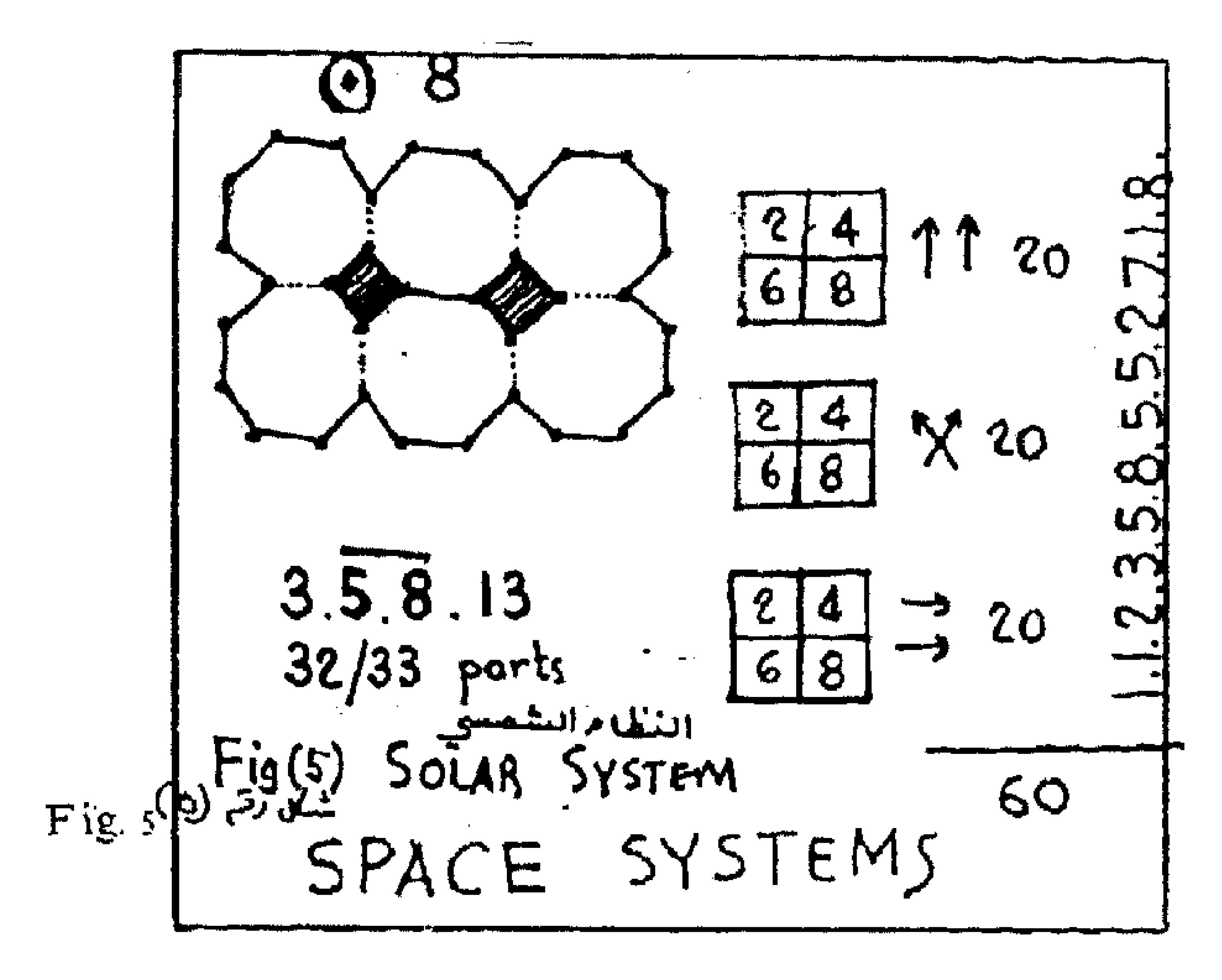


Fig. 5

but those above are the most prominent, and it can be shown that all the numbers in the epic can be fitted into the Mesopotamian (Decimal Sexagesimal) system, except number ten thousand, which is mentioned twice in the epic.

THE ROYAL GAME OF UR, CHESS, AND OTHER GAMES

The British Museum Publications has produced a card bord replica of the "Royal Game of Ur".

Being inspected, the game is definitely of numerical

Fig. 6

THE TWO NATURES OF TIME :

Time can thus be considered as a tetrahedral tessellation extending in four directions to infinity (see fig. 1 a), the centres of closely packed spheres being the nodal points of this net, and, as having two natures, a nature independent of action where the four noded tetrahedron being the third and basic cell of this time, and a second nature dependent on action when it takes action one second to move from one node to the next in the tessellation with four degrees of freedom or four directions, starting from any node (fig.1) once we pace a building or utter speech the units of space or syllables as they move from one node to another will mark measurable time in seconds (Mesopotamian).

SPACE

Octal: as mentioned above number (8) denotes space. Three number series or number chains are necessary for the creation of the whole (nos. 1–8).

1·1·2·3·5·8·5·5·2·7·1·8· 1·1·2...
2.1.3.4.7.3.2.5.7.4.3.7. 2.1.3...
3.1.4.5.1.6.7.5.4.1.5.6. 3.1.4...

note that space units are separated with (one – second) spacers shown thus (·) in order that these units stay distinct.

The space domain is manifested in two systems as the third series is a mirror image of the second, see figs(3), (4), (5), (6) where space parts travelling in a predetermined order according to number sequence in the series.

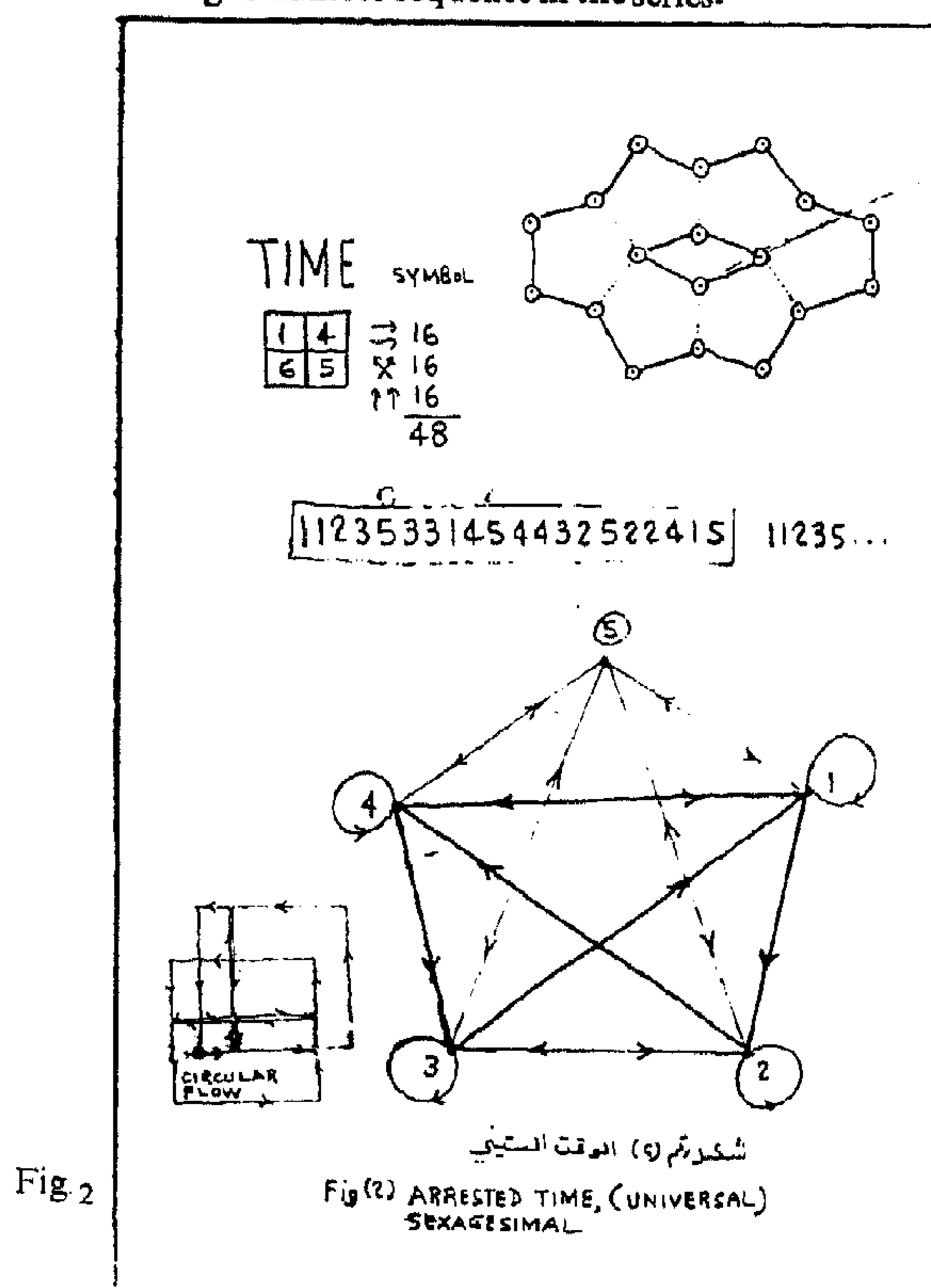


Fig. 2 Fig (2) ARRESTED TIME, (UNIVERSAL) SEXAGESIMAL

SOLAR SYSTEM (SUN.)	1·1·2·5·5·8·5·5·2·7·1·8·	SUNDAY
LUNAR SYSTEM (MOON)	2·1·3·4·7·3·2·5·7·4·3·7·	MONDAY
(MARS)	3·1·4·5·1·6·7·5·4·1·5·6·	TUESDAY
(MERCURY)	4·1·5·6·3·1·4·5·1·6·7·5·	WEDNESDAY
(TUPITER)	5·1·6·7·5·4·1·5·6·3·1·4	THURSDAY
(VENUS) (5)	3·2·5·7·4·3·7·2·1·3·4·7·	FRIDAY
(SATURN)	7·1·8·1·1·2·3·5·8·5·5·2	SATURDAY

SUNDAY and SATURDAY FROM SOLAR SERIES.
MONDAY and FRIDAY FROM LUNAR SERIES
TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY & THURSDAY FROM THE MIRROR IMAGE SERIES(6).

Each series represents one day. Twelve digits are equivalent to the double hours of the day. Thirty space units or syllables with directional freedom of four are equivalent to the minutes.

Each series adds up to forty eight plus twelve one–second intervals.

(48 + 12) = 60, with a four–directional freedom, too.

Thus a comparison between Mesopotamian times measurement and contemporary ones can be shown as follows;

	HOURS	MINUTES	SECONDS
MESOPOTAMIAN	12	30 × 4	60 × 4
CONTEMPORARY TIME MEASUREMENT	24	60	60

THE CREATION MYTH

For the understanding of the fundamentals of the Origin Myth one can best refer to the myth of "Enumma elish" which is written in Akkadian in the earlier half of the second millennium B.C. which crystalizes the origins of the basic features of the universe as that of watery choas, in short, Apsu the sweet water, Mummu, the dust of the earth and Tiamat, the clays or sea water.

Lahmu (Adam), and Lahamu (Eve) are begotten by Apsu, the sweet water and born of Tiamat, the clays.

Anshar and Kishar are divine and also begotten by water give birth to Anu the god of the sky and Anu engenders Nudimmut the god of the sweet waters and the other gods. This sequence of creation can be speculated on by numbers as follows:

Apsu	+	Mummu	=	Tiamat
(water)		(dust)		(clay)

Which are the primes of creation, Apsu, father, and water from the sky (sweet water) Mummu, mother earth, dust of the earth, Tiamat the resulting product from primeval pair being either clays or sea water,..

Next, begotten by Apsu and born of Tiamat are Lahmu and Lahamu ... etc.

NUMBERS IN "THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH :

It is an established fact that the oldest versions of the Gilgamesh epic are in Summerian Language. The text of

(5) Friday series results from the summation of Solar Series and the Lunar Series.

(6) The three brothers of the moon in the underworld.

SPECULATIONS ON MESOPOTAMIAN (DECIMAL - SEXAGESIMAL) NUMERIC AL SYSTEM

By :

ZUHAIR MOHAMMAD HASSAN

INTRODUCTION

The author has since two years established a numerical system to analyze meters in poetry[1]. It consists of relationships of space units or syllables voiced in time in a predetermined way or order expressed by numerical series. The system proved to be linked with the Mesopotamian decimal-sexagesimal system in many ways.

The main outlines of the system proposed will be explained; a creation myth will be analyzed followed by an inspection of numbers in the text of The Epic of Gilgamesh and lastly some observations on the "Royal Game of Ur" and other eastern games.

Languages, rhythms or meters will not be discussed, only final findings[2] will be given for it is outside the scope of this Symposium.

THE SYSTEM TIME

Pentad: The system is based on the assumption[3] that the number(5) denotes time and number (8) denotes space, the numerical sequence from one to five and that from one to eight forms a closed circuit where five and eight coincide with the position of zero, which is analogous to number twelve on our watches at mid-night where it points the end of a day and the start of the next day at the same instant.

Two number series or number chains[4] are necessary for the creation of the whole system (nos. 1–5) -

a. Temporal time (decimal)

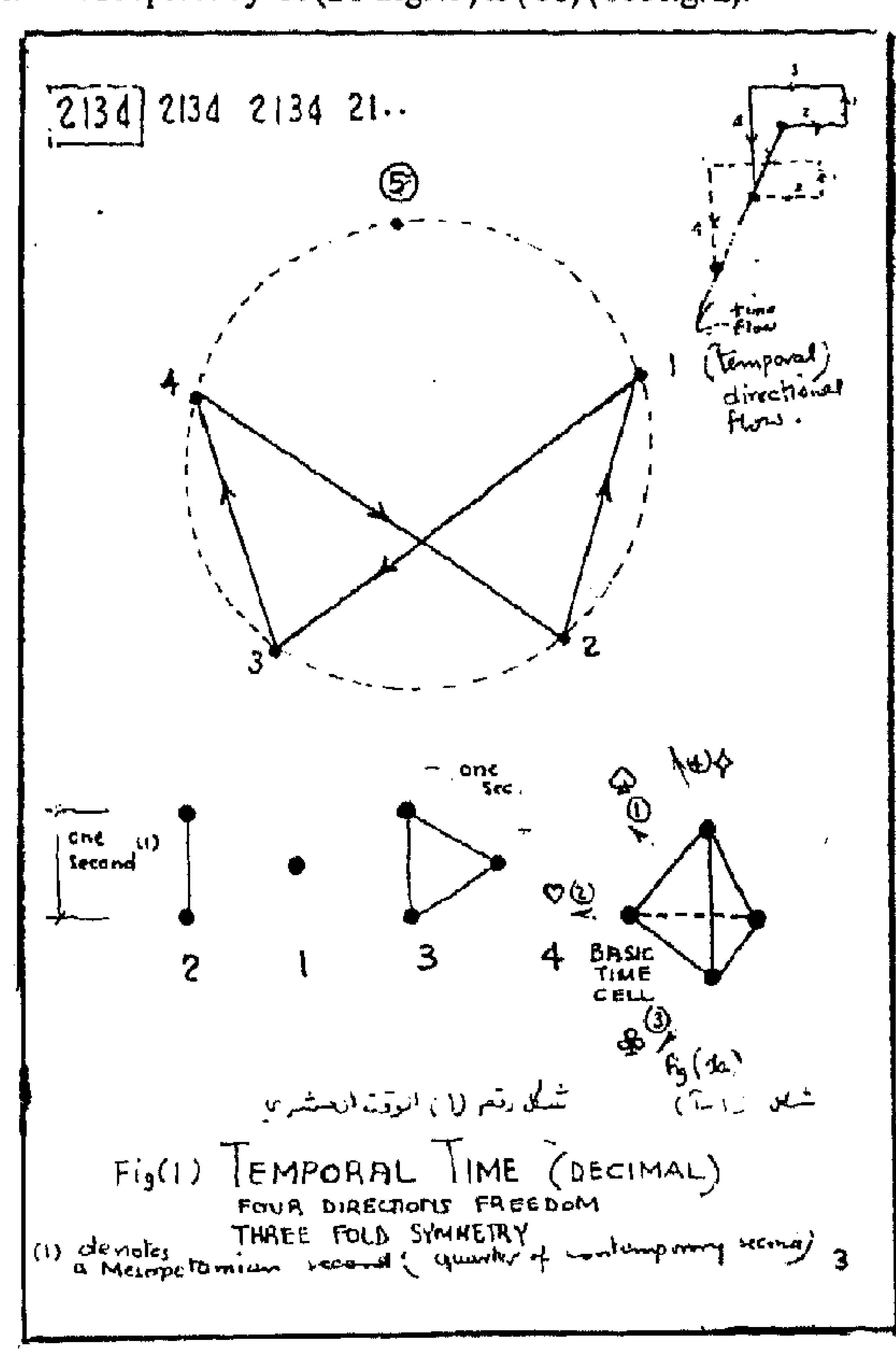
2134 2134 213

The series repeats itself to infinity after four digits, and the sum of the four digits is (10) (see fig. 1).

b. Arrested time (sexagesimal), or UNIVERSAL TIME

1 1 2 3 5 3 3 1 4 5 4 4 3 2 5 2 2 4 1 5 1 1 2 3 ...

The series repeats itself to infinity after twenty digits, the sum of complete cycle (20 digits) is (60) (see fig. 2).



Fig(1) TEMPORAL TIME (DECIMAL)

Fig. 1

(1) See, "The Rhythms of Arabic Poetry: a New Theory", *ALTHAWRA* NEWSPAPER - BAGHDAD, 21/5/1980, and "Al-Farahidi Discovered Only Half the Truth". ALEF - BA MAGAZINE - BAGHDAD, 21/5/1980.

(2) These findings are shown on figs. 11, 12.

(3) See appendix 1 & 2.

(4) Fibonacci type series, caballistic reduction after (5), for time series and after eight,[8] for space series.

recht Schrift paläobabylonischer Zeit genommen werden[28] Denn er stellt ein absolutes Unikum dar. Wie kann man dieses Problem lösen? Angesichts eines so hervorragenden Meisterstücks mesopotamischer Kunst von Fälschung zu sprechen, scheint fast unangemessen[29]. Einfacher wäre es vielleicht, an eine späte Kopie eines paläobabylonischen Originals zu denken, oder daß die Inschrift in jüngerer Zeit hinzugefügt worden war.

Anhand der analysierten Beispiele haben wir also gesehen, daß die neue These von der Keilschriftrichtung zu einem eingehenden Studium archäologischer Funde beitragen kann. An dieser Stelle ist es angebracht, einige abschließende Bemerkungen hinzuzufügen.

Die alte Theorie von der Drehung der Keilschrift hat bis heute nur Verwirrung und Vernunftwidrigkeiten mit ebenso negativen Folgen hervorgebracht. Besonders muß daran erinnert werden, daß sämtliche archaischen Inschriften so veröffentlicht worden sind, als wären sie horizontal gewesen einschließlich der offenkundig senkrechten Monumentalinschriften und solcher, die sich auf die ersten Phasen der Keilschrift beziehen. Eine zweifellos bequeme und nunmehr schwer zu ersetzende Gewohnheit, deren Geschichtswidrigkeit jedoch immer vor Augen gehalten werden muß[30]. Auch die Ausstellungen in den Museen hatten an den Folgen dieser Theorie zu leiden. Denn die Inschriften auf Tafel derselben Epoche (drittes Jahrtausend und Anfang zweites Jahrtausend wurden mit Drehung um 90 Grad gegen den Uhrzeigersinn ausgestellt. Diesem Vorgehen hat man dann zur Erklärung ein Schema zurSeite gestellt, das die Entwicklung der Keilschrift erläutert, indem die Drehung der Zeichen bis in die archaische Phase zurückgeführt wird. Dieses so angelegte Schema ist falsch und es ist nur zu wünschen, daß es so bald wie möglich korrigiert werden möge. Die schwerwiegendste Folge schließlich hat sie auf dem Gebiet archäologischer und historischer Untersuchungen nach sich gezogen. Denn die Keilschriftrichtung ist nie als wissenschaftliches Hilfsmittel für das Studium archäologischer oder historischer Probleme herangezogen worden. Und dies nur wegen der Widersprüchlichkeiten, die der Theorie von der Drehung der Keilschrift innewohnen.

Anders stellt sich die Lage dar im Lichte der von mir vorgeschlagenen neuen These. Sie ermöglicht nicht nur, das Phänomen der Keilschriftrichtung in die Grenzen einer historischen Rekonstruktion zurückzuführer sondern liefert uns auch ein Hilfsmittel bei der Ermittlung von Datierung, Interpretation und Feststellung der Echtheit eines archäologischen Fundes.

29. Man muß aber daran erinnern, daß dasStück nicht aus regulären Ausgrabungen kommt, sondern im Antiquitätenhandel erworben wurde. Sollte es sich als eine Fälschung erweisen, dann hätte es als erlauchten Vorgänger die berühmte "Fibula prenestina" mit der "ältesten lateinischen Inschrift", die kürzlich von M. Guarducci als eine eklatante Fälschung entlarvt wurde. M. Guarducci, La cosidetta Fibula Prenestina– Antiquari, eruditi e falsari nella Roma dell'Ottocento, ANL Mem., Cl. Sc.Mor., XXIV,4, Roma 1980, SS. 411–574.

30. Man beachte, daß alle Inschriften des dritten Jahrtausends auf korrekte Weise von E.De Sarzec publiziert worden sind. E.De Sarzec, DC II, Pl. 31, et passim.



vertikale Richtung hatten. Im Falle der Datierung kann eine Standarte aus Luristan als Beispiel angeführt werden, die kürzlich von I. M. Diakonoff publiziert worden ist (24). Die vorhandene vertikale Inschrift auf der Standarte begünstigt ohne weiteres, auch wenn man die der elamischen Zone eigene Verzögerung der Tradition (s. Anm. 14) berücksichtigt, eine Datierung, die nicht des 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr. überschreitet.

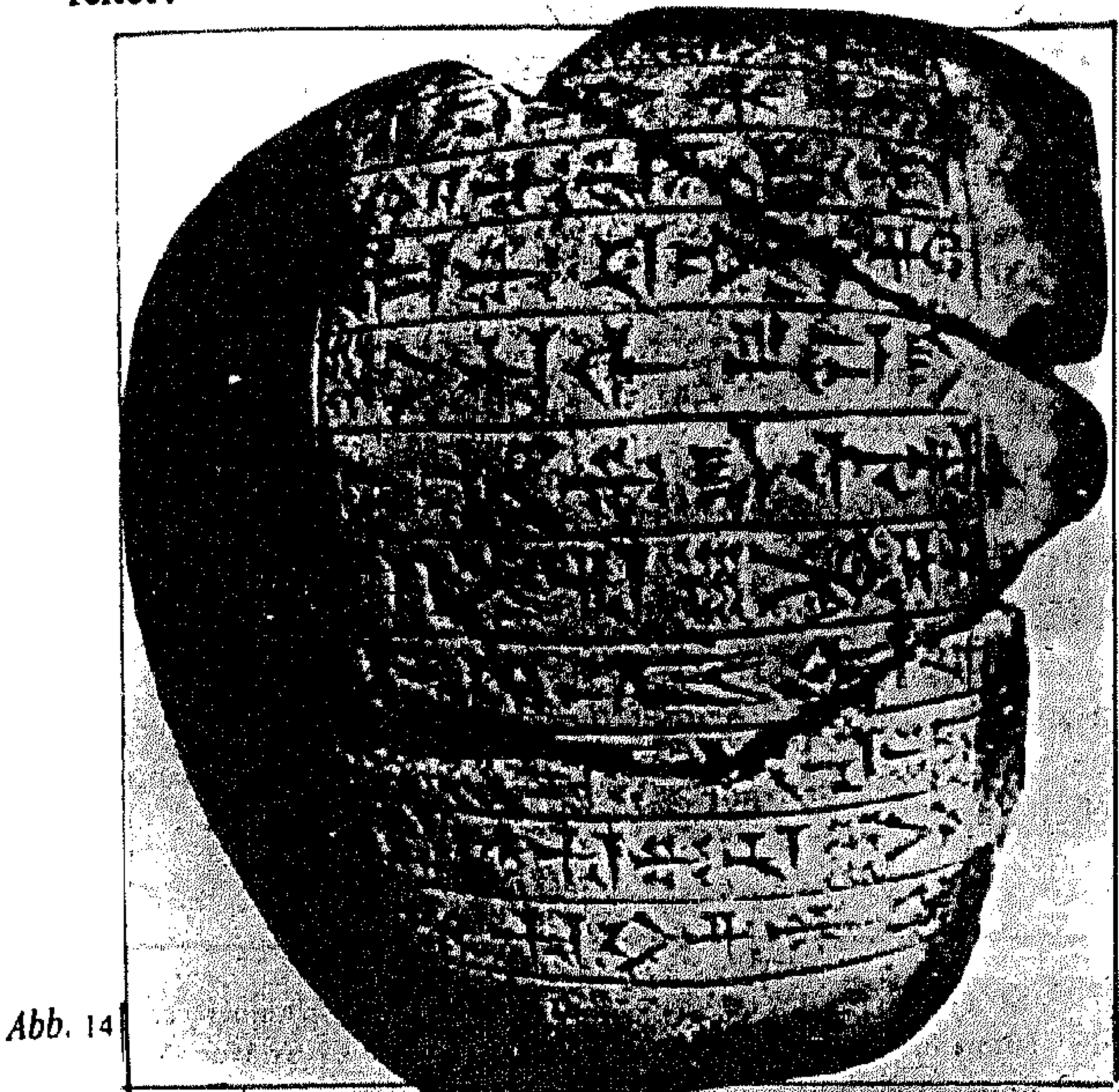


Abb. 14

Betrachten wir nun jene Beziehungen zwischen Schriftrichtung und archäologischen Daten, die dazu beitragen können, die Echtheit oder Fälschung eines Fundes zu bestimmen.

Ein erstes Beispiel in dieser Hinsicht liefert uns ein Gefäß, das kürzlich von D. Owen (Abb. 14)(25) publiziert worden ist. Es zeigt eine Inschrift, die sich auf den König Rim – Sin von Larsa bezieht. Sie weist aber viele paläographische Unregelmaßigkeiten und nicht wenige Fehler auf und ist

außerdem horizontal, was für die Rim – Sin Epoche völlig unwahrscheinlich ist. Diese beiden Anomalien tragen jedenfalls dazu bei, entweder an eine moderne Fälschung zu denken oder an eine alte Kopie, die aber auf keinen Fall einer der kassitischen Epoche vorausgehenden Zeit angehören kann.

Ein zweites Beispiel ist einer neueren Publikation von G. – P. Grégoire (Abb. 15)(26) entnommen. Es handelt sich um ein Relief mit Inschrift aus archaischer Epoche. Aber wie im vorausgehenden Fall weist auch diese Inschrift paläographische Eigentümlickheiten auf, die sie unleserlich machen. Zudem ist sie horizontal und steht damit in völligem Gegensatz zur Epoche. Ganz offensichtlich handelt es sich um einen gefälschten Gegenstand oder eine gefälschte Inschrift.

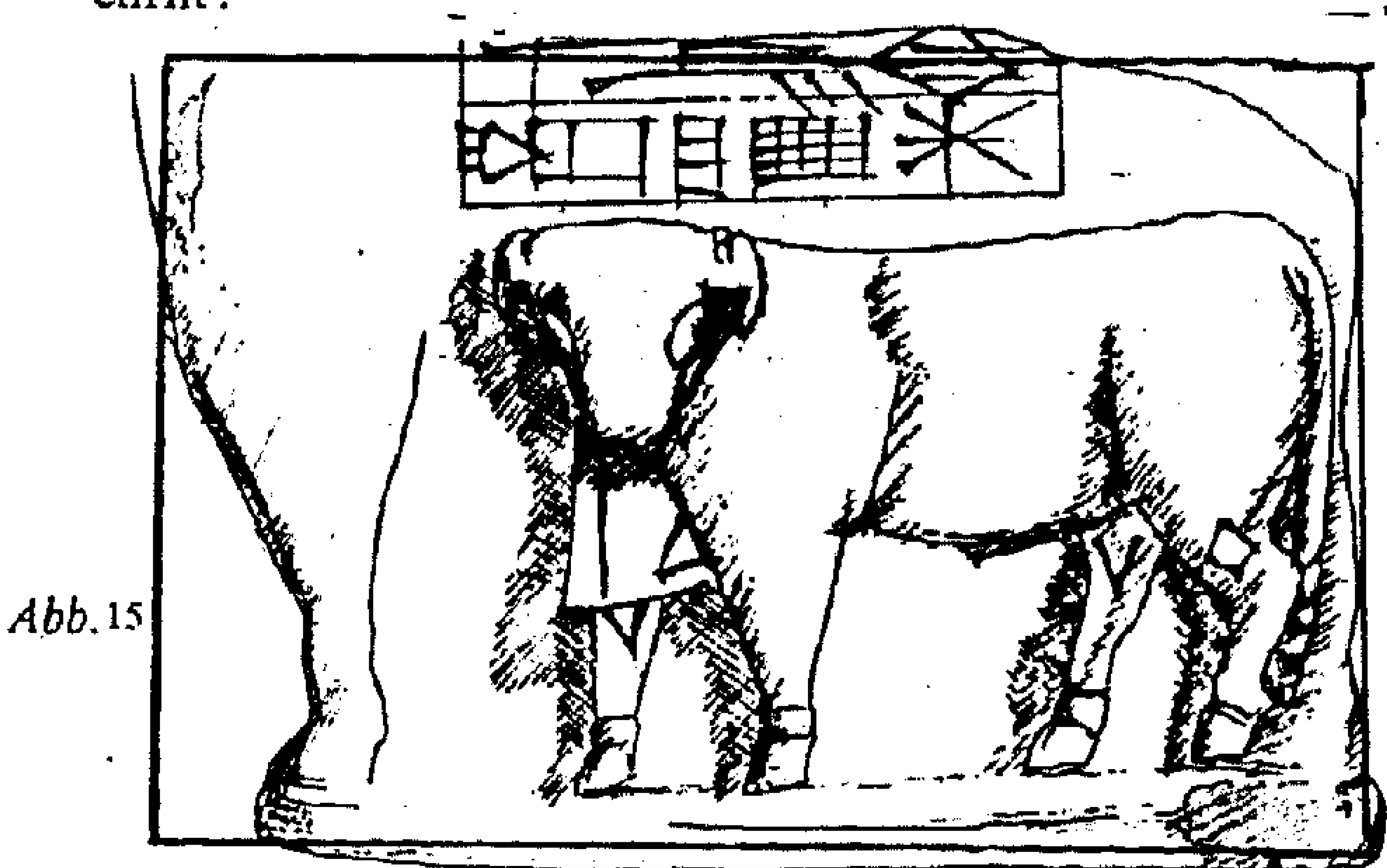


Abb. 15

Einen besonderen Fall stellt die berühmte Statuette des Louvre dar, der sogenannt "Knieende von Larsa" (*Abb.*16)(27)



Abb. 16

Der Sockel der Statuette trägt eine Inschrift mit Widmung an Hammurabi, König von Babylon. Sie ist aber nicht senkrecht, wie man für diese Epoche erwarten würde, sondern waagerecht. Die Anomalie läßt sich weder verneinen noch ignorieren Außerdem kann der Gegenstand nicht als Beispiel für waage-

25. D. Owen, Excerpts from an Unknown Hymn to Rim-Sin of Larsa, in B.L. Eichler, Kramer Anniversary Volume, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976 (AOAT 25), SS. 351–355, Pl. XII.
26. G.-P. Grégoire, Inscriptions et archives administratives cunéiformes, I, Roma 1981 (MVN X), Pl. 2, N.4
27. H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, London 1958, Pl. 64; W. Orthmann, PKG 14, 1975, Taf.XI.
28. Vgl. D.O. Edzard, RLA V, S. 547

TA bezeichnete, 'obere Seite' nur dann wirklich die obere, wenn die Tafel entsprechend der vertikalen Schriftrichtung aufgestellt wird. Ähnliches gilt für andere Texte, in welchen die Seiten eines Trapezes deutlich mit den Begriffen SAG. AN. TA 'obere Seite' und SAG.KI. TA 'untere Seite'[17] gekennzeichnet sind.

Die bisher untersuchten archäologischen und Texten entnommenen Daten liefern einen klaren Beweis für die neue These von der ausschließlich senkrechten Keilschriftrichtung während des ganzen dritten und der ersten Jahrhunderte des zweiten Jahrtausends.

Jetzt sollen einige Fälle untersucht werden, in denen diese neue Theorie zu einem besseren Verständnis archäologischer Daten führt.

Eine unter diesem Gesichtspunkt erste Bemerkung betrifft die alten Stadt-oder Landkarten, die uns erhalten geblieben sind. Die älteste uns bekannte geographische Karte kommt aus Nuzi (*Abb.*12)[18] und stammt aus der akkadischen

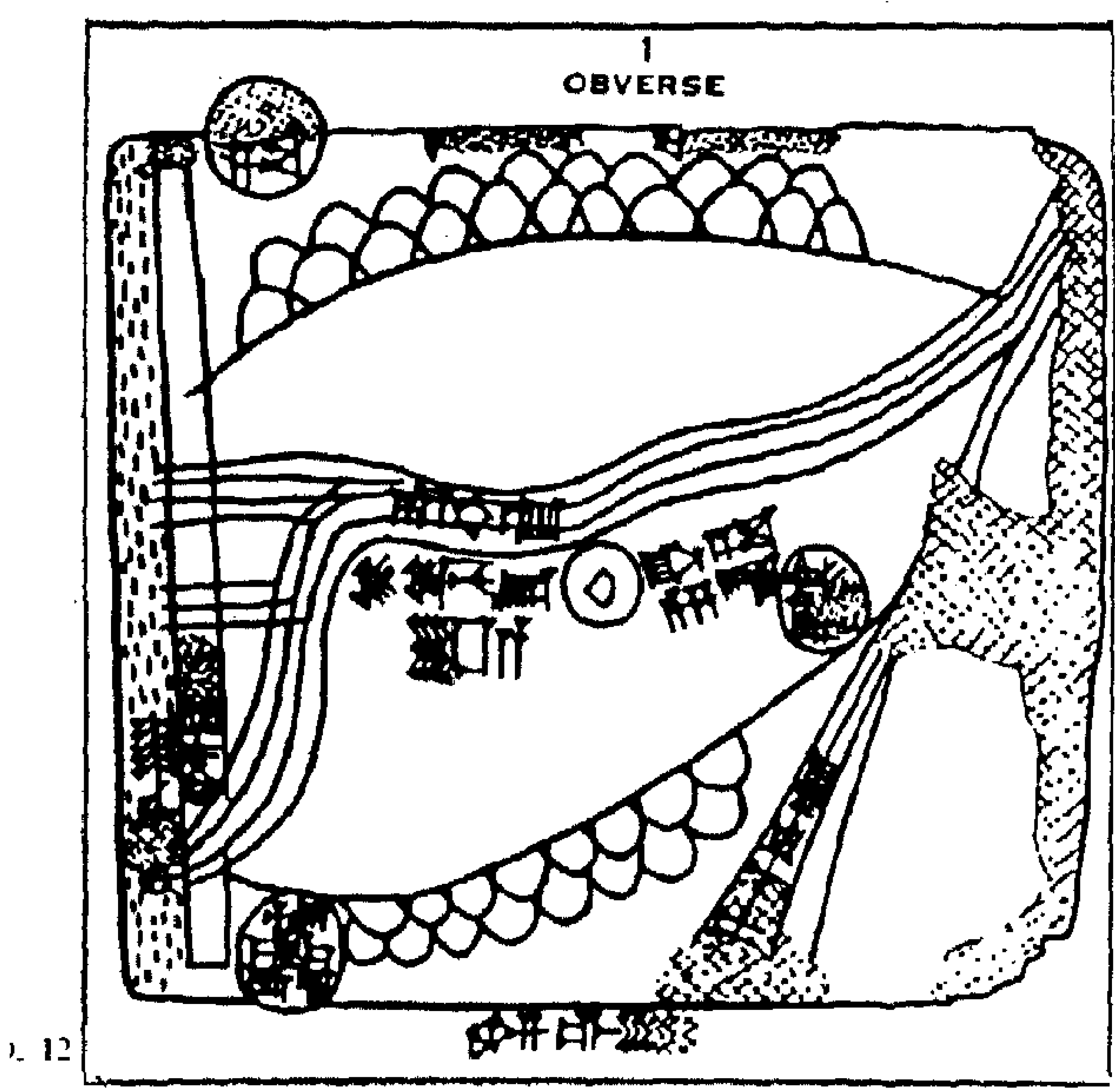
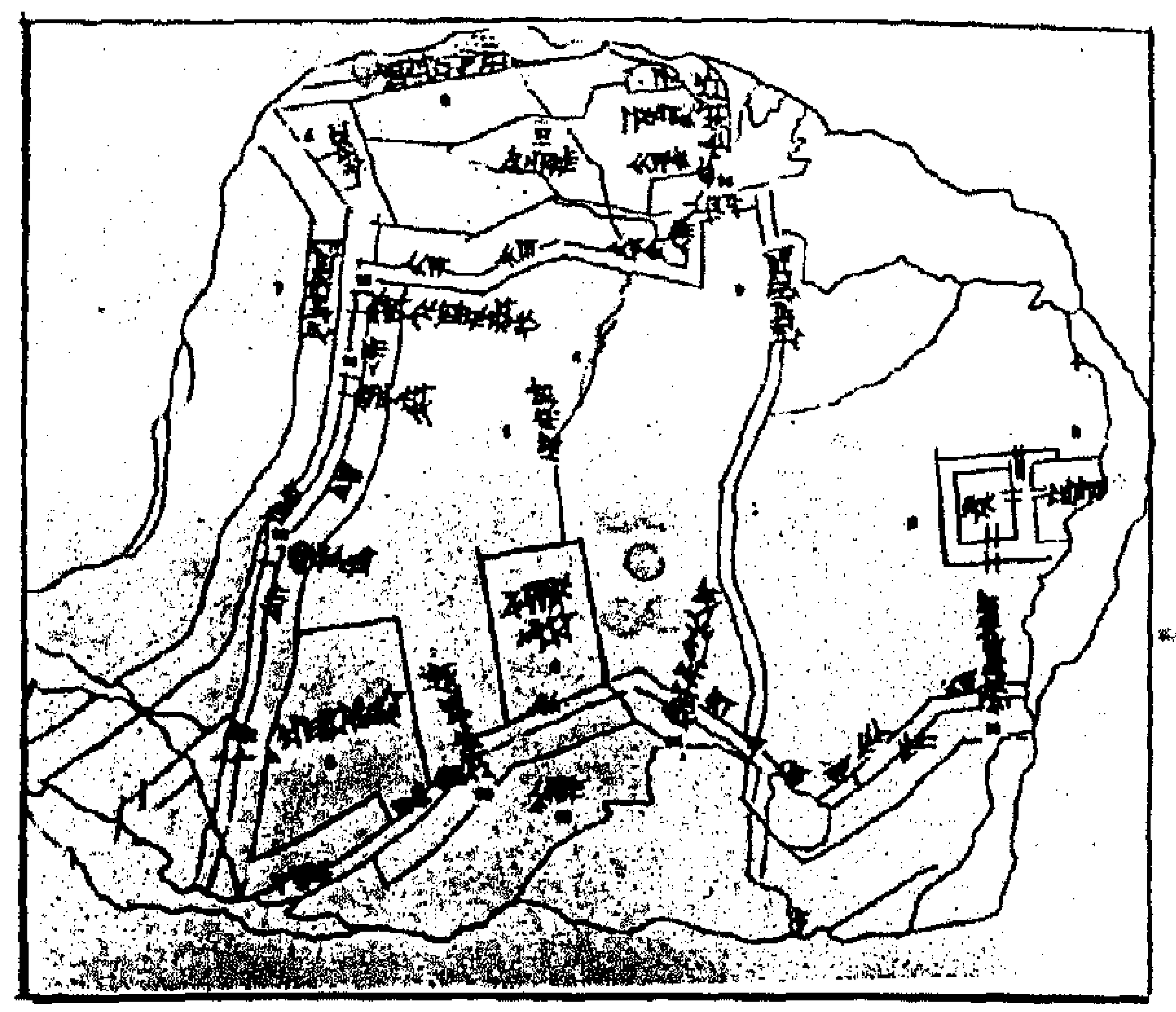


Abb. 12

Epoche. Sie ist mit mehreren Beschriftungen versehen, die Ortsund Flußnamen betreffen sowie die Namen der vier Haupthimmelsrichtungen.[19] So kennen wir zwar die Beziehung der Karte zur wirklichen geographischen Orientierung, aber wir wissen nicht, mit welcher Orientierung die alten Geographen sie konsultiert haben. Hielten sie die Karte entsprechend unserem Brauch unter Einhaltung der Nord-Süd-Achse oder orientierten sie sie in anderer Weise? Nun, wenn wir die verschiedenen Beschriftungen betrachten, so werden wir bemerken, daß sie, mit einigen logischen Abweichungen, eine einzige Richtung innehalten. Man kann daher auf die Schriftrichtung schließen, die in akkadischer Epoche keine andere als die vertikale sein kann. Richten wir nun die Tafel nach dieser ursprüngliche Richtung der Karte gleich unserer Karten eine Nord-Süd-Orientierung hatte 20. Unterziehen wir nun eine andere berühmte Karte einer genaueren Prüfung den Stadtplan von Nippur (*Abb.*13)[21]. Welches ist seine ursprüngliche



Abb

Orientierung? Stellt man fest, daß der grösste Teil der Beschriftung eine einzige Richtung aufweist, und bedenkt man, daß den Stadtplan aus kassitischer Epoche stammt, so wird der nicht schwierig sein, dessen Orientierung zu bestimmen. Man braucht nur seine Beschriftung in Übereinstimmung mit der der kassitischen Epoch eigenen Schriftrichtung in die horizontale Position zu bringen und wird so die gesuchte Orientierung erhalten, welche eben die auf der Fotographie wiedergegebene ist[22].

Andere Beobachtungen, die ebenfalls auf der Keilschriftrichtung basieren, betreffen mehr allgemein die Deutung eines archäologischen Stückes oder manchmal dessen Datierung. Im ersten Fall können zwei kreisförmige Gegenstände des British Museum angeführt werden, die eine Inschrift des Hammurabi, König von Babylon, tragen [23]. Ihre Funktion ist nicht klar. Aber welche sie auch immer gewesen sein mag, so muß sie neu überdacht werden auf Grund der auf ihnen vorhandenen Inschriften, die in paläobabylonischer Epoche

19. Die Namen IM.M [IR] = Nord, I[M.K] UR = Ost, IM.MAR.T[U] = West, sind erhalten geblieben.

20. Wenn eine solche Orientierung auf unser System der Kardinalpunkte übertragen wird, ist sie gemäß einer NW-SO Achse verlagert. s. auch Anm.22

21. S.N. Kramer, The Sumerians, Chicago-London 1963, [Pl. VII].

22. Beim Vergleich mit den archäologischen Überresten von Nippur erscheint der Plan nach einer realen NW-SO Achse ausgerichtet. Eine derartige Orientierungsachse, wie sie gemeinhin bei den Geographen dieser Zeit üblich war, stellt man auch bei den topographischen Darstellungen der meister archäologischen Siedlungen in Mesopotamien fest.

23. Die beiden Gegenstände (BM 22455/ 22456 = LIH 64 / 65) sind identisch und werden als "bronze ornamants" von E.A. Budge bezeichnet, A Guide S. 147 und als "copper rings" von E. Norris, I R n. XV,3.

24. I.M. Diakonoff, A Cuneiform Charter from Western Iran, in B. Hruška G. Komoróczy, Festschrift L. Matouš, I, Budapest 1978, SS. 51 - 68

Eine andere Kategorie von Gegenständen, die sich zur Gegenüberstellung eignen, sind die Gefäße. Nicht ein Gefäß des dritten Jahrtausends trägt eine horizontale Inschrift. Alle sind vertikal. Und daß die Inschriften auch in der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends weiterhin vertikal sind, das zeigt uns ein Gefäß aus Tell al Rimah aus paläobabylonischer Epoche (*Abb.*8)[12].

Auch die Statuen liefern uns ausgezeichnetes Vergleichsmaterial, welches darüberhinaus auf geeignete Weise zeigt, wie verbreitet die senkrechte Keilschriftrichtung im ganzen Gebiet des Vorderen Orients war. Es genügt in diesem Zusammenhang an die wohlbekannten Statuen aus Mari zu erinnern. Aber auch aus der Zone von Ebla stammt ein Beispiel dieser Art. Es handelt sich um die Statue des IbbitLim, Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends, welche natürlich eine Inschrift vertikalen Typs aufweist (Abb. 9)[13]. Dasselbe trifft für Elam zu. Für



Abb. 9

dieses Gebiet braucht man nur an ein Basrelief zu erinnern, das aus der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends datiert (*Abb.*10)[14]. Und auch diesen Inschriften vertikalen Typs lassen sich in Mesopotamien Inschriften horizontalen Typs gegenüberstellen, die auf analogen Gegenständen aus nachkassitischer Epoche angebracht sind. Man denke nur an die Inschriften der vielen Statuen und Basreliefs aus mittel- und neuassyrischer Epoche.

Andere Gegenstände, die deutlich die Keilschriftrichtung zeigen, zuerst die vertikale, dann die horizontale, sind die sogenannten Tonkegel. Sie tragen ausnahmslos Inschriften des vertikalen Typs bis fast zur Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends, während sie später nur horizontale Inschriften aufweisen[15].

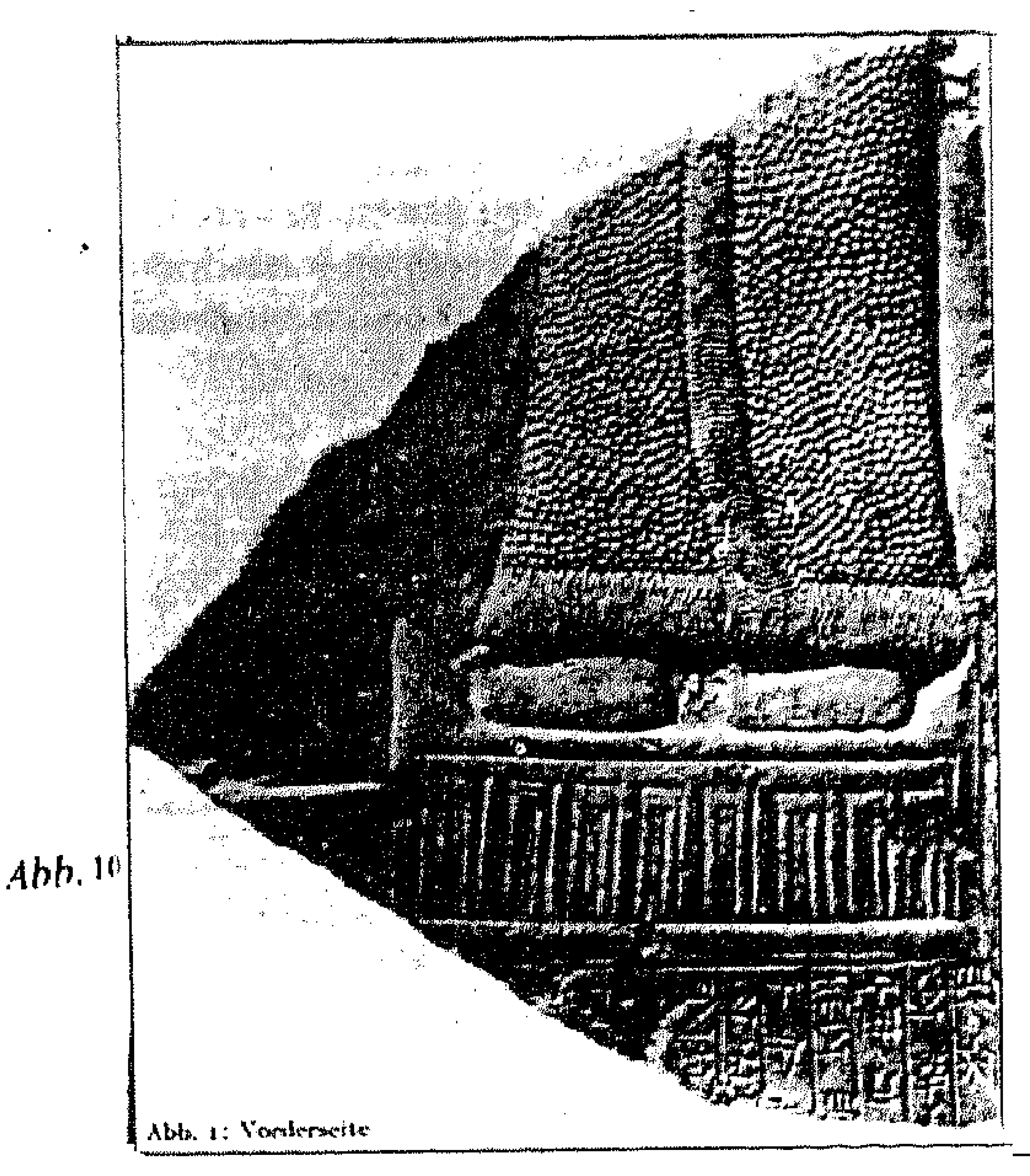


Abb. 1: Vorderseite

Abb. 10

Einen besonderen Beweis für die senkrechte Keilschriftrichtung in paläobabylonischer Epoche, wenn auch mehr den eigentlichen Text betreffend, liefern einige mathematische Tafeln, die von der Figur eines Dreiecks begleitet werden. Bei einem dieser Theoreme (*Abb.*11)[16] ist die mit SAG. KI. AN.

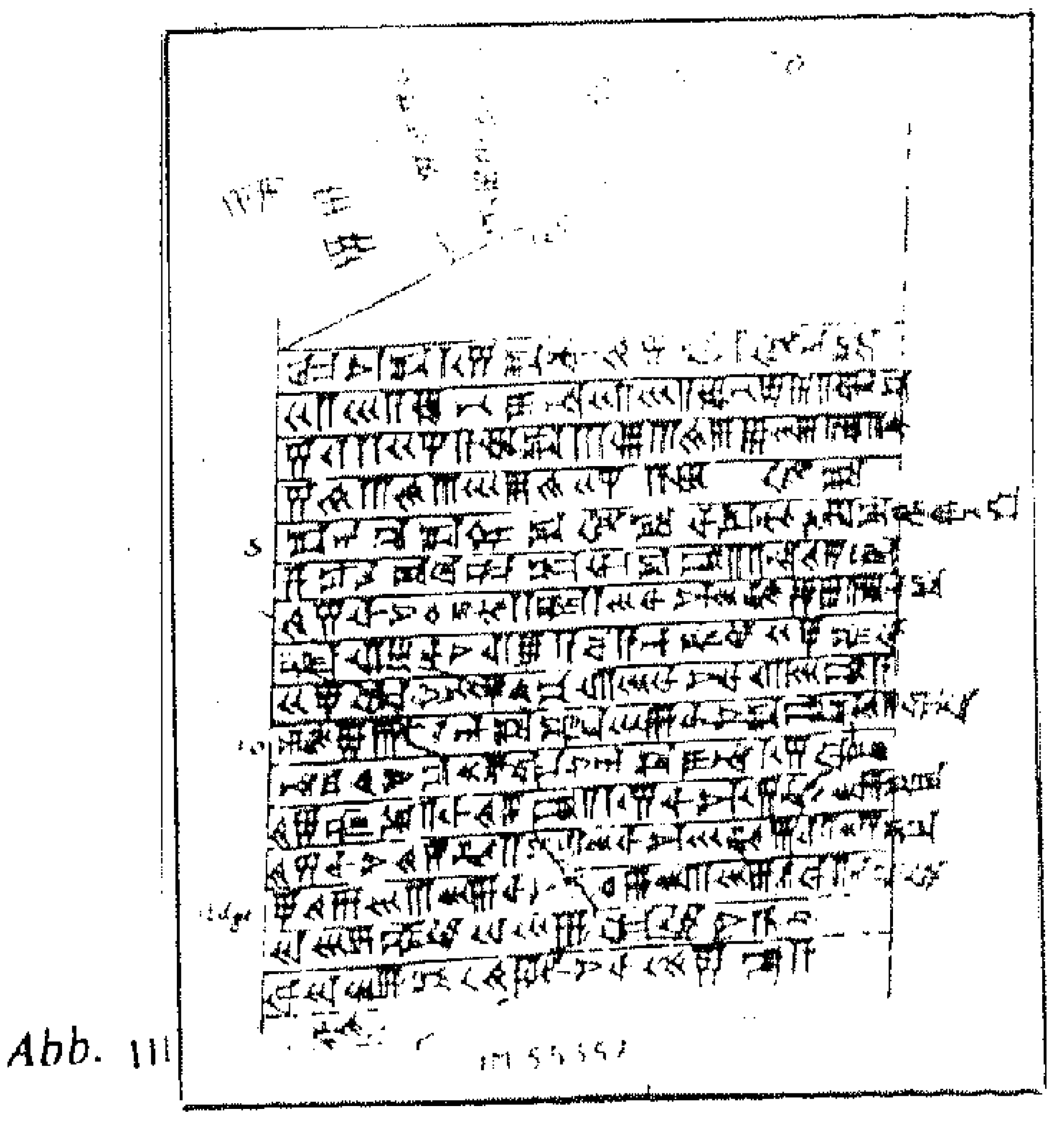


Abb. 11

14. W. Farber, ZA 64 (1975), Abb I, S.75. Bemerkenswert ist, daß im Gebiet von Elam die Tradition der Keilschrift senkrechten Typs bis in relativ späte Epoche fortgedauert hat, aber nicht über das 11. Jh vor Chr. hinaus. Siehe z.B. den Ziegelstein des Hutelutuš Insušinak, publiziert von M. Lambert, RA 66 (1972), S. 61 - 76.
15. Vgl. G.R. Driver, Semitic Writing, London 1976, S.13
16. F. Drenckhahn, ZA 50 (1952), S. 152 (IM 55357).
17. O. Neugebauer - A. Sachs, MCT, New Haven 1945, S.44, Pl.1 (YBC 4675). Zu diesen Überlegungen hat mich ein Hinweis D.O. Edzards geführt.
18. Th. J. Meek, HSS X, Pl. 1, 1.



Abb. 4

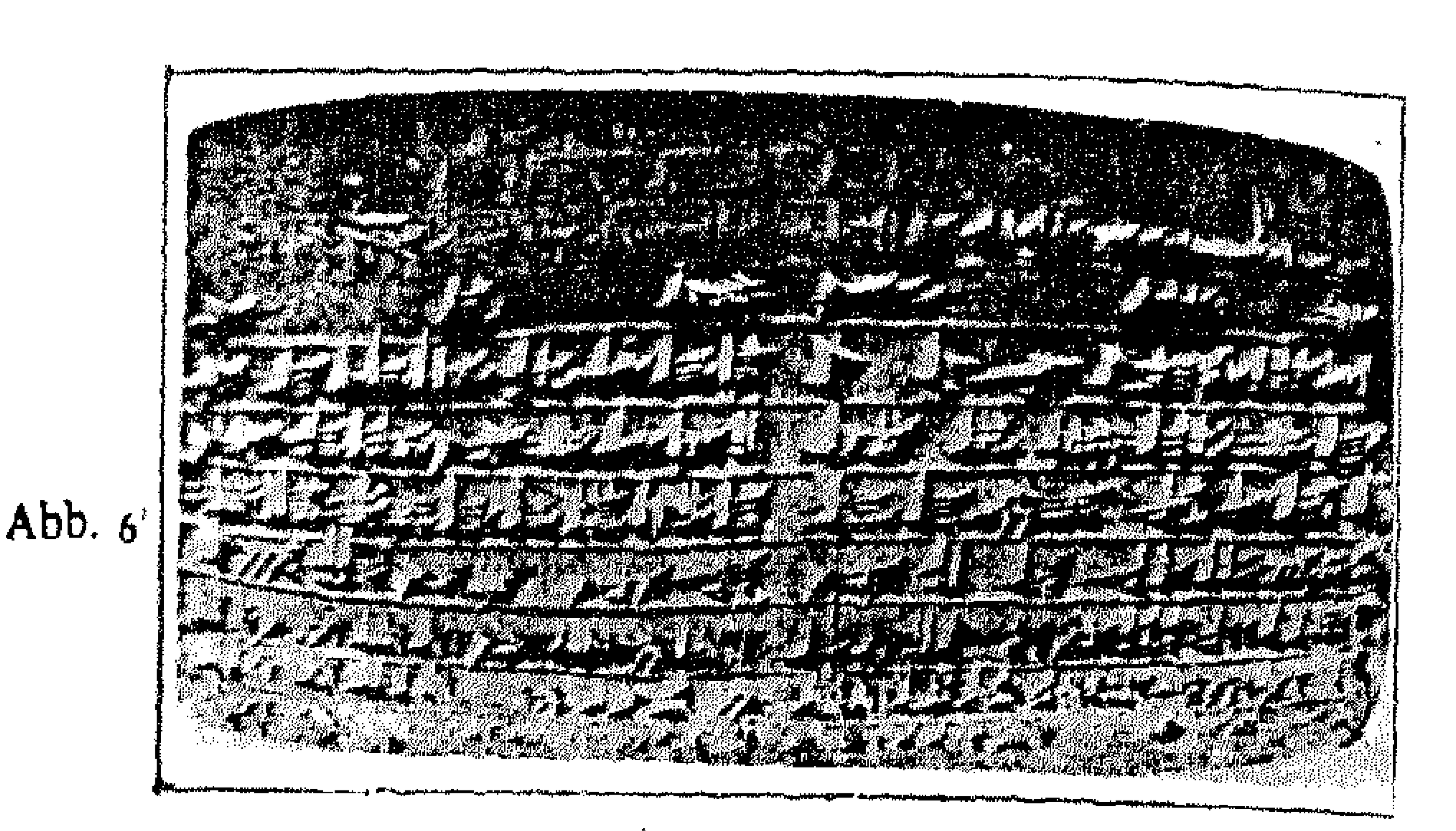


Abb. 6

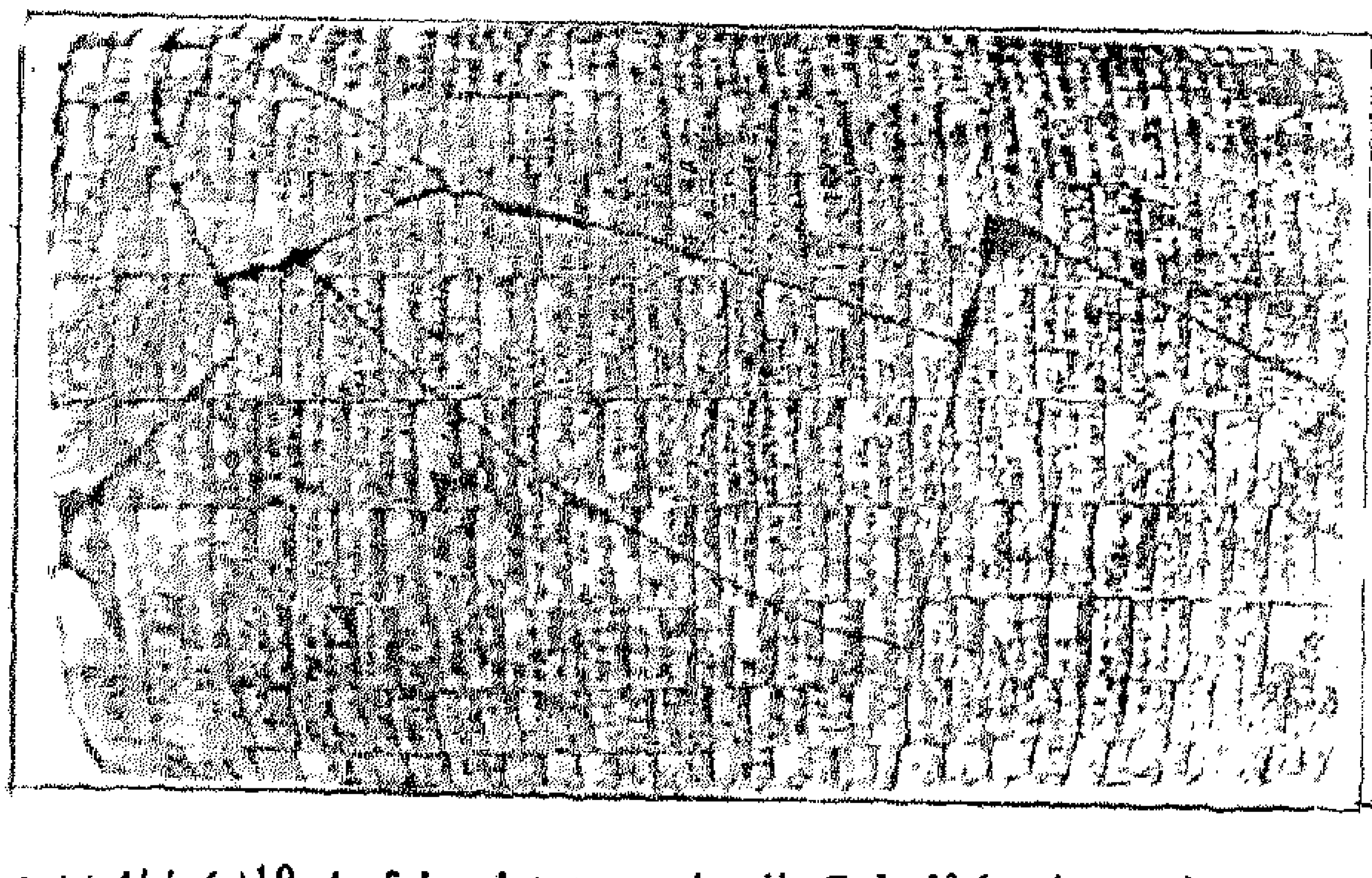


Abb. 5

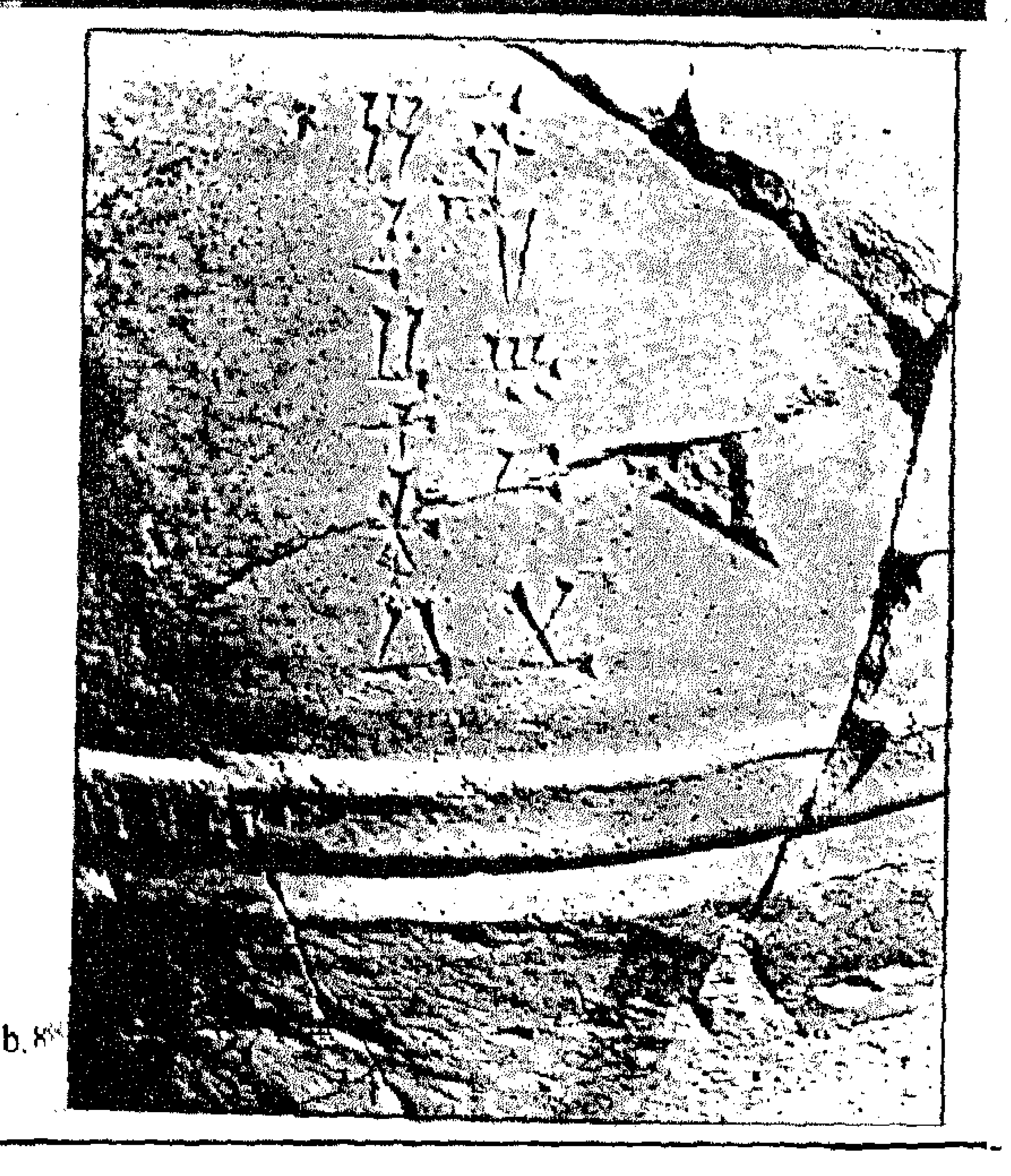


Abb. 8

die Zylinder der zweiten Hälfte des dritten Jahrtausends, mit ihren bekannten Vertretern der Gudea – Zylinder (*Abb.5*) [9] gelesen ? Das Problem, das noch heute diskutiert wird,ist leicht zu lösen, wenn man die Schriftanordnung auf den Zylindern (*oder Fäßchen*) des ersten Jahrtausends betrachtet (*Abb.6*)[10]. Auf den letzteren ist die Schrift horizontal angeordnet, längs der Hauptachse des Zylinders. Vergleicht man diese neueren Exemplare mit den älteren, so wird man feststellen , daß gemaß ihrer Position die Schriftrichtung auf den Zylindern des dritten Jahrtausends als vertikal anzusehen ist. Sowohl die älteren als auch die jüngeren Zylinder wurden in horizontaler Position gelesen, wobei sie um eine horizontale Achse gedreht wurden, wie das eine Rekonstruktion im *Mossul* – Museum zeigt (*Abb.7*)[11].

Abb. 7

8. A. R. George, Iraq 41 (1979) 136 n. 46, pl . XVII a.
9. E.De Sarzec, DC II, Pl. 36.(Cil.B). Der Zylinder ist in Abb.5 nach der ursprünglichen Leseposition wiedergegeben.
10. E.A. Budge, A Guide, cit., Pl. XL (Nabonido)
11. Dank freundlicher Erlaubnis seitens der Direktion des Mossul – Museums.
12. J.N. Postgate, Iraq 40(1978). Pl. XII
13. P. Matthiae-G.Pettinato, Il torso di Ibbit-Lim re di Ebla, MAIS, Rapporto preliminare delle Campagne1967- 1968 [Tell Mardikh], Rom 1972 [vorläufiger Auszug], Taf.1.

studiert und eventuell gelöst werden kann.

Die Feststellung einer kohärenten vertikalen Richtung der Keilschrift während des dritten und anfangs des zweiten Jahrtausends und eine ebenso kohärente horizontale Richtung seit der kassitischen Epoche ermöglicht uns bemerkenswerte Beziehungen zwischen Archäologie und Schrift aufzufinden. Wie Wir sehen werden, helfen einige archäologische Daten die neue These der Schriftrichtung zu untermauern, während andere Daten, die uns die Schriftrichtung selbst an die Hand gibt, Probleme archäologischen Ranges erhellen konnen.

Eine erste, äußerst wichtige Beziehung zwischen Archäologie und Keilschriftrichtung zeigen uns die Ausgrabungen der Stadt Tell Mardikh – Ebla, welche auch in diesem Falle uns neue Erkenntnisse brachte. Es genügt schon die Feststellung (Abb. 1)[4], daß die Tafeln des Archivs L 2769,[5] die alle in der ursprünglichen Lage und Anordnung[5] erhalten blieben, in einheitlicher Weise im Sinne der vertikalen Schriftrichtung aufgefunden wurden. Dies ist leicht zu erkennen, wenn man beobachtet, daß die Kolumnen von einer markanten horizontalen Linie abgeschlossen werden und die Lage der Kolumnen mit der Schriftrichtung auf einer einzelnen Tafel desselben Archivs vergleicht (Abb. 2)[6]. Die Anordnung der Kolumnen entspricht der vertikalen Keilschriftrichtung : vertikale Reihen, die von rechts nach links verlaufen und dabei Kolumnen bilden. Die Tafeln wurden also in dieser Position beschrieben und gelesen und nicht um 90 Grad gegen den Uhrzeigersinn gedreht.

Diesem grundlegenden, archäologischen und unwiderlegbaren Beweis für die senkrechte Keilschriftrichtung schließen sich andere an. Es handelt sich dabei um Beobachtungen die in bezug auf Form und Gebrauch einiger Gegenstände gemacht wurden, die der mesopotamischen Kultur angehören. Denn einige Gegenstandstypen wurden über Jahrtausende hinweg unter grunsätzlicher Bewahrung der Form und Anwendung überliefert. Und entsperchend hat sich auch die Richtung der Inschriften bewahrt, die oft solche Gegenstände begleiten; und zwar mit vertikaler Richtung in vorkassitischer Zeit und mit horizontaler Richtung seit der kassitischen Dynastie.

Sehen wir uns die Kriegskeulen naher an. Alle Keulen der protodynastischen und sargonischen Eopche, unter denen sich ein Exemplar des British Museum (*Abb*.3) [7] mit der Sargon - Inschrift befindet, weisen Inschriften vom Typ der vertikalen Richtung auf. Es genügt, sie mit den Keulen aus späterer Zeit zu vergleichen, unter welchen das Exemplar aus Nimrud (Abb·4) [8] aus neoassyrischer Epoche zu erwähnen ist, auf welchen sich die Inschriften gemaß ihrer Position horizontal präsentieren.

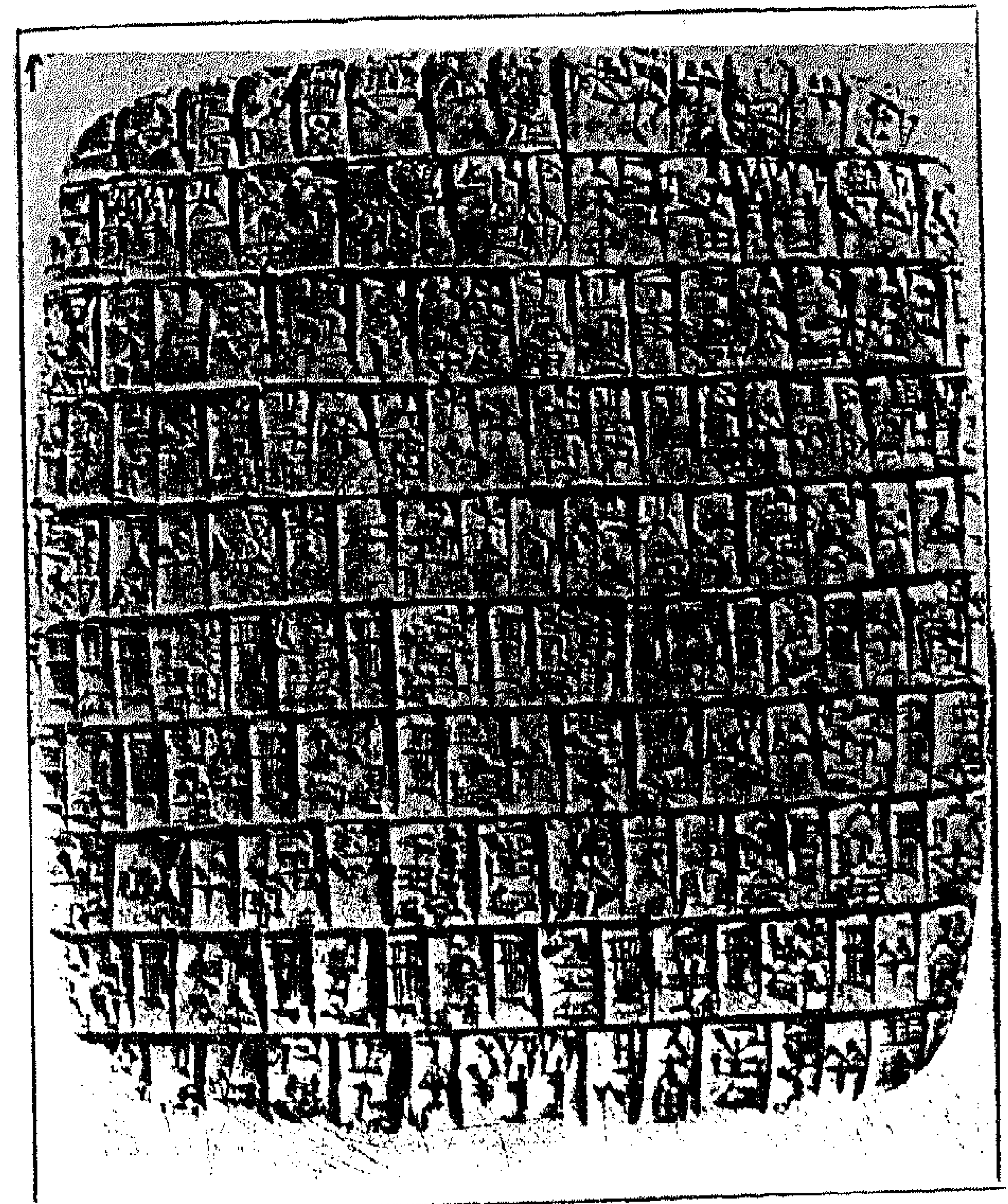


Abb. 2

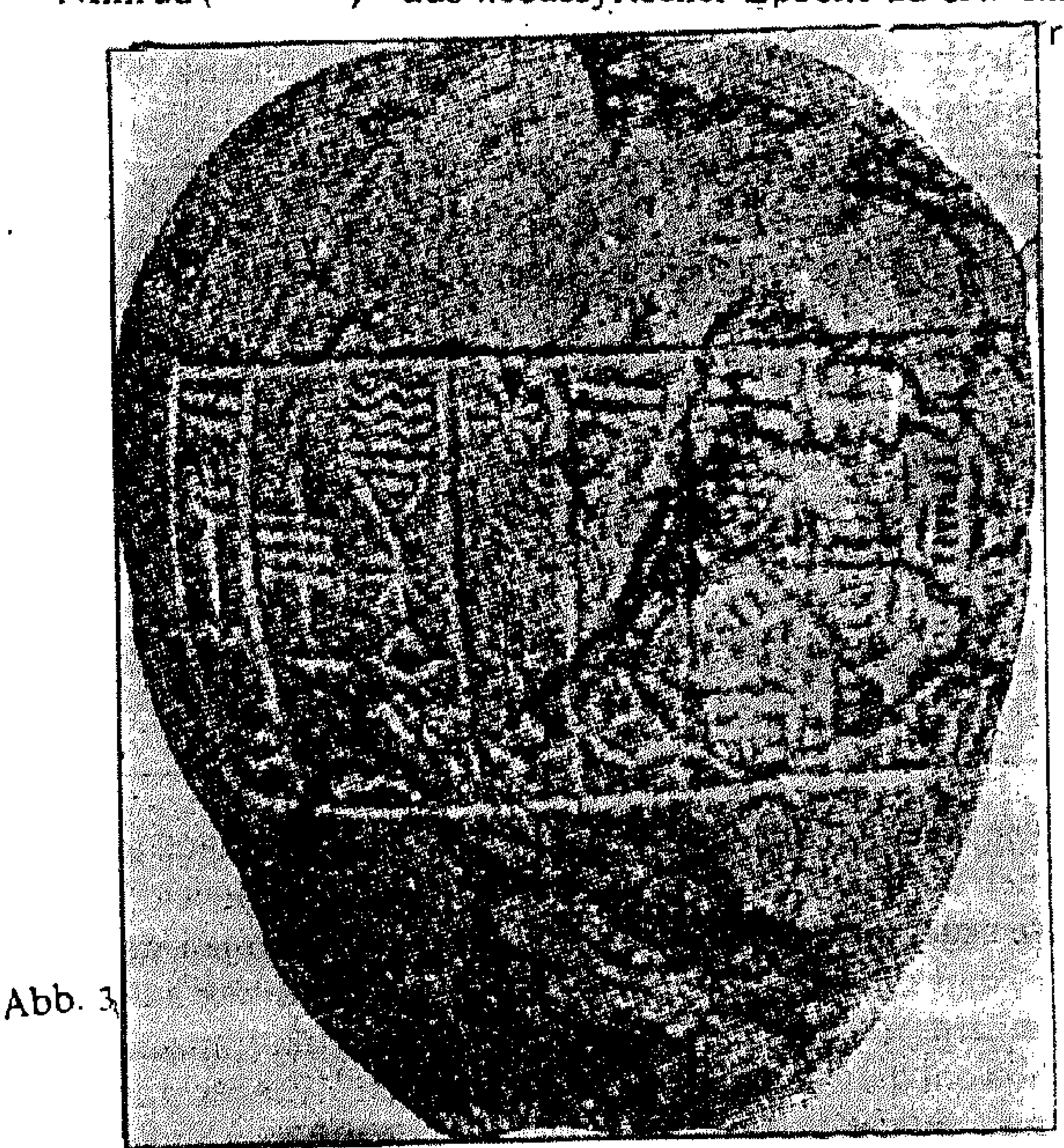


Abb. 3

Die Zylinder stellen einen analogen Fall dar. Wie wurden

4. P.Matthiae, Ebla. Un impero ritrovato, Turin 1977, Abb. 23
5. Ibid., S. 163.
6. D.O. Edzard, Der Text TM. 75.G. 1444 aus Ebla, SEb IV (1981), Abb. 14 a. Die Tafel ist von mir wiedergegeben in der Abb. 2 entsprechend der ursprunglichen Position, in der sie glesen wurde.
7. E.A.W. Budge, A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, London 1908, S. 143 (BM 91146). Siehe auch die Keule des Mesalim in E.De Sarzec, DC II, S.XXXV, Taf.1 ter?

DIE KEILSCHRIFTRICHTUNG UND IHRE ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN IMPLIKATIONEN

BY :

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Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, an Hand einiger Musterbeispiele eine neue Methodologie in archäologischer Forschung und Deutung zu erläutern, die auf dem Prinzip der senkrechten Keilschriftrichtung beruht, wie ich das schon in einer neueren Arbeit dargelegt habe[1]. Es handelt sich im Grunde darum, einige wesentliche Merkmale unter neuem Gesichtspunkt zu überprüfen, die als sekundär betrachtet oder einer schon überholten Problematik zugeordent wurden, um ihren Wert für die archäologische und assyriologische Forschung neu zu entdecken.

Die Beziehung zwischen Keilschriftrichtung und archäologischer Daten ist auf dem Gebiet der assyriologischen Studien. bisher noch nie genauer untersucht worden. Verantwortlich hierfür ist die sogenannte Theorie von der Drehung der Keilschrift, die sich schon seit den Anfängen dieser Studien durchgesetzt hat, und zum ersten Mal von F. Delitzsch im Jahre 1898 begründet wurde[2]. Diese Theorie, um kurz daran zu erinnern, behauptet, daß die Keilschrift vertikal auf den Steindenkmälern, horizontal dagegen auf den Tontafeln gewesen wäre, also eine Drehung um 90 Grad gegen den Uhrzeigersinn erfahren hätte. Nur mit dem End der ersten Dynastie von Babylon und dem Beginn der kassitischen ungefähr um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends, hätten sich die beiden Schrifttypen im Sinne der horizontalen Schriftrichtung vereinheitlicht. Eine so komplexe und wenig klare Formulierung konnte natürlich keine nützliche Anwendung auf archäologischem Gebiet finden.

Die dieser Theorie innewohnende Inkohärenz, d.h. das gleichzeitige Vorhandensein vertikaler und horizontaler Inschriften und ihre Differenzierung auf Grund des benützten Materials, ist offenkundig[3] Tatsächlich muß die Theorie selbst, wie das in der oben zitierten Arbeit gefordert wird,

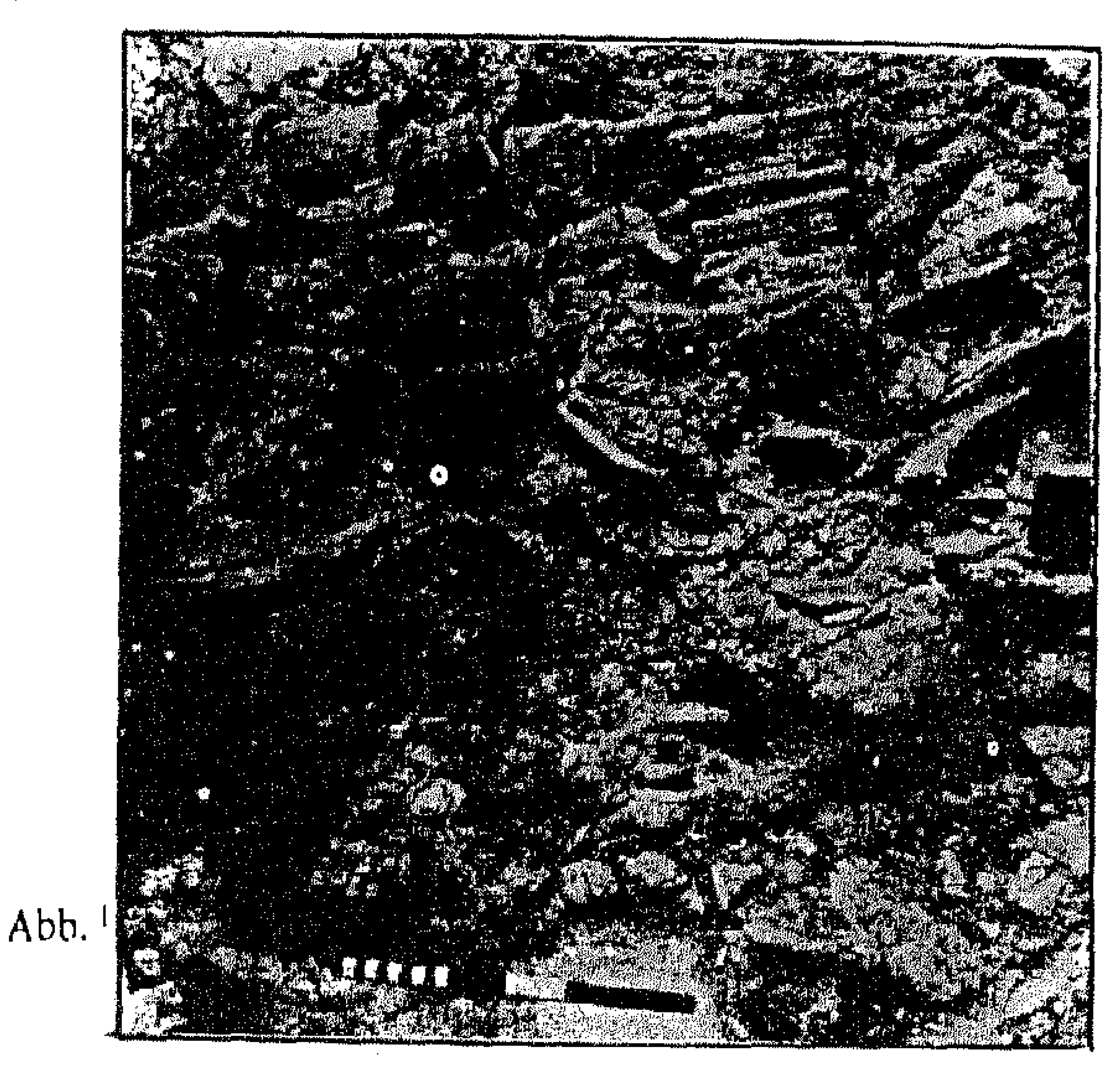


Abb. 1

zurückgewiesen werden. Die Keilschrift war ursprünglich vertikal und blieb es während des ganzen dritten und bis in die Anfänge des zweiten Jahrtausends und das gilt sowohl für die Inschriften auf Stein als auch auf Ton. Eine Änderung in der Richtung haben sie erst um die Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends erfahren, indem sie in einheitlicher Weise horizontal wurden. Die Gründe und Entstehungsweise dieser neuen Richtung sind völlig unbekannt, auch kann das Problem an dieser Stelle nicht behandelt werden. Es scheint mir aber angebracht, darauf hinzuweisen, daß mit seiner Loslösung und Zeiteinordnung das Problem jetzt erst in der ihm gebührenden Weise herausgestellt wurde, so daß es

1. S.A. Picchioni, La direzione della scrittura cuneiforme e gli archivi di Tell Mardikh Ebla, Or 49 (1980) 225-251.
2. F. Delitzsch, Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems, Leipzig 1898; Id., Nachwort zu meiner Schrift über die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems, Leipzig 1899.
3. Die Inkohärenz und Einzigartigkeit des Phänomens sind zu Recht auch von D.O. Edzard unterstrichen worden, RLA V. S.547: "Es wäre dies eine Erscheinung, für die es in keiner anderen Schrift eine Parallele gibt"

themselves (from which it will follow that e.g. many of them are equivalents of sumerian compound words the other part of which is omitted in the list). But they have found their way into Deimel's Sumerian Lexicon which is now out of date but still useful and still used. If you face an unknown Sumerian word you can of course go through the special glossaries included in many recent editions of Sumerian texts, but it is seducing to have a quick look into the Akkadian equivalents to the word wanted , arranged alphabetically in Deimel's book and perhaps furnishing a word that fits the passage you are studying.

The redundance of the word-lists has sort of counterpart in the redundance of variants, of discrepancies among the duplicates or copies of a literary Sumerian text. These discrepancies could again be regarded as furnishing a strong support or at least a justification for a free choice (on the part of us) between considering and disregarding grammar (and lexicon). You can find these terrible variants even within one and the same copy in case of repetitions or parallel passages where we have to expect none-variation if the same word is used in the same syntactical function . Ihave quoted in the sheets distributed to you some cases[17] which I need not read aloud here. please notice what looks like the free replacing by each other of different morphemes including zero.

Now we can observe different degrees of variability. A higher degree shows real contrast occurring as variants, e.g. affirmative wish alternating with negative wish, as in the duplicates of lines 8 and parallels of 'Gilgameš and Agga' (to be found on your sheet ,This degree seems to prevail not only in this composition but e.g. also in 'The Father and His Disobedient Son'. These texts furthermore show remarkable deviations from standard Sumerian grammar, also by 'borrowed translations'.

The lower degree of variability which prevails e.g. in 'Inanna's Descent' or the 'Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur' includes varaints the meanings of which normally do not exclude each other. Deviations from standard Sumerian grammer are not as relatively high and numerous as in texts of the other group; borrowed translations seem to be absent. It would be an interesting though very troublesome task to find out if these two groups cover the whole corpus of Sumerian literary texts as preserved in Old-Babylonian copies.

Time prevents me from discussing a third group of literary texts: those from Fara and Abu Salabih, including the UD. GAL.NUN-texts. They all do lack so many indications of syntactical relations, of number, of aspect and time which are given by the later orthography that they probably never can be translated in the full sense of the word. I think we have to prepare collections of possible translations as a frame that will contain among others probably the correct interpretation too, most proofs being impossible.

Should we better give up any attempts to understand the Sumerian texts in accordance with grammar and lexicon? No, by no means, on the contrary. We should perhaps be more cautious to take as Sumerian what looks like Sumerian; let me remind you of the borrowed translations. Once stated to which of the aforementioned groups a text does belong we have to begin anew its translation , and at least in texts marked by the lower degree of variability we need not give up too early our attempts to follow the lines of normal Sumerian grammar and to stick to the meanings of words confirmed by other context.

To return to the beginning of my paper: the mistakes in translation cited there were caused by disregarding the basic meaning of Sumerian *ḫa* 'to apportion' and by disregarding the absence of the postposition of dative after Sumerian AN. But they could be avoided. With this contention I am adressing those among you who are inclined to rely trustfully on the translations given by the sumerologists, and I am adressing those as well who keep away from Sumerian because of reservation and distrust in view of discrepancies and mistakes found in our translations. The improvement of translations must of coures be achieved by the sumerlologists, but it will be helpful to them that the other colleagues including archeologists, historians and so on give up either admiring sumerology or getting out of the way: sumerology is no secret science. We need your questions, and this the more as now , I hope, you can realize somewhat better the difficulties present in tradition of Sumerian, not to be found in tradition of Akkadian.



(16) C.Bezold, Some unpublished cuneiform syllabaries' in: PSBA 11 (1889) 44 ff. + pl.VII – VIII; republished by R. C. Thompson, CT 12 (1901) pl.14 f.; now edited by. M. Civil , MSL 14, 343 ff.

(17) " Inanna's Descent" (edited by W.Sladek, Inanna's Descent to the Nether World, thesis for ph.D. 1974, Univ. Microfilms) lines 292 (*bí-in-lá*, var. *i-ni-in-lá*, var. *bí-in-du₈*, var. *mu-un-*[ ]) and 270 (*ga-mu-ri-ib-tar-en-ze-en*, var. *ge-mu-ri-ib-tar*); "The Father and His Disobedient Son" (s. above note 15) line 88 (*lú-saĝ-ad-du-bi-Ke₄-ne*, var. *lú-saĝ-ad-du-ne-ne-kā* var *lú-saĝ-ad-du-bi-ne*, var. *lú-saĝ-ad-du-ne-ne*-, var. [*lú*]-*saĝ-ad-du-zu-ne*); "Gilgameš and Agga " (s. above note 14) line 8 (*gú-nam-ba-an-ĝá-ĝá-an-dè-en... ga-àm-sìg* (!) – *sìg-ge-en-dè-en*(!) "let us not submit, let us smite . . . !" : var. *gú-ba-an-ĝar-re-en-dè-en.. nam-ba-an-sìg-ge-en-dè-en* "we have submitted, we shall not smite ... !"; var. *gú nam-ba-an-ĝar-re-en-zé-en* [ ] "you shall (?) not submit , [broken] !").

against you written *bé-ze* in an unorthographical text [11].

The signs MU.E- representing the ventive prefix plus the personal prefix of 2nd person are pronounced me -, as followes from the use of he-, not hu-, before MU.E- [12]. But this sign group MU.E is occasionally used by the old Babylonian scribes also elsewhere for the sequence /m/ + /e/, e.g. *im-MU. E-NI-dab₅-be* " he will take you into it " [13]. This looks like the ventiv prefix /mu/ - preceded by the other shape of ventive prefix /im/ - and followed by the personal prefix /e/-, whereas the correct reading must be *im-me-ni-né-dab₅-bé*. to be derived from / imma-ni-dabe /. In fact the pronominal prefix /e/-is present, but not before -NI-, rather just before the *maru* -base / dabe /, indicating there what I call the subject-object " you " (and elsewhere in the same postion indicting a relational person " to you "). -/ni/- " into it " together with the following - /e/- yields - /ne/- which on its part has shifted the compound prefix / imma / - to / imme / - .

The Old Babylonian scribes have not only modernized existing texts, but they have continued to compose new texts in Sumerian, and here the influence of their proper language becoms visible . While the influence of Akkadian syntax on Sumerian is at work already in the former periods, the Old Babylonin scribes were probably the first to make use of whole Akkadian constructions and of Akkadian words transferred , not translated properly into Sumerian . This is what is called in German " Lehnübersetzungen " : expressing an idea in a second language by the way of borrowing grammatical and lexical features from the first one (e.g. the native tongue) . I am sure you imagine how much cases like the followings are apt to make us distrust our own knowledge of Sumerian and to seduce us to consider or to disregards grammatical and lexical conditions according to our preoccupation concerning the contents of the text .

The victory of Gilgames *en* of Kullaba, over Agga , king of Kis, as told in the narration about Gilgames and Agga , has its climax in the statement

ag-ga lugal kis^{ki} *-a saeren-na-ka-ni še*$_{29}$ *a ba-ni in-AK*

Of the two very different interpretations suggested hitherto I think the correct one (although rejected in the most recent edition) [14] is

" he (Gilgames) made captive Agga, king of Kis, amidst his (Agga's) troops ".

Taken as genuine Sumerian, *šà éren – na – ka – ni* must be translated "his interior (his heart ?) of troops (or : of workers)", but obviously the author has constructed the Sumerian more or less Akkadian – like :

Akkadian - like

ina libbi ummān-i šu

– *sa eren - na-k a-ni*

More clear examples of Akkadian- fashioned Sumerian constructions and Sumerian words can be found in the edubba- text 'A Father and His Disobedient Son' [15]. Let me cite only line 11 *ugu-gu₁₀-še ga-nu* The genuine Sumerian *ugu* means 'skull', but obviously the father does not order his son 'come to my skull', 'come over me , but simply 'come to me . *ugu-gu*$_{10}$ *-še* is fushioned according Akkadian *ana šerija* which would be used to express 'to me', 'before me' besides *alkam* 'come'; Sumerian *ugu* is the counterpart of the basic meaning of *šeru outside* the expression quoted.

Among the peculiarities of tradition treated hitherto as possibly causing confusion for the modern scholar we have found one series of what we must call mistakes (as regarded from the point of view of genuine Sumerian) : the 'borrowed translations' according Akkadian patterns.

Most of the other peculiarities have in common a lack, a shortage of indications, of distinctions, or to take it the other way round : more graphic distinctions maintained, more consonants and vowels preserved, more prefixes or suffixes written would facilitate our understanding. On the other hand I have mentioned one case containing not a lack but a redundance in the tradition taken as a whole : the use of shortened and of full morphemes side by side during the same period of writing .There are more cases like this one

I should like to remind you first of the bilingual word-lists, presenting Sumerian words together with one or more Akkadian counterparts. We are happy to have them preserved we depend on them almost totally as regards the meanings of the Sumerian words, since cognate languages that could give a frame, an indication as for the meaning, are still unknown (this is again a situation quite different from the one prevailing with regard to Akkadian). And yet : these lists at times contain so many different counterparts or as we use to say equivalents to one Sumerian word that we must be in doubt about the real meaning, and these doubts should prevent us from regarding the lists as a more or less convenient dictionary (to be used with the help of one and a half modern dictionaries of Akkadian). E. g. a word list published already in 1889 [16] supplies no less than 43 Akkadian equivalents to sumerian *tar*, among them

salu 'to ask .
muntalku 'counsellor'.
[*šim*]*ti* 'destiny'
sapahu 'to disperse'
[*qa*]*tapu*. 'to pluck out'
taraku . 'to blow'
taklu 'reliable'

These equivalents obviously have to be studied first in

(11) TLB 2;1 II II ff.e₄ -gin₇ BA. E-dù, compared with TRS 5, 6ff. (written unorthographically) *e-gi bé-ze*. Interpretation of -/e/- as erlational person ('against you') not certain..

(12) E.g. C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos p. 104, 130 *hé*- MU. E- *da-gub*, var. *hé-me-da-* [*gub*] she may stand with you'. Examples of *hu* - MU.E- occur e. g. YNER3, 22, 66 (*hu*-MU.E-*ši-in*-, var. *hu-mu- un-ši-in*-, var, *hu-mu-ši-in*-).

(13) B. Alster, Dumuzi's Dream p.58, 51 (var. *im - me-né*, *im-mu-n* [*é*-).

(14) W. Römer, Das sumerische Kurzepos Gilgames und Akka' P.88 (commentary to line 81).

(15) A°. Sjoberg, Der Vater und sein missratener Sohn, in : JCS 25 (1973), 105 ff.

TUS meaning TUŠ or *durun* " to sit ", *dab*₅ " to grasp ", to hold " becoming in the later presargonic period used for all meanings of former KU and TUŠ[3].

During the 3rd millenium and partly also later normal writing makes use of a wide range of possible (though not obligatory) omissions of suffixes after proper names or parts of them, e.g. *ur – ᵈ nin-ĝir-su* written (only written ?) for / ur-ninĝirsu-k-a / " slave of Ningirsu " (personal name)[4] ; *saĝĝa é-babar* witten for / saĝĝa e-babbar-ak-e / the chief administrator of the Ebabbar (has rendered disposable emmer and wheat : ergative function) "[5]

Consonants or even semi-vowels closing a syllable , if they didnot belong to a nominal or verbal base, were not written almost regularly in the 3rd millenim (except one or two special cases which I cannot treat here) and sometimes also later on . Thus we find *mu-na-gub* written for .
/ mu-na-gub / " he placed himself (was placed) to her "
/ mu-na-n-gub / " he placed (something) to her "
mu-na-e-gub / " you placed (something) to her " ...
mu-na-?-gub / " I placed (something) to her "

After nouns ending in a vowel we are confronted with a loss in writing of the suffixes of genitive, of ergative (subject of an action which includes also an object) and of dimensional relations like " to " , " from " , " with " and so on . This is valid for text before the Ur III period , becoming obsolete thereafter as regards the dimensional suffixes, and it seems to be more a matter of writing than of language since writing of Ur III has developed means to express some shortened forms of dimensional suffixes . A theoretical example contrasting *an* " An, heaven " (ending by consonant) and *ki* " earth " (ending by vowel) will show you the amount of none-distinguishing reached in writing :

ergative and directive *an-e* ki
genitive and locative *an-a* (wr. *an-na*) ki (gen.) , *ki-a* loc.)

terminative	*an-še* (wr. *an-še*) ki, later possibly **ki-eš*	
comitative	*an-da*	*ki*
ablative	*an-ta*	*ki*
dative	an-ra	(dative not used with inanimate class) ᵈ*nanše* yields (= remains) ᵈ*nanše* , later : ᵈ*nanše-er*

In language and consequently also in writing) we find some cases of loss of a vowel in an open unstressed syllable, except first and last syllable of a word, where two open syllables follow each other (compare akkadian **imtalikū* yielding *imtalku*) . The loss is visible in normal writing only outside of the short form of a base, thus again affecting the preffixes and suffixes , e.g.

/ bi-ib-'uru a / or (alternaive pattern) / bi- b-'ure-a / " (the man) who will eventually have (his hand) go over (my inscription) " yielding / bi-b-'ur-'a / , written of course *bi-ibiú -a*[6] (which we are accustomed to " improve " by our transcription *bi-ib-ùru₁₁₂ -a*) , not **bi-ib-ur-ra*

/ ba-ni-gin / " it has been established in it " (in the statement of somebody) yielding / ba-n-gin / , written *ba-an-gi (-in)*[7] , as against / ba-ni-n-gin / " he has established it in it " , written *ba-ni(-in) -gi (-in)* .

/ ma-dú-ena / " that which you will build for me " yielding ma-dú- (') na / written *ma-dù-na*[8] , as against / mara-dú-en / I shall build for you " preserved as such, written *ma-ra-du e*[9] .

I think you will understand immediately the difficulties arising in cases of faculttative omissions (be they orthographical or of language) . E.g. in case of *lugal-a-ni* written, we must first be informed about the frame of licence valid for the text , for the copy concerned , before we can decide if a translation " to his lord " has to be dismissed from the beginning or can be taken into consideration . These licenses of the Pre-Old-Babylonian period have not been abolished totally in the following period . Nevertheless the Old-Babylonian scribes who probably were no longer in possession of the former positive command of Sumerian language and orthography have tried to secur the tradition by restitution or even correction of parts of the orthography or even of speech in the texts they took over as part of the tradition,thus avoiding possible uncertainties . The most important way was to insert signs into the text copied faithfully for the rest .

Sometimes they have carried these restitutions too far , writing e.g. *mu-un -naĝ* " I have drunk(water from the waterskin) "[10] which earlier would have been written *mu-naĝ* ; there has never been the consonant (n / before the verbal base.

The work of the Old-Babylonian scribes to whom we owe the bulk of the Sumerian literature is visible furthermore in cases of shift of / a / or even / u / to / e/ in prefix chains of a verb caused by an / e/ following immediately or (after a consonant) as the vowel of the next syllable . This shift is working also in Babylonian Akkadian, e.g. **tabêl* " you will become lord " resulting in *tebêl* .

This shift does not create difficulties for our understanding if concealed behind standard orthography as in * unaedu (g) / " after you have said " , written in Ur III period *u-na-A-du* read presumably / unedu (g) / which is borrowed into Akkadian together with case-ending as *unnedukk-um* " letter " . Another example is the prefix-chain / ba-e / becoming / bae , then shifted to / be / - but still written BA.E in standard orthography , e.g. BA.E *-dù* " it has been done

(4) J. Bauer, Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch p.560.
(5) J.Bauer, Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch p.206 nr.52 ii 2
(6) UET 8 nr. 21,13.
(7) J.Krecher, Zu einigen Ausdrücken der neusumerischen Urkundensprache in : ZA 69 (1979), 1ff.
(8) Gudea Zyl. A IX 7f
(9) Gudea Zyl.A VIII 18. XIII.
(10) C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos p.112 f., 241 text A.

THE PRESENT POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF OUR UNDERSTANDING AND TRANSLATING SUMERIAN TEXTS

BY:
JOACHIM KRECHER.

Mr.Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Only 3 years ago in an article treating a group of Ur III texts [1] the Sumerian word in — ba, meaning "he partitioned and gave (something to somebody)" has been translated by "he received", which is the opposite of "he gave" but fits the overall interpretation given there. The outhor is a serious scholar, as are all authors of published translations from which I shall quote examples (without wanting to criticize this or that colleague; therefore I shall not give their names)

Do you expect in a translation of an Akkadian text the word *iqiš* "he presented (something to somebody)" being translated by "he received"? Presumably not, at least I do not expect this to be found. Why this difference between the treatment of Sumerian and of Akkadian texts?

Here is another example. In a hymn to the goddess Inanna we find the "word" of Inanna described as *in-di-bi* AN *nu-zu zu*[2], translated by the editor 6 years ago; "she does not let An know its "way". This makes good sense: not even the highest god is informed about what Inanna speaks and what are the effects of her speaking. But in Sumerian the causative construction "to let somebody know something" is syntactically conceived as "to give something to somebody for knowing" Our example would therefore require the postposition of dative - / ra / being used with an; furthrermore I would perhaps expect the prefix chain showing concord with *an-ra* and with *in-di-bi*: *in-di-bi an-ra nu-ni ib-zu-zu*.

The translation given and cited above is in my opinion simply wrong. I do translate the clause by "its ways are divine [read *diĝir*, not *an*], cannot be recognized (by anybody)". *diĝir* "god" is used as an adjectival predicative to *in-di-bi*; *zu-zu*, being the *marû-base* of *zu* (*hamṭu*) "to learn" "to recognize", is functioning together with *nu* -" not" as nominal form of the verb.

Let me translate the clause as understood by me into Akkadian: *alkakātūšu ša ilim-ma ul ša lamadim* (or: *ul illamnada*), written perhaps as *al-ka-ka-tu-ša ša* AN *-ma ul* (*ša*) ZU. As before I do not expect any serious scholar to translate this by "she does not let An know its ways".

You can find many examples like *in-ba*, allegedly "he received", and AN, allegedly "to An" in recent editions of Sumerian texts. But which facts of tradition lie at the root of such mistakes, probably not found in translations of Akkadian texts? It is just this question which I want to treat in my paper.

Of course I do by no means deny the existence of possibilities to understand and to translate Sumerian texts. Suffice it to go through the respective parts of the annual Bibliography of Cuneiform Literature (Keilschriftbibliographie) concerning Sumerian texts. Furthermore I should like to remind you of the enormous progress achieved during the last 15 or 30 years in recognizing the structure of the Sumerian language and the cuneiform orthography. Sumerology is getting more and more independent from using patterns and dates of grammatical and lexical explanations which are borrowed from patterns and dates used to describe Latin or Arabic or Akkadian or gathered from the native Babylonian philological tradition.

But now let us have a look at the tradition in so far as it contains facts which may further errors on the part of the modern scholar and which have partly produced errors already on the part of the native Babylonian scribes. Of course the following treatment is not exhaustive. I shall treat first some peculiarities of genuine Sumerian writing and grammar.

Beginning at least in the middle of the 3 rd millenium writing shows an increasing amount of coincidence of similar signs which were different formerly, e.g. Fara-time KU' meaning *tukul* "mace" or syllable / ku / and Fara-time

(1) P. Michalowski, The Neo-Sumerian Silver Ring Texts, = SyroMesopotamian Studies2 (1978), 43 ff.

(2) Å. Sjöberg, *in-nin šà-gur₄-ra*, in: ZA 65 (1975), 178 f. 6.

(3) R. D. Biggs, The Abū Ṣalābīkh Tablets, in: JCS 20 (1966), 77.

we all know that bricks and even stone inscriptions may be transported a considerable distance. Only discovery during a systematic excavation using modern techniques can in the end allow us to make attributions with any certainty.

My co-workers and I hope that the appearance of the Répertoire Géographique will give new life to the study of historical geography and that it will form the urgently needed basis for historical work of all sorts. Several years will elapse before we see the end of our undertaking, during which historical and archaeological maps of the ancient Near East will also be poroduced. In order to make this historical-topographical work easier it would be most helpful if several principles could be adhered to / when publishing archaeological results or new cuneiform texts. I am referring here primarily to rescus archaeology, which is of course carried out in areas where later control of results is not possible.

1) The exact form of the modern place name should be registered in a prominent place. The official rather than the dialect form should be used here.

2) An exact description of the location should be given including latitude and longitude and the relationship of the site to neighbouring water courses and ridges. The total area of the site should also be given.

3) Geographical investigations should not be confined simply to topography, but rather they must necessarily take the complete situation of the site into consideration. Thus no publication should be without a map. This map should contain, in as large a scale as possible, information about bodies of water and mountains, vegetation and soil conditions and the relationship of the immediate geographical setting to its larger surroundings.

4) Finally, all features which might be useful for historical geographical classification should be recorded with the greatest possible accuracy and shown on detailed maps. Examples of this are inscribed bricks or stone door sockets, foundation deposits in temples, rock inscriptons or reliefs with inscriptions etc. For it is only by weaving a tight net of reference points, consisting of places localized with certainty, that we can come in the end to a complete geographical picture, which of course must be the goal of our efforts.



strict alphabetical order. This alternative, however, presupposed that all the material had been collected and was available , but in taking over the material assembled by Prof. Leemans. it soon became evident that there were still large gaps to be filled. Above all there were no collections of material from the later periods, that is from the Neo- Assyrian and Neo – and Late Babylonian periods. Nor had the material from the literary texts been extracted . In the course of intensive work with the collections at hand it also became clear th. at some of these were quite incomplete . Hence it would have meant about a decade of collecting and checking beforethe preparation of the first fascicule could have been contemplated .

The Assyriological world , however , is very interested in the speedy appearance of the Rêpertoire. Furthermore the various toponymic corpora are often specific to various periods or places and this information would be lost in such a lexicon or at least would be very difficult to recover. This lexicon or at least would be very difficult to recover. This brings us to the second alternative, which was to produce a series of volumes for the various periods and areas, and this in the end seemed the better solution .

The five volumes which have appeared to date have followed this conception. Thus the scholar who is interesrted especially in the Ur III period now has at hand a geographical compendium of the material from that period. The same holds true for the earlier periods, the Old Babylonian period and for the Hittite texts

The present state of planning is the following :

Vol . 1: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Pre - Sargonic and Sargonic Periods" (by D. O. Edzard and G. Farber, has appeared).

Vol . 2: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Ur III period" (by D. O. Edzard and G. Farber, has appeared).

Vol, 3: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Old Babylonian Period" (by B. Groneberg, has appeared).

Vol . 4: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Old Assyrian Texts " (to be prepared by Khaled Nashef).

Vol . 5: " TheToponyms and Hydronyms the Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian Periods " (by Khaled Nashef, in press).

Vol . 6: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Hittite Texts " (by D. F. del Monte, has Appeared).

Vol . 7: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Neo – Assyrian Period" (K. Kessler, being prepared).

Vol . 8: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Neo– and Late Babylonian Texts" (R. Zadok, being prepared).

Vol . 9: " TheToponyms and Hydronyms of the Urartian Texts" (I. M. Diakonoff and S. M. Kashkay, is appearing immediately).

Vol . 10: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Nuzi Texts" (Khaled Nashef, being prepared).

Vol . 11: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Texts from Elam " (H. Koch and collaborator, in preparation).

Vol . 12: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Texts from Syria – Palestine " (W. Röllig , being prepared).

Vol . 13: " The Toponyms and Hydronyms of the Literary Texts " (G . Mc Ewan, being prepared).

Vol . 14: " Addenda and Indices " .

This final volume should contain all the material from the previous volumes including the individual lemmata , modern place names , ideograms etc. In this way the disadvantage of editing the material in separate volumes, namely that an overview of the complete material is missing , can be compensated for .

Some problems have been noted in the course of work on the volumes which have appeared up to now . A few of these problems are :

1) Delimitation of individual volumes from one another is not always easy. For example, it is difficult to determine what constitutes " literary texts". School texts fall naturally into this category, within which we might include lists of all kinds, myths and epics, hymns and incantations andin addition scientific material such as omens, astronomical texts etc. On the other hand , although royal inscriptions are also frequently literary in nature they are not included with the. literary texts, but rather are incorporated in the volumes for the relevant periods. The same holds true for chronicles and literary letters. Such problems of delimitation are unvoidable, and if occasionally decisions are made with which individual users might disagree or if the same occurrence is recorded in different volumes, this is scarcely to be wondered at given the mass of material .

2) The various divisions , partly regional and partly chronological, also present problems. This is also true within individual volumes. Thus the first volume which contains texts overwhelmingly from southern Mesopotamia and the Diyala region was subdivided between Old Sumerian texts Sargonic texts. An appropriate temporal siglum was placed before each group of attestations . In the volume concerned with Middel Babylonian and Middel Assyrian material on the other hand, the division is made goegraphically, that is according to whether the texts come from Babylonia or Assyria . But if we consider – to use but one example – the well-known fact that there are Middle Assyrian texts which come from Nippur, then some of the dilemmas of classification become of Assyriology. Nevertheless, even in the case of sites which have been identified for some time it is often difficult to determine their exact location by latitude and longitude since the maps available to us often show appreciable divergences. The same is true of the writing of modern place names, which exhibit a colourful diversity. Thus it is difficult to establish the correct form in each case and give it in the Repertoire Since we use the transcription system of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft for all oriental languages it is often important to go back to the Arabic form of the name should one exist. This is often difficult in such cases as Kurdish names for example Thus if we cite suggested localizations , which were often made by scholars without any Knowledge of the area solely on the basis of maps which are often not available to us, it is quite often impossible to determine the correct form of the name. A good topographical basis for the work is lacking, and this has been made more difficult by the frequent renaming of localities in recent times.

We may add to this the fact that many identifications remain problematic. An apparently certain piece of evidence such as an inscribed brick found on the site may easily lead one astray when no supporting evidence is available. For

few years, which amounted to several times that which had been published up to the twenties of this century. Despite this however, the Realexikon der Assyriologie continues to try to cover the entire stock of place names.

The Second World War interrupted virtually all work in the field of Assyriology, but when in 1951 Assyriologists met in Paris for the second Rencontre, W. F. Leemans suggested team-work production and publication of a " geographical lexicon". In 1952 this idea was developed further, and a committee which included J. R. Kupper and Jean Nougayrol was formed under the direction of Leemans. Numerous — Assyriologists promised their cooperation at the time, and several of them prepared geographical card files for their specialty areas in the following years.

In order to produce a managable reference only a few volumes were planned, the exact composition of which, however, had not been determined. Only the attestations of the place name were to be given without any extensive discussion of reading, context or localization. For reasons, the details of which are unkonwn to me, the collection of material did not proceed at an even pace. Card catalogues existed for some areas, while for others there was only preliminary work in varying stages of completeness. The project seems to have been dropped due to the many other commitments of the committee members.

The years subsequent to the 1952 Rencontre saw a considerable increase in Assyriological source material. Surveys, excavations and the publication of earlier excavations were pursued simultaneously, and for the first time there seemed to be a real promise of close interaction between archaeologists and philologists. Work in historical topography, however, remained confined to special studies, since each Assyriologist who wished to work in the area of historical topography was obliged to extract all his own material from the texts. This meant a considerable expenditure of labour in each instance, and the danger remained that an essential reference might be overlooked.

In 1968, however, an opportunity for systematic study of the problems of historiacal geography presented itself within a project for a comprehensive atlas of the Near East at the University of Tübingen, later to be called the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Hence I formed a plan to take up once more the work on the geographical lexicon and at least to see to the publication of material already collected. Prof. Leemans and his colleagues Kupper and Nougayrol agreed readily to the plan and very kindly placed the entire material–insofar as it had been collected and was available to them – at my disposal for the edition. The title was to remain " Répertoire Géographique", which was by then well established in the discipline as a working title and which expressed the origins of the idea in the Groupe Thureau – Dangin / Rencontre Assyriologique..

Although in the years after 1952 a part of the material had been collected and placed on cards, no final conception had been developed as to how these cards were to be transformed into a publication. At the inception only general principles for the work had been elaborated, which had to be modified in practice. Also it was quickly evident that, in view of the fact that c. 20 years had elapsed since the first initiatives of various scholars on the project, a thorough control, supplementation and correction of the material had tobe undertaken prior to publication. This required much more work than I had originally estimated. On the other hand it provided an opportunity to expand and edit the material according to unified principles.

The principles according to which the material is prepared and published are roughly as follows :

1) Its character as a repertoire should remain. Completness, therefore, is the guiding principle in the collecting and presentation of the material. Embeding the material in context and text- critical studies, however, must be dispensed with.

2) The selection of lemmata should not based on purely formal criteria, so that, for example, all place names with determinatives are entered while those without are not. Inside the lemma, however, the arrangment of material should be according to formal aspects, i. e. according to writing, with the most frequent writings being placed at the head and the less frequent ones at the end of the lemma.

3) The only division maintained is between toponyms and hydronyms,. The category toponyms also includes such features as mountains and lands etc., while hydronyms comprise canals, rivers and seas.

4) Discussion of localization is confined in general to a brief report of previous proposals for localization. Those which are certain are placed at the beginning of the discussion and are accompanied by geographical coordinates. Identifications which are not certain are given with the name of the individual who proposed it. These are sometimes critized in the discussion. Giving original proposals for localization is not the aim of the Répertoire Géographique. Nevertheless original suggestions will sometimes find their way into the Répertiore since intensive work on the material sometimes leads to new results. In principle, however, the Répertiore is intended to be a vehicle for placing the material at the disposal of the scholarly world and provoking new discussions, and is not meant to provide final pronouncements on all geographical matters.

5) Each volume is to be provided with an extensive bibliography and various indices in order to make it as useful and usable as possible. Moreover, a general map is provided at the end of the volume as a means of orientation. A detailed topographical presentation is not possible on these maps, however, if for no other reason than the inadequate scale of the maps.

In contrast to the original plan the Répertoire Géographique has now grown to a size which seems alarming even to its editor. From the beginning, however, there were only two alternatives. The first was to produce a lexicon which recorded the occurrences of place names from all periods in

AIMS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE " RÉPERTOIRE GÉOGRAPHIQUE DES TEXTES CUNÉIFORMES" AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

BY:
W. RÖLLIG

Place and time are the two coordinates between which the history of a people, or [for that matter] the history of all peoples, takes place. All historical writing – whether religious history, social history, literary history, economic history or whatever – has as an inescapable precondition that these two coordinates be properly determined. This is easier to achieve in the case of time, i. e. chronology, than of place. Nevertheless everyone recognizes that geographically determined features influence history. Mountains form boundaries. Likewise rivers are often insurmountable barriers, though at the same time they connect valleys and plains. It goes without saying that it is important to know in what places settlements lay and how they were connected to their enviroment – or perhaps separated from it. But it is the knowledge of the settlements themselves and the localization of toponyms known from texts which is especially important in this regard. This is all the more true for those eras which are far removed from our own, as is the case in our discipline.

Hence it is obvious that all historical work and thus all work on historical texts must be accompanied by simultaneous study of historical geography. For this reason Assyriologists from the very earliest days up to the present have recognized historical topography as an important field of study, although the emphasis given to this special area has shifted about from time to time.

It is not my intention to recapitulate here the history of Assyriology with special reference to geographical studies. Nevertheless, a few names should be called to mind.

Friedrich Delitzach's small volume, "Wo lag das Paradies ", a compilation of geographical knowledge from the early days of Assyriology, can be profitably consulted even now. It contains virtually all the toponymic material known at the time of its publication in 1881, and this included practically all the important localities in Mesopotamia. Delitzsch was followed at the beginning of the present century by Maximilian Streck, who published several detailed studies concentrating on Assyria and the neighbouring Zagros Mountains. These were for the most part simply collections of material, which did not lead to any clear localizations, but this is understandable in view of the difficulty of the material.

In 1921 Emil Forrer attempted to put the historical geography of northern Mesopotamia and Syria on a sound footing with his " Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches". That he was not entirely sucessful is certainly no reproach to him, for archaeological investigation of the area was still in an incipient stage, so that many of his suggested identications could not be tested. On the other hand later Assyriologists cannot so easily escape reproach, for they have in the intervening decades taken over the often hypothetical suggestions of Forrer as secure resure results and transmitted them uncritically in the literature.

Another book from this period, which was also limited in scope and time – span, is the 1911 work of Sina Schiffer " Die Aramäer". This was likewise an attempt at historical geography based on analysis of the cuneiform material available at the time. Then there was the " Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients" by Fritz Hommel published in 1924. This, however, was based on much earlier research and did little to advance our knowlegde despite, or perhaps because of, its surfeit of material . Finally we might mention René Dussaud's 1927 work, " Topographie historique de la Syrie Antique" . Unfortunately it is only of limited worth to us due to the writer's lack of competence in evaluating the cuneiform material .

With the subsequent significant increase of material from excavations – Ugarit, Mari, Nuzi, the Diyala Region etc. to name but a few – the collection of material and presentation of larger geographical syntheses came to a standstill. Although limited studies were carried out during the following years and decades, no further attempt was made at providing a complete historical geography of Mesopotamia and the adjacent areas. This is understandable if one takes into consideration the enormous increase in textual material in those

those parts, and it is probable that our archives from Shemshara stop even earlier, namely when Kuwari in some way which we cannot know lost control of his province to the refugee from the mountains.

ated. One was the otherwise well attested campaign led by Shamshi – Adad and his son Ishme – Dagan in the areas east of the Tigris, whereby he secured control over such cities as Arrapha, Qabra and Nurrugum. At the time when these events became of the most vital interest to the people of Šušarra, Shamshi – Adad had conquered Arrapha he was in the district of Qabra, and he had sent his son north to Nurrugum in order to start a siege of this important place. With Shamshi – Adad at Qabra, it was obvious to anyone in the whole region that the political pattern was changing, and we can assume that messengers and ambassadors from all the neighbouring areas came streaming to Shamshi – Adad's headquarters. Kuwari at Šušarra also sent an envoy, a man called Nipram. Also Ullam-Tašni, the man who later became involved in the diplomatic difficulties with Babylon, was somehow involved. Shamshi - Adad himself sent envoys to Susarra, obviously in an effort to establish relations with the political units in the mountains.

While Shamshi – Adad's campaign had been under way on the plain, a set of threatening developments had begun in the Zagros. These are connected with the Gutian advance under their chief Endušše, and the menace was great enough to lead to the creation of an alliance that was meant to stop the Gutians. Even the Elamite king took an interest in these matters and wanted to send an army of 12·000 men in the field against the Gutians in a coordinated action with the states in the north.

Kuwari in Šušarra had a vital role to play in these local preparations, for he clearly had control of a major source of grain, namely the Lullean district under his command. Large armies were gathered and needed food, but something went wrong for the local states. Whether Kuwari was in part to blame is unclear, but we do know that he at one stage interfered and tried to persuade groups of people in Kunšum to abandon that place and come to him in Šušarra – an action which was later to create difficulties for him when the unhappy turncoats abandoned him. What precisely happened in the mountain states is not clear, but one letter talks of lack of grain and food and Gutian troops marauding in the land of Kunšum.

In this tense situation Kuwari decided to change sides and become a vassal under Shamshi – Adad, thereby gaining the protection of his mighty armies against the Gutians. The town of Šušarra became the easternmost outpost of Shamshi-Adad's realm and Shamshi – Adad stationed a garrison in the town. One administrative text from Šušarra may reflect the preparations for this new influx of soldiers, since it gives a list of foodstuff necessary for group of persons; unfortunately, it does not tell us how many, but the figures indicate that we are dealing with ca. 500 persons. The text first gives their consumption for one day, then for one month, and finally for four months. A scribe appears to have been told to figure out how much was needed in preparation.

We know of course that Shamshi – Adad succeeded in conquering both Qabra and Nurrugum. When Kuwari became his vassal the King took contact with the Gutians who promised to respect the integrity of his realm and specifically to refrain from attacking Šušarra. A group of letters are concerned with a campaign against the country Ahazum with its capital Šikšabbum, and these events appear to be contemporary with Shamshi – Adad's attack on Nurrugum.

These texts show us Kuwari in the role as the (somewhat reluctant) vassal of Shamshi – Adad, engaged together with one of the king's generals in a mopping-up operation along the lower course of the Zab.

The collapse of the Hurrian states in the mountains east of Šušarra created a difficult situation for Kuwari, for his region appears to have been flooded with refugees from the mountains, Turukkean tribesmen and their chieftains who were fleeing from their old homes. The most important man to come to Šušarra in this stream of refugees was a man called Hazip-Teššup apparently a kind of supreme chief or king of the Turukkeans. With him also came the man Zazija who later became known as the king of the Turukkeans and whose Son was married to Shamshi — Adad's granddaughter in a dynastic marriage designed to seal an alliance. How many Turukkeans came to Kuwari is unknown, but it is clear that they constituted a very serious problem.

One aspect of this was of course the exalted position of many of these refugees. Kuwari appears to have conducted a course of action which aimed at detaining them, keeping them from taking contact either with their own people in the mountains or with Shamshi – Adad. But we hear that the country is unhappy with this policy, and some of them – for instance Hazip – Teššup – were sent to Shamshi – Adad in Shubat – Enlil. Kuwari's fear was of course that the great king should decide that it would be better for him to replace Kuwari with a man whose prestige in the mountain tribes was greater.

Another problem was clearly that Kuwari had too many Turukkeans around him, more than he could possibly dispose of in his own territory. Therefore, he was ordered to send those that he could not settle himself on down to Shamshi – Adad, but also this arrangement created problems, for the Turukkeans began to run away from their escorts and raided the countryside. The bad reputation that the Turukkeans have in the Mari correspondence as marauding nomads is probably to be seen in this context: they were in fact not nomads but starving refugees.

Kuwari's archives show how he gave out presents to the Turukkean chiefs who were politely detained in Šušarra, and it can also be seen that some of them were given control of villages in his province. One example – and a particularly dramatic one – was the man Lidaja who appears to have been put in control of the village called Burullum. Like Zazija, he too rose to some prominence for when we hear some years later that Ishme – Dagan after Shamshi – Adad's death has decided to give up trying to control Šušarra, it was precisely Lidaja who had become the enemy.

This situation marked the end of Assyrian control in

Such references therefore make it possible to set up a basic chronological and historical frame of reference for our archives from Shemshara, but it is also clear that we have to do with a peripheral area whose contacts with the major centres of Assyria and Babylonia was of a special kind. Maybe the major importance of the Shemshara archives is precisely their uniqueness as documentation for the socio-political structures of such a peripheral society. When Klengel wrote about the mountain-tribe known as Turukku he emphasized very strongly the lack of local documentation from such tribal societies and assumed that they did not in fact have any written tradition at all. One of the fundamentally important conclusions that can be drawn from our study of the Shemshara archives is that a local tradition in fact did manifest itself in rather elaborate socio-political structures which made use of writing for administrative purposes.

Even though-as I said-the Shemshara texts are braodly contemporary, it is possible to divide them into two major groups: one dealing with local affairs of the land Šušarra and its neighbours in the other valleys around it, and one which is intimately linked with the major diplomatic dovelopments in the whole east-Tigridian region. Whereas the first group obviously consists of both letters and administrative texts. the latter group contains primarily letters sent to Šušarra from Shamshi-Adad himself and from a number of officials. ambassadors, agents and spies who either operated in the Zagros area themselves or who were in charge of one of the bureaus of the administration which interested itself in the developments in the Zagros valleys.

These two groups, the local one and the international one, must presumably also be seen representing two different periods-although there is a slight difference only in terms of years. The decisive difference lies in the change of political status which Šušarra experienced at a crucial moment. when it went from being a dependency of a local Turukkean state which is to be sought further to the east, and instead became a dependency of Shamshi-Adad's. The events surrounding this change constitute a complex puzzle, and it is in fact not at all possible to establish the precise sequence of the various small and great incidents.

It seems relatively clear, however, that the change which affected Šušarra was one result of much larger developments which must have had very serious repercussions for all of the local states in the valleys. Part of our archives appear to reflect the situation when these states were still in existence, and these documents therefore provide us with our only documentation for these political units. I shall very briefly sketch the main outlines of this situation.

We know from texts of many periods that the mountain valleys were inhabited by a variety of tribes or peoples such as the Lulleans, the Gutians, the Turukkeans etc. The Shemshara texts indicate that the Lulleans lived on the Rania Plain itself and Shemshara's relations with the many Lullean kings or chieftains were based on the constant need to acquire quantities of grain from them.

The Gutians appear in our texts as a menacing force. The Gutian chieftain Endušše is clearly engaged in a military expansion which appears to have its point of origin to the south of Šušarra. and it was this Gutian invasion which in the end created a disastrous situation in the valleys around Shemshara. I shall return to this.

Finally, the Turukkeans. They are hardly mentioned in the local texts - for the very good reason that the people of Šušarra themselves were Turukkeans, and it seems clear that this tribe controlled large tracts in the deep Zagros region. Analysis of the name material from Shemshara shows that the Turukkeans had Hurrian names, and there can hardly be any doubt that we are faced with a system of small Hurrian states.

The administrative texts are divided into two major groups: one deals with agricultural and related matters, whereas the other records deliveries of gifts etc. to a number of persons.

We can see that Šušarra controlled an area which we must assume to be identical with the Rania Plain. A group of texts are concerned with deliveries of grain from a considerable number of villages: four main villages in the region have threshing floors - and presumably storage magazines and the archive records the amounts delivered there by villages and individuals. Another group of texts give detailed information about issues from the palace at Šušarra of seed, and these deliveries are to the same villages but they refer to vegetables rather than grain. The issues are counted in terms of number of fields, a system which is rather obscure to us. we also find a number of ration lists of course, and a few texts refer to slaves and women who are issued from or received at the palace at Šušarra. Apparently a pool of labour was administered in this way. All in all, this part of the archive reflects Šušarra's position as the administrative center for the Rania Plain, and the texts which will be pubished soon by Jesper Eidem - are in no way exceptional.

This center at Tell Shemshara was however not an independent unit, but was a provincial outpost from a Hurrian state in the mountains. This comes out most clearly from a group of letters written from a number of local kings, chiefs etc. to the man Kuwari who appears to have functioned as a kind of governor. The capital of the state of which Šušarra was only a provincial town was called Kunšum, but we do not know the name of the state or for that matter the exact location of it. The king at Kunšum had the Hurrian name Talpušarri. Kuwari the governor at Šušarra has a house, land and his family in Kunšum.

This state was only one of many in the mountains. We know the names of a number of them because they became involved in a great alliance which was designed to unite them against the invading Gutians.

The diplomatic archive at Shemshara can only be understood in terms of a much wider historical perspective. The texts refer to two major military developments which took place at the same time, even though they were clearly unrel-

THE SHEMSHARA ARCHIVES

BY:
M. T. LARSEN

The first major rescue operation in Iraq was started 25 years ago in connection with the building of the Dukan Dam. This dam led to the creation of a lake in the fertile valley known as Dasht-i-Bitwain, i. e. the Rania plain, and a number of excavations were organised by Iraqi archaeologists. The two most important excavations, Tell ed-Dem and Bazmusian, have been published in Sumer. Only one foreign team was involved in this rescue operation, namely a Danish one led by Professors Ingholt and Lœssoe. It is a great pleasure - in this time of gigantic rescue operations – to present to you some of the results of this pioneering effort.

The Rania Plain is part of the system of small. fertile valleys of the deep Zagros. The survey carried out by Iraqi archaeologists indicates that a small number of fairly large settlements existed here from prehistoric down to Islamic times. The Lower Zab comes into the Plain through a narrow gorge, and very close to that spot was found a mound called Tell Shemshara. It is obvious that a road of some importance could be controlled from there, leading into the Nawdasht Valley (where we find the large mound of Qala Dizeh) and from there south towards the Shehrizor Plain or northeast towards the Urmia region.

Tell Shemshara itself appeared as a tall conical mound of modest size. The Danish excavations in 1957 were concentrated primarily on this mound where prehistoric remains of great importance were discovered. The results of these excavations have been published by Pedèr Mortensen.

However, there was a very considerable extension of the mound towards the south, nearly 250 meters long, and a very limited excavation was made here by the Danish team in 1957. One room in a building was excavated, and on the floor was discovered a group of some 140 tablets associated with sherds, presumably from a pot in which the texts had been stored.

For various unfortunate reasons, it was not possible to continue a Danish excavation at the site, so it fell to Iraqi archaeologists to excavate the rest of the building where the first archive came from. Excavations in 1958 and 1959 were indeed concentrated here, and it turned out that a rather large palatial building - of which the tablet room found the first year was a tiny part-was located here. Further tablets were discovered in two rooms fairly close to the first archive, in all some 100 poorly preserved texts. My report today is intended to provide an outline of the results reached so far in the work on these archives, and my main preoccupation will be to provide you with a picture of the political or historical situation depicted by the archives.

Both archives belong-as has been established and described by Lœssoe in various reports-to the Old Babylonian period. The archive found by the Danish team consisted primarily of letters with a few administrative texts. A number of these letters were sent to Shemshara from Shamshi-Adad I, and it has been established that this archive is contemporary with the Mari texts of the Shamshi-Adad and Jasmah-Adad period. However, Lœssoe has suggested that the second archive was somewhat later, dating to the time " when Assyrian influence waned and Babylon under Hammurabi, laid claim to territories far to the north".

I shall take the two archives a contemporary here, however, for a closer analysis of the second Shemshara archive leads to the conclusion that it too contains links with the Shamshi-Adad correspondence found at Mari. For instance, the references to messengers from Babylon present in Shemshara are found in a text which also mentions a Hurrian chieftain whose son is known from a Mari letter (ARM 4:5) to have been involved in a diplomatic incident with the king of Babylon. It therefore seems understandable why messengers from Babylon travelled all the way to Shemshara to lay their hands on a person who was to be deported to Hammurabi's court. Lœssoe has established that the ancient name for the settlement at Tell Shemshara was Šušarra, and the town and land of Šušarra reappear in the Mari correspondence a few times. An elder from Šušarra is known to have visited at Karana or Qatara (or whatever the ancient name of Tell Rimah was).

by volcanic eruptions .

Neutron Activation Analysis : Stduy of ceramics and clays by the exposure to radiation of powdered samples .

Petrographic Analysis : Study of ceramics and clays by an examination of the minerals found in the fabric .

Polarising microscope : Microscope designed for examining geological specimens by al tering the reflection of light and determining the differant angles of reflection given by differant minerals .

Radioactive isotope decay : Radiation given out by the trac elements within the clay after it has been exposed to rac iation .

Sedimentary petrology : The study of mineral from cla of silt deposits .

Trace elements : Chemical elements within the clays whic occur in very small quantities .



PETROGRAPHIC AND NEUTRON ACTIVATION ANALYSIS OF MESOPOTAMIAN CERAMICS.

BY :
SIRIOL MYNORS

This paper is in the nature of a preliminary examination of Mesopotamian ceramics of the Early Dynastic Period, by Petrographic and Neutron Activation Analysis.

Although the study is, as yet, in its infancy the sherds so far examined display a considerable variety of mineral inclusions not at first expected in pottery manufactured in the Mesopotamian Plain. The present study attempts to highlight some of the problems inherent in an analysis of Mesopotamian Ceramics, but it is also intended to hint at the enormous potential for examining pottery exchange and distribution which such an approach affords.

The two methods of analysis employed involve quite different techniques : Neutron Activation Analysis distinguishes different pottery clays by a comparison of the trace elements and their respective concentrations, within each sherd, using the radioactive isotope decay specific for each element, produced on irradiation of a powder sample of the sherd. This provides the basis for isolating pottery samples which have similar elemental concentrations, and hence are considered to be from the same source ; from those samples which have differing elemental concentrations and are thus likely to be derived from a different clay source and therefore possible imports.

The mineralogical analysis is based principally on a study of the sedimentary petrology of the clays from which the pots were derived. The petrology is distinctive by virtue of the high proportion of derived igneous inclusions contained in the matix. Thin sections of this pottery are mounted on glass slides and examined under polarising microscope and the subsequent isolation of groups within the pottery was determined from an estimate of the frequency of occurrence of six diagnostic mineral inclusions.

So far, sampling has primarily been carried out on Early Dynastic pottery from the site of Abu Salabikh in southern Iraq, although sherds from some other sites are also included as a first step towards establishing the extent of variation between assemblages on Mesopotamian sites.

A systematic analysis of Mesopotamian ceramics, certainly from the Early Dynastic Period, has not been carried out and although the present paper can only attempt to consider a specific question relating to one site the wider issues of the possible diversity which a further extended analysis of Mesopotamian ceramics, from the major Early Dynastic sites should reveal : and the importance of such a study in aiding the elucidation of some of the problems arising out of a consideration of pottery traditions, the modes of production and the exchange systems.

In order to illustrate the potential for examining pottery distibution and manufacture by an analytical approach to the study of Mesopotamian ceramics a discussion is included of pottery from the site of Umm an Naar, United Arab Emirates, which displays a marked similarity to the Sumerian pottery types of the Early Dynastic III Period, and its comparison, by analysis, with the corresponding sherd types from Early Dynastic III in Mesopotamia, particularly on the site of Abu Salabikh; in an attempt to discover the relationship between these pottery traditions which are so geographically distinct. By petrographic analysis these Early Dynastic III type sherds were isolated from the local Gulf assemblage and established as being mineralogically directly comparable with the pottery from the southern Mesopotamian Plain.

This particular project owes much to the help of Walid al _ Tikriti who supplied the sherds from the site of Umm an Naar, where he has been directing excavations, as well as some comparative Gulf wares, and in addition was invaluable in offering advice and suggestions as to the initial implications of the results.

Glossary of Technical Terms :

Clay Matrix : The clay within which minerals are suspended.

Elemental concentrations : The measure of the minute quantities of chemical elements within the clay sample.

Igneous inclusions : Minerals derived from rocks formed

as well. It seems to be the third millennium text that is most likely to be discovered at any site. For reasons that are not clear, it appears to have held a fascination for generations of scribes, for it was still being copied into Old Babylonian times when most other third millennium lexical texts had been forgotten.

The scholar- scribes were apparently not content simply to go on repeating the received learning , but were creative in their own rights. It seems to me now that there is also, after the middle of the third millennium , a northern scribal tradition where the texts do not derive directly from a southern center like Uruk or Fara. There are several examples to support this view. First, there is a list of professions not related to the one I just mentioned - that has been found at Abu Salabikh, at Nuzi, at Kish, and at Ebla. There is the list of personal names (some of which are Semitic) and professions. Copies of this have been found at Abu Salabikh and at Ebla. There is also the list of geographical names found at Abu Salabikh and at Ebla.

In the case of literary texts, we cannot trace the continuity over time and space nearly so well. One can mention the Instructions of Šuruppak from Abu Salabikh and Adab, the proverb collection from Fara and Abu Salabikh, the enigmatic UD. GAL. NUN texts from Fara and Abu Salabikh, and possibly one or two others, but none of these texts, or any of the numerous other literary texts from Abu Salabikh have been found at Ebla . Thus many of the Abu Salabikh literary texts remain unique to that site . Of course, one cannot say whether or not they were composed there. It is hard even to guess what may have been the impetus for writing down literary texts. All the texts written on rectangular tablets at Abu Salabikh are written by skilled scribes. On the other hand, the school exercise tablets-usually small rounded tablets - never contain the same material as the large tablets. Here one can conjecture that as part of the training of young scribes, they were assigned to set down in writing particular tales or episodes from stories they knew. These seem not to have become a part of any scholarly tradition.

Thus it appears that there was in Sumer itself considerable conservatism as far as the lexical texts were concerned, but nevertheless some innovation in northern areas, but considerable innovation when it came to writing down literary texts. Distance seems to have helped to overcome the conservative constraints of tradition in Sumer and it is a distant area like Ebla that the scribes took a bold step, still using the traditional cuneiform writing, to a partially syllabic system, and using this system to write first of all syllabic pronunciations in lexical texts such as the Fara - Ebla list of bird names or the Abu Salabikh - Ebla list of geographical names. It would be difficult to reconstruct the sequence of events, or the specific impetus, but it may be that the Ebla scribes were not as secure in their knowledge of the correct pronunciation of logograms in the traditional Sumerian lexical texts as were their Mesopotamian counterparts, and therefore they needed the aid that a syllabically written pronunciation could give.

But the Ebla scribes took this new flexibility to begin, in a limited way, to write their own Semitic language. The Abu Salabikh scribes had already begun this in an even more limited way, influenced, I believe, by the diverging tendencies of the northern area. This shows up in a very few administrative documents and literary texts, but not at all, as far as I can see, in the lexical texts. The potential was present , however, since they could easily write the Semitic names in the colophons in the Abu Salabikh tablets.

Thus we see that although the scribes remained largely faithful to, and dependent on, the old traditions of Sumerian learning, there was nevertheless the possibility of innovation that gave us the earliest written literature and the earliest writing in a Semitic language.

ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA AND THE SCHOLARLY TRADITIONS OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

BY :
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Discoveries of the past twenty years have drastically changed our views on the nature and extent of Sumerian learning and scholarship in the third millennium B. C. Up until that time, there was very little known except for the so - called school - texts from Fara, ancient Šuruppak. And even they were largely overlooked and were thought of as lists of words used in the schools in the training of scribes. With a few notable exceptions, even specialists in Sumerian paid little attention to them. There was an obvious reason of course - so very little could be understood. The script was unfamiliar and strange looking. The way the signs were arranged in the little ruled boxes seemed to be arbitrary and one often did not know what sign to begin with.

Discoveries made at Abu Salabikh in the spring of 1963 and the winter of 1965 changed the situation dramatically. Several hundred cuneiform texts from approximately the Fara period - somewhere around 2600 or 2500 B. C. - were discovered. Rather than having a predominance of administrative documents as at Fara, the Abu Salabikh texts were similar to the so - called school texts from Fara. In fact, many turned out to be word for word duplicates of texts from Fara. The ones most immediately recognizable were the lexical texts, that is, lists of words, such as names of occupations and kinds of fishes. However, it was also evident, even in 1963, that several of the texts were not lists of words but were literary in nature. The 1965 finds included a sizable number of literary texts - in fact literary texts predominate. The usual view had been that until near the end of the third millennium, writing was used mainly for record keeping and other practical needs. After the discoveries at Abu Salabikh, this was clearly an outdated view.

In 1975, one year after the publication of the Abu Salabikh tablets, an expedition from the University of Rome made a find of text at Tell Mardikh- Ebla that dwarfed the earlier finds at Abu Salabikh. At Ebla the greatest percentage of the tablets are administrative, but there are nevertheless a sizable number of lexical texts and a relatively small number of literary texts. Only a limited number of the lexical and literary texts are published so far, but it seems possible already to make a few observations on third millennium scholarship based on material published so far.

First, I must stress that we have only a very fragmentary picture at present. Accidents of preservation and hazards of excavation mean that we can see things only partially. An example is that we have very little lexical or literary material from the third millennium from Nippur. We can speculate that because of Nippur's importance as a scribal center in the second millennium, it may also have had a leading role in the third millennium, but we shall probably never know for sure since it is so difficult to excavate to third millennium levels at Nippur. Kish is another example, for we have very little written material from the third millennium from there either. Therefore accidents of discovery have made a site like Abu - Salabikh - whose ancient name is still unknown - have a greater importance for us than its ancient importance might suggest.

It may again be accidents of preservation and discovery that have given us such a substantial number of early word lists from Uruk, now being prepared for publication by Hans Nissen and his group in Berlin. Very few are known so far from elsewhere, but one cannot say that they will not be found. These early lexical texts, mainly from the Jemdet Nasr period, are often clearly the direct forerunners of the lexical texts from Fara, Abu Salabikh, and now Ebla as well. Without going into details about closer dating, one can see that there was throughout the third millennium a scholarly network whereby works of Sumerian learning- principally the lexical texts - were transmitted from one city to another, across even vast distances, in a standardized manner. The most notable example of this is Professions List A. This is among the earliest texts at Uruk. It is known from numerous copies at Fara, Abu Salabikh, and Ebla and from other sites

man of Umma, swear an oath on a corresponding agreement between Umma and Lagaš with the words:
a-šà-dnin-gír-su-ka GUR8 ì-kú- "I shall benefit from the field of Ningirsu against interest!"[2]). *GUR8 ì-kú* here may possibly be read *uru8 ì-kú*, which in turn probably stands for: *ur5-e i-kú-* "I shall benefit/ usufruct against interest". According to these sources, the claim of Umma against Lagaš is stated, in chronological order, under E'annatum himself by the term:
GUR8 ì-kú- "(the field of Ningirsu) I shall usufruct (against interest)" (Ean. 1, 16:23–24 and parallels), under Entemena, referring to his father's times, however, by the term: *ur5 -še ì-kú-* "He (= the man of Umma) usufructs (the field of Ningirsu) on loan against interest" (Ent. 28, 2:23 = 29,3:7).

In the light of these testimonies as well as of the significant change in the declaration of Urlumma's from: *bala i-kù-e* in the contemporary tradition of Enannatum I. to : *ki-sur-ra-mu* in the version of Uru'inimginna (6, 4:8'), we are entitled to ask if the term bala does not imply anassociation with the formula *BAL-* PN, current in the final clauses of selling-acts for fields and/or houses of the Third millenium.

This expression has so far been generally rendered by "alternating turn of PN" (*bala = palûm*) and been explained as implying a dating rather in the way of Assyrian *limmu-dates.* Joachim Krecher, on the other hand, has proposed, not so long ago (ZA 63 (1973) p. 173 (12)) the translation: "Transferred : PN" – in parallel, as I think, to the term: *zi-ga* PN- "subtracted : PN", found in Neo-Sumerian administrative documents. He has corroborated his translation in the following sense that, by a person of a certain professional function, "the contents of the contract has been transferred (by copy) on to another document in his possession" (p.182 sq.). On the strength of J. Krecher's argument the term: *bala* in : *bala ì-kú-e* may possibly be conceived as: "transfer by a bala-remark / confirmed by note of transfer". Urlumma's claim! *an-ta-sur-ra gá-kam bala ì-kú-e* could then be understood as meaning: "The Antasurra is mine! I shall benefit from it as from a goods transferred (legally / with legally approving note)!".

On the other hand, we wonder why, by quoting Urlumma's declaration as: *an-ta-sur-ra gá-kam ki-sur-ra-mu-* "The Antasurra is mine! (It is) my territory!", Uru'inimginna has put into the mouth of Urlumma a different, and possibly better founded, reason for his claim, whilst Urlumma himself in the contemporary sources gives only the reason : bala *i-kú-e-* "I shall benefit from it (= the Antasurra) as from a (legally) transferred goods !" Is it conceivable that Uru'inimginna, in his version of the conflict between Urlumma and Enannatum I., should have projected back to the times of his forefathers a legal claim from the part of Umma with which he found himself confronted in his own days?

The text, unfortunately, is broken before it might have given us a conclusive answer to this question. In any case, we cannot deny the fact that Uru'inimginna, for his retrospective report on the conflict between Urlumma and Enannatum I., has obviously consulted the relevant sources of his elders. For Uru'inimginna, there was no doubt that Urlumma's claim: *ki-sur-ra-mu-* "(It is) my territory!" had no legal foundations whatsoever, because the man of Umma had confirmed by oath, as attested by the Stela of Vultures (Ean. 1, 16: 20 – 24):
ki-sur-ra- / dnin-gír-su-ka-ke4 / ba-ra-mu-bal-e- "(For ever and all times) I shall not transgress / trespass the frontier of Ningirsu!".

This helps us to unterstand why Uru'inimginna has the god Ningirsu himself stand up against Urlumma: according to Uru'inimginna's conception, Ningirsu was defending his property.

This insight into the beginnings of historiography as based on older sources has seemed to me worthwhile to be pointed out within the frame of a symposium which is centered around the contributions of Mesopotamian cultural achievements to the World Civilizations.

26. His (= Urlumma's) troop 60 (sixty) soldiers.
27. he has left behind.
28. (The bones) of his (= Ummas) people ...."

Unfortunately the text is broken away before we learn why Uru, inimginna put this retrospective report on the conflict Umma – Lagaš into this very context. His retrospective relation describes events which had taken place between Enannatum I. of Lagaš and Urlumma of Umma, consequently between opponents who lived about 45 years before his own time. (Cf. for the chronology: H. – J. Nissen Königsfriedhof (1965) p. 122).

At closer view, it becomes evident that Uru'inimginna's version presents manifold points of reference to other Old – Sumerian sources dealing with this same conflict. Before analysing one apecial paragraph in detail, I should like to point out to you some of these points of reference:

1. To the statement in lines 1' and 2' of our text: *bar – še – ba – ka / lú he – ši – gi₄ – gi₄ – a – ka –* " Because he (= Enannatum I.) on behalf of this barley had sent people (to him = Urlunma) " corresponds the phrasing used in Entemena 28, 4: 16 – 18 = 29,5: 4–6. *bar – e – ba – ka / il – šè / lu he – šè – gi₄ – gi₄* (*in Ent.* 29 Var. gi – gi) – a – Because he (= Entemena) on behalf this ditch had sent people to I l." This last incident being part of the events which opposed Entemena and Il, consequently one generation later than the enemies Enannatum I. and Urlumma.

2. For the statement in lines 5' – 6' of our text: *ur – lum – ma – ke₄ / šu – ur₆ e – ma – da – du₁₁* – "Urlumma has spoken to him in wrath "
we find an antecedent already on the Stela of Vultures of E' annatum: *lú – ummaᵏⁱ – ke₄ / šu – ur₆ – rá / e – ma – da du₁₁* –" The man of Umma has spoken to him in wrath (Ean. 1,2 :24 – 26) (≙ Ean 1,3: [16 – 18]).

The expression *lú – ummaᵏⁱ – ke₄* – "The man of Umma" here cannot refer to Urlumma, because we know who the opponent of E, annatum has been, although his name is not given on the Stela of Vultures. Entemena's text supplies the identification with Enakalle, the father and predecessor of Urlumma.

3. To various other minor, but not less interesting, points I can merely draw your attention, as their detailed interpretation would require too much time. These are:
   a) Uru' inimginna 6, 4:12,: *Kur – kur – re – su e – ma – tag – tag* –"All foreign countries intervened there" may be compared to:
   kur – kur e – ma – hun – (People from) all foreign countries he (= Urlumma) hired" in Ent. 28,3:1 = 29 3:27.
   b) Of the two following topographical references, the first:
   GANA-ù-gig-ga / GANA-ki-ág- / ᵈnin-gir-su-ka-ka- "On the GANA-ugigga, the beloved field of Ningirsu" in Uru' inimginna 6, 4:13' – 15'.
   has a parallel in:
   GANA-ù-gig-ga- / a-ša GANA- ᵈnin-gir-su-ka-ka- " On the GANA-ugigga, the field ol Ningirsu" mentioned in Ent. 28, 3: 8–9 = 29, 3: 34–35
   c) and the second:
   SUHUŠ-gunû-i₇-lum-ma-gir-nun-ta-ka in Uru' inimginna 6, 4:24'
   finds its older equivalents already in:
   gú-i₇-lum-ma-gír-nun-ta-ka, mentioned in Ent. 28, 3: 20 = 29, 4:11, as well as in:
   KID-lum-ma-gír-nun-ta- ka occuring in En. I 29, 11:3.
   d) Finalley, there is the expression :
   gaba-ni-šè i-DU- "He (= Urlumma) collocated (his ...) (at the ... of the (canal) Ilummagirnunta) in front of him"
   in Uru' inimginna 6, 4:25', which may be compared to:
   a-ba-ni-šè ba-DU- "He (= Enannatum I.) has gone to his (= Urlumma's) . . . ." in En. I 29, 11:4.

More examples of such phraseological affinities could be cited easily.

Now to the principal point, the statement in Uru' inimginna 6, 4:7' – 8' which I propose to trace throughout the tradition of the conflict Umma-Lagaš. Here, Urlumma, ruler of Umma, declares his claim on the disputed Antasurra by the words:
an-ta-sur-ra / gá-kam ki-sur-ra-mu- "The Antasurra is mine! (It is) my territory! " This is the version given by Uru' inimginna.
The contemporary tradition, however, as written down in En. I 29, 8: 5–6 some 45 Years earlier, quotes this same declaration as :
an-ta-sur-ra gá-kam / bala i-kú-e- "The Antasurra is mine ! I shall usufruct (benefit from) it !" (R. D. Biggs translates: " I shall have the benefit of the prebends").

Whereas the first parts of both quotation are identical, for the second half Uru' inimginna's version has: *ki-sur-ra-mu-* "(It is) my territory" instead of : *bala i-kú-e* in the text of Enannatum I. This phrasing :*bala i-kú-e-* " I shall have the benefit of the prebends" (according to R. D. Biggs' translation) can be understood in the light of Ent. 28, 2: 19 – 23 = 29, 3: 3–7. Here, E'annatum makes to the man of Umma the concession that he may "benefit from the barley of Nanše (and) from the barley of Ningirsu " – (*še-ᵈnanše / še ᵈnin-gír-su-ka*) within certain limits " as a loan (subject to) (against interest)" (= *ur₅-šè i-kú*) under the condition that he does not interfere with the water-supply for Lagaš. This very passage may be compared to Ent. 28, 2: 27 – 35 = 29, 3: 11 – 19.

This agreement is parallelled by another one, mentioned only in Cone B, but not on Cone A !, of Entemena (Ent. 29, 2: 5 – 10), according to which E'annatum in his treaty with Enakalle, the father and predecessor of Urlumma, concedes to Umma the usufructation of fields belonging to Ningirsu, again within certain limits.

In the version contemporary to the actual events as laid down on the Stela of Vultures, E'annatum has opponent, the

REMARKS ON THE WRITTEN TRADITION OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN LAGAŠ AND UMMA*

BY :

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The conflict opposing Lagaš and Umma , concerning the territory of the Gu'edenna, situated between those two city – states, is well known to scholars ever since Arno Poebel's extensive studies published in 1926 as a contribution to the volume in honour of Paul Haupt . Giovanni Pettinato has followed this conflict down into the Ur – III – period .

Since then , two major texts have been adding important new informations :

1. Vaughn E. Crawford in: JCS 29 (1977) p. 192 sqq., and
2. Robert D. Biggs in: AOAT 25 (1976) p. 33 sqq.

I shall not deal , however, with the new historical facts these texts contain – the purpose of the subject of my contribution to the general theme of this symposium being , rather, to shed some light on the ways and methods how history has been written in Ancient Sumer. Thereby, I hope to show that our modern historiography, following the tradition of the famous Greek authors, can be traced back to the Third millenium B.C.

Our point of departure is the text Uru' inimginna 6 column 4, constituting the most recent of the different versions relating the conflict Umma – Lagaš in the Early Dynastic period, from the point of view of Lagaš – Girsu, which have come down to us. We shall not be concerned here with the so – called Fall of Lagaš, preserved in Uru, inimginna 16, nor with the description of the frontiers from the point of view of Umma as given by Lugalzagesi which has been first published by Edmond Sollberger in OrNS 28 (1959) p. 336 sqq.

The translation of Uru inimginna 6 column 4 runs as follows: [1])

4

1. " Because he (= Enannatum I .) on behalf of this barley
2. had sent people (to him = Urlumma)
3. "' My barley, you shall bring it !".
4. (and) because he had declared against him (= Urlumma)
5. Urlumma
6. spoke to him (= Enannatum I.) in wrath;
7. " The Antasurra
8. is mine ! (It is) my territory ! "
9. has he declared.
10. Umma
11. levied troops there.
12. All foreign countries intervened there
13. On the *GANA* – ugigga,
14. the beloved field
15. of Ningirsu
16. Ningirsu
19. has destroyed
18. the body of man
17. of Umma
20. Urlumma.
21. the ruler
22. of Umma.
23. has his ...
24. on the ... of the (canal) I lummagirnunta
25. collocated in front of him.

*) Paper read at the International Symposium "Ancient Mesopotamia and its Role in the World Civilizations" held in Baghdad, November 1981.

1) Ukg. 6,4:1'-28': bar-še-ba-ka (2') lú hé-ši-qi$_4$-gi$_4$-a-ka (3') še-mu ha-mu-tùm (4') he-na-be-a-ka (5') ur-lum-ma-ke$_4$ (6') su-ur$_6$ e-ma-da-du$_{11}$ (7') na-ta-sur-ra (8') gá-kam ki-sur-ra-mu (9') bí-du$_{11}$ (10') umma^{ki} (11') e-ma-zi (12') kur-kur-ré šu e-ma-tag-tag (13') GANÁ-ù-gig-ga (14') GANÁ-ki-ág- (15') ^{d}nin-gir-su-ka-ka (16') ^{d}nin-gír-su-ke$_4$ (17') umma^{ki} (18') zi-ga-bi (19') ì-ha-lam (20') ur-lum-ma (21') ensí- (22') umma^{ki}-a (23') gàr-dar-ra-NI (24') SUHUŠ-gunu-i$_7$-lum-ma- gír-nun-ta-ka (25') gaba-ni-šé ì-DU (26') ne-ni erén-60-am$_6$ (27') e-še-tag$_4$ (28') nam-1 [ú-ulù-ba] (text ending here with break).

3) = Ean. 1, 16: 23-24 = Ean. 1,17:31-32 = Ean. 1,18:35-36 = Ean. 1,20:13-14 = Ean. 1,Rs. 1:13-14 = Ean. 1, Rs. 4:1-2.

und : these are the kind sometimes depicted on cylinder seals.

Another good ED I type, this time from rescue digging away from the mound.

This is probably a ladle, the hole at the bottom being for attaching the handle. It was found on the surface of the West mound, and there is an exact parallel from the deep sounding at Tell Asmar.

And this is probably a lid, paralleled at Nippur, It is more difficult to find connections for our ED I material as there is so little excavation of that period in southern Iraq, and as I have said, we have unfortunately few connections with the beautiful ED I pottery of the north that has become so well - known from the Himrin excavations.

THE CERAMIC SEQUENCE AT ABU ESSALABIKH AND ITS REGIONAL CONNCECTIONS

BY :
J . A . MOON

My purpose here is a very simple one : to show some of the main Early Dynastic pottery types found at Abu Salabikh and to point out their connections with other sites of the same, period.

Most of the pottery comes from excavations in two places : on the main mound there is ED I occupation, which we really only know from soundings, covered by ED IIIA deposits, into which are dug ED IIIA graves, and probably some ED IIIB ones. Most of our pottery comes from these graves. On the West mound we have ED I occupation overlying Uruk. I am not going to say much about ED II because we haven't yet identified any typical ED II pottery at Abu Salabikh.

First, the commonest bowl types of all the periods at Salabikh : For the Uruk period the bevelled rim bowl, which is found of course way up in Turkey and down on the Gulf. For the ED I period two kinds of solid footed goblet. Then conical bowls – a tallish one from a pre – ED III grave on the main mound. And these become shallower in the late ED period. So these ordinary ED types, the everyday crockery is just the same at Salabikh as everywhere else in Mesopotamia.

The other type found in large quantities is the spouted jar, which became popular in the Uruk period and remained so until Agade times. The frequent occurence of these types is not surprising when you remember that conical bowls and spouted jars were used as standard measures. Recently we have been measuring the capacity of the ones we find, and it would be useful to compare our results with other ED sites.

ED I spouted jars are bigger. In the ED III period they become smaller and change shape. Our most common type is this one with the narrow added ring base, a type possibly more common in northern than southern Meopotamia.

Coming on to the less common types and their associations, all the types Iam about to show are paralleled at Kish, which is the nearest ED site that has much pottery like ours. There are of course other important ED sites that are nearer, such as Nippur, Adab and Fara, but not much is known of the ED pottery there. Here are some examples of pots found both at Salabikh and Kish : carinated jars and jars with wide ring base.

Other types have much wider connections, such as these. Some of our parallels concentrate to the south, at Fara, Ur, and al ' Ubaid.
And some to the west and north, at Mari for instance.

So far all the pottery I have shown has been plain, as indeed nearly all late ED III pottery is. There are two exceptions, kinds which are commonly decorated : stemmed dishes and upright – handled jars. They must, I think, have had some special purpose, but we can only guess what.

The stemmed dishes can be plain. This is the commonest type over all Mesopotamia. Or they can be decorated. The very tall, northern ED II type we haven't found at all, but this very elaborate EDIII decoration is found in many of the graves at Ur.

Now, as for the upright – handled jars, these occur only in northern Mesopotamia, and at Mari, Susa. They do not, as far as we know, occur south of Adab and Fara. The well – known northern sequence of decoration styles appears to hold good at Salabikh : The ED I types have just a plain cross on the handle. This one has a nose as well as a cross. And later ED III ones have human faces.

So when it comes to special pottery Salabikh has clear connections with the north. This is in marked contrast to the situation in ED I times, for we do not find at Salabikh the well known special ED I type 'scarlet ware'.

Most of our ED I pottery has been excavated recently, so I have unfortunately not so muchto show you yet, but here are a few types :

Here is a grave group from the main mound including a spouted jar of a kind specifically ED I in the Diyala region.

And some large ED I jars found in situ on the west mo-

ble; the Roman and the local (Syro – Mesopotamian) fabrics. Imports of Roman and Greek amphorae are attested by stamped handles, rims and bases, whereas the only couple of *terra sigillata* sherds stresses the virtual absence of the finer Roman wares.

The local fabrics are overwhealming. Three main types occur : the commonware, the glazed ware and the so called brittle ware. The glazed types display tipically Mesopotamian features and can easily be ranged among the Parthian examples of Seleucia and Dura[6]. The brittle ware shows a wide distribution in Roman Syria and Mesopotamia (Northern Mesopotamia), it is common at Dura around 256 A.D.,[7] whereas is completely missing in Seleucia and Southern Mesopotamia. The Kifrin samples find some of their best comparisons in the Roman fort of Ain Sinu, in the Sinjar region, for whom a date at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., that is the Severan age, is proposed by the excavator[8]. The ratio of the commonware to the remaining two is overwhealming in every sector of the sampling. Moreover, the glazed and brittle ware sherds show a more limited distribution. The commonware fabrics again point to Dura and Ain Sinu for many types. This is the typical pottery of the Syro–Mesopotamian Jazira, but it shares many features with the Parthian and even early Sasanian pottery of Central Mesopotamia, as is known mainly from Seleucia and Choche.

Therefore, we must stress the presence of western as well as eastern fabrics in the ceramic picture, which is nothing but natural if we look at the position of Kifrin on the very border between the Roman empire and the Parthian, later Sasanian one. In spite of their different origins, these fabrics are mingling in a basically homogeneous milieu for which none of the terms referred to above is a suitable description : Roman, Parthian, Sasanian essentially have a political or chronological meaning, but fail in depicting precisely the characteristic features of the culture of the Middle Euphrates Jazira.

We have a very clear example of such a composite situation in the artistic culture of Dura Europos, one of the westernmost Parthian strongholds, which was by round 165 A.D. the seat of a Roman garrison, but where we are commonly looking for illustrations of Parthian Art among evidence dating up to 256, that is even beyond the chronological limits themselves of the Parthian state, which came to an end in 227 / 28 A.D.

The use of political terms such as "Roman" could be misleading in terms of cultural definition even within the limits of the Roman empire itself. The ceramic assemblage of Kifrin, in particular, stretching from the Syrian (Roman) brittle to the Mesopotamian (Parthian) glazed fabrics, appears to be affected by that same bipolarism which is a most typical feature of the Parthian cultural area.

Besides the ceramic data, a glimpse on the art and architecture is offered by the sounding opened in Building A. Their remains are still raising above ground. Its plan basically consists of a suite of rectangular rooms of different width but of the same length, lying close together with parallel axes on the line of a common facade.

A rectangular room was uncovered by dr. Paolo Fiorina during the 1980 sounding : it is a large room with a wide opening at the centre of the short side flanked by two half columns on square bases. The building technique is the same as that of the citadel and " town" walls: larger blocks on the facing of the walls and smaller stones inside, bound by gypsum mortar. Only one level was established in the room, and this was confirmed by a sounding in the natural ground at the eastern corner.

Fragments of the architectural stucco decoration were found in the debris. Among them, the spilitter of a human face stands out for its starry eyes which point to a Late Antique world, and make a sharp contrast to the architectural mouldings: egg – and – dart, scrolls, cornices, windows and so on, which point to the common repertoire of the classical tradition, conveyed through generations of Syrian decorators.

As far the destination of Building A, we are of course waiting for the prosecution of the excavation, and we limit us in observing that it certainly was one of the most important buildings on the site, and was standing on the highest point of the "walled town" overlooking the citadel itself.

In conclusion, Kifrin is revealing itself as one unusually large compound lying at a certain distance from Dura Europos, but in the same milieu. A glance at the map suddenly suggest a close relation with it. Dura is on the right bank of the river, and was lost by the Arsacids to the Antonines, Kifrin lies on the opposite bank further to the south – east, and the foundation of its munite fortress may well have relation with the pregnant events which have seen the Romans engaged against Parthians and Sasanids on the Middle Euphrates border on the turn to the 3rd century. The role of Kifrin as an imposing bridge – head on the Mesopotamian (Parthian) bank of the river will be clarified, we hope, by the excavations.

6– N. C. Debevoise *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Ann Arbor 1934. N. Toll *The green glazed pottery, The Excavations at Dura–Europos*, Final Report IV, Part I : 1, New Haven 1947 .

7– S. L. Dyson, *The Commonware Pottery. The Brittle Ware, The Excavations at Dura – Europos*, Final Report IV, Part I : 3 New Haven 1968.

8 –D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London 1968, Appendix B, p. 145 ff.

Severus Alexander (222 – 235 A.D.).

The second coin was picked up in area 17, that is in the sector on the western side of the archaeological area between the citadel and the "walled town". This ground is free from building remains and there is no clue to its possible function. The coin has been struck by Ardashir, the first king of the Sasanian dynasty 224 – 241 A.D.). Both coins would lend to date Kifrin, or at least a part of it, in the 3rd century A.D.

Different data could support this view. Kifrin was surely already deserted at the time of the Mesopotamian campaign of the emperor Julianus around the middle of the 4th century A.D. In fact, none of the settlements on the Euphrates referred to in the narration of the war operations made by Ammianus Marcellinus or other Classical sources can reasonably be identified with kifrin. On the other side, we come to a concordant result by reading our main source on the Euphrates road, the "Parthian Stations" by Isidore of Charax, commonly dated in the 1st century A.D.[2]. Here, the island of Ana is a fixed reference point, and the first stations downstreams are situated on islands (this finds a confirmation in the frequency of settlements on islands, such as Tilbis and Bijan, in various periods), but none of the bank stations can be identified with Kifrin This would mean that the foundation of Kifrin should be later than the 1st century. In respect of the sources evidence, therefore, our coins gain the pregnant value of a *terminus ad quem*.

Other informations are offered by a group of sherds. Stamped handles of amphorae were found during the surface sampling as well as in the sounding in Building A, mostly bearing Greek stamps, unfortunately incomplete. One of them is a Latin stamp, however, of a well known firm whose activity developed during the 2nd and early 3rd century A.D. (fig. 4.). This stamp bears the names of Junius Melissus et



Fig. 4 – Stamped amphora handle.

Melissa and belongs to one of the whealtiest families of Spain wine producers. It is considered by Callender[3] to belong to the senior members of the family, flourishing around the middle of the 2nd century A.D. and before. By the way this would stress the wide horizon of the commerce reaching Kifrin.

A second possible chronological indication could be inferred by sherds with Greek letters scratched on their surface. One among these is most interesting, because is retains four letters, Aviw (fig.5) possibly the beginning of the name 'Aviwveivos (var. Aviovivos), a name which is well known from inscriptions and graffiti of Dura Europos dating back to the age of the Severan emperors[4], that is the end of the 2nd and the first third of the 3rd century A. D., mainly during the reign of Caracalla, in honor of whom Constitutio *Antoniniana* this name was popular.

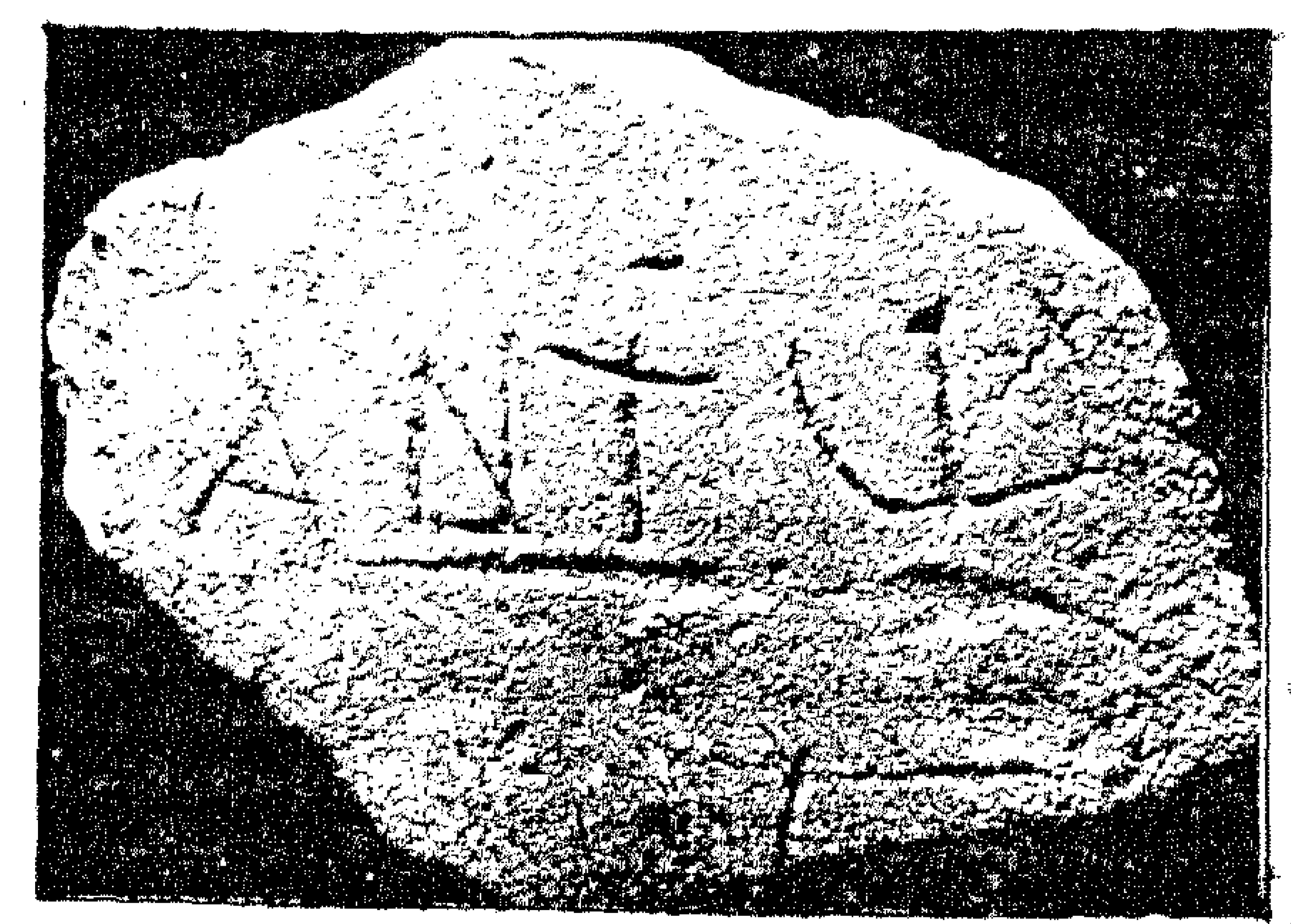


Fig .5 – Incised sherd .

Apart from the Melissi stamp, the available evidence – including the pottery – preferably points, so far, to the Severan period in terms of Syrian chronology, or Late Parthian / Early Sasanian age in terms of Mesopotamian chronology. Moreover, these data directly rise the question of the relation of Kifrin with the Romans, lords of Dura Europos upstreams since ca. 165 A.D., and suggest a Roman occupation at least for citadel and "walled town". The fact that the sounding in Building A has revealed a single occupational level would also support the view of a Roman foundation. In this respect, the Severan period should appear a most suitable moment, because this was the last and major occasion for active and firm Roman politics on the Middle Euphrates limes[5].

As to the cultural frame of Kifrin, our evidence basically rests on the surface pottery and the results of the sounding in Building A, so far. Two main classes of pottery are recogniza-

3- M. H.Callender, *Roman Amphorae, with Index of Stamps*, London 1965, fig . 9 : 24 – 25, pp. 158 – 160 .

4- For example *The Excavations, at Dura – Europos. Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work*, New Haven 1933, inscription no. 195 ; *Preliminary Report of Sixth Season of Work*, New Haven 1936, pp. 48, 489. inscription no. 818, p. 487 inscription no. 489, p. 491 ; *Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work*, New Haven 1939, p. 119 inscription no. 855, p. 120 inscription no. 858, p. 375 inscription no. 927 .

5- Cf. M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, "I Romani oltre l'Eufrate nel II secolo d. C. (le province di Assiria, di Mesopotamia e di Osroene), in H. Temporini u. W. Haase, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, II, Band 9 : 1, Berlin – New York 1976, p. 3 ff, especially p. 32 ff .

The remaining two areas are apparently protected by walls on their eastern side only, for a length of about 500 m. Although the slope of the western side is more gentle than at the Citadel, nowhere is possible to catch any glimpse of a possible walls layout. The profile of the cliff is more indented, it is shaped in three large tongues protruding at the southern end because of the gullies deeply cutting the ground.

The archaeological microrelief is much more varied here, and structural remains are rising on the surface, e. g. Building A, where work was first started, or Building B further to the east. Some of the most remarkable buildings of the settlement were probably enclosed in these quarters.

The eastern side is bound by walls, as we have said. In fact, the defences are quite developed here : three moats are running along the walls, and are suddenly reduced to only two moats, sharply turning inside and dividing the " walled town " in two separate parts. A further, lesser moat is running on the outside of this system, on a line which is oblique to the first, that is on a more or less exactly north – south line. The "walled town", therefore, is separated from the citadel, which is the only area completely surrounded by walls, as well as from the outer sector.

only the citadel and the "walled town" were the object of a closer examination so far. Their ground is literaly covered by a carpet of sherds stones, and this offered a good opportunity to proceed to a systematic sampling of the archaeological materials scattered on the surface. We have forgone in Kifrin the support of a geometrical grid and the theoretical methods we have employed elsewhere[1], because the very clear topographical features recommended themselves as the leading criterion of analysis.

The whole area was divided in 44 sectors, therefore, according to the pattern of the microrelief (fig.3) In these sectors all fragments of pottery which were deemed to be significant were collected, mostly rims, bases, handles and decorated sherds. The materials were then registered according to their morphological and technical features, in order to find out the distribution and the ratio of the different classes of vessels and fabrics. The data collected are presently processed by computer in Torino.

This operation has two main purposes. The final one is a research on the relation of surface meterials to the remains which are going to be excavated. But for a more immediate purpose, these data are processed in view of getting informations on the buried remains, their chronology, and possibly their use, so as to better organize our programme of excavation exploiting every detail offered by the ground.

In fact, it is nothing but obvious that the different areas were devoted to different purposes and, just in consideration of the size of the compound, it must be first of all considered the possibility that the remains are not all contemporary. A statistical approach has been deemed to be most suitable for clarifying both questions.

The first and perhaps most urgent question is the chronology of the site. Some fixed points are already available at this moment. The most precise are established by coins. Two were found on the surface. One of them was found by chance outside the area of the surface sampling, on the ground in front of the eastern side of the citadel, which was certainly free from buildings. This is a coin of the Roman emperor

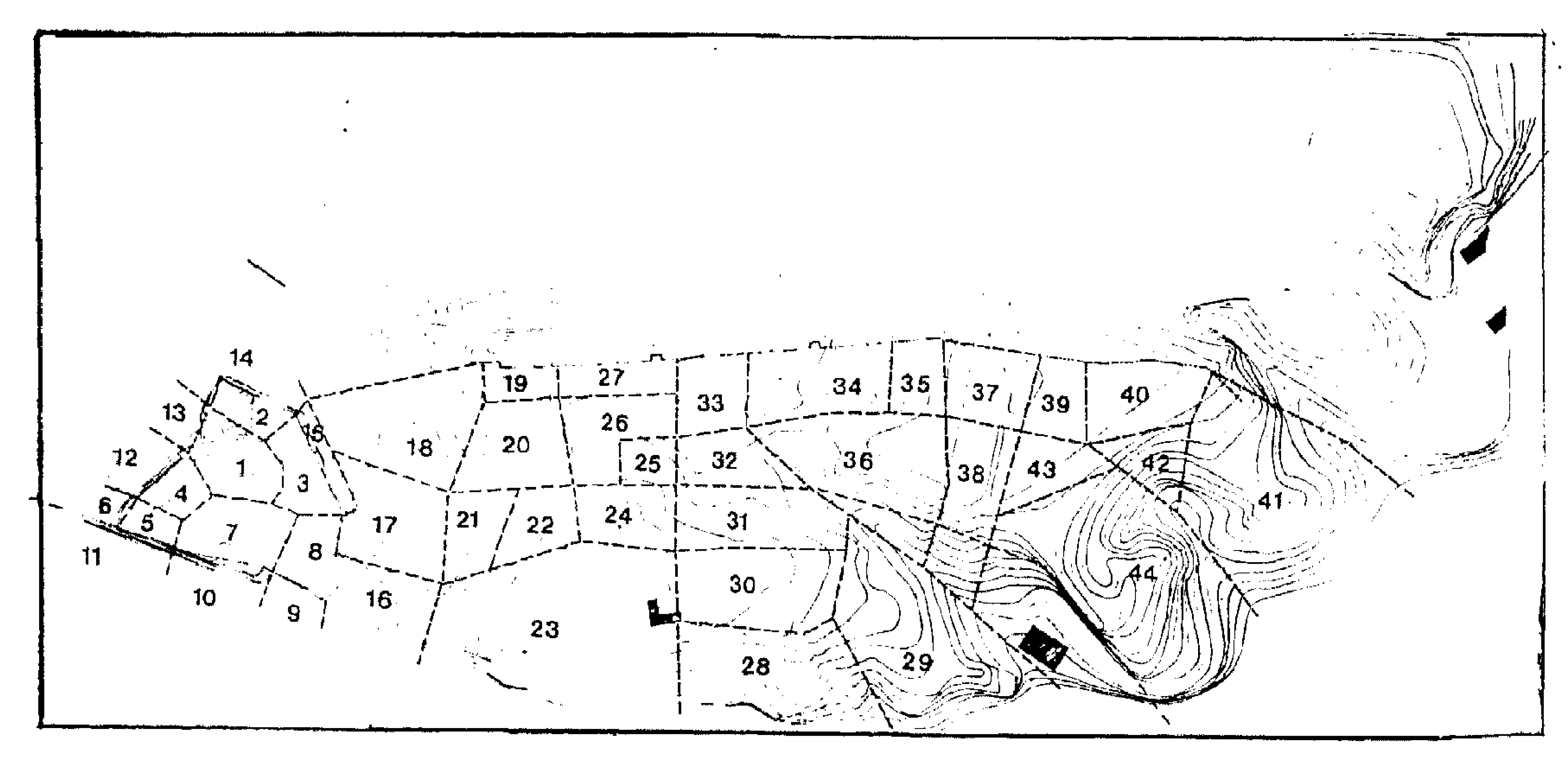


Fig. 3 - The sectors of the surface sampling.

1- Cf. A. Invernizzi, " Excavations in the Yelkhi Area (Hamrin Project Iraq) ", *Mesopotamia*, XV (1980), pp. 26 – 28, 39 - 40.

2- W. H. Schoff, *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax*, London 1914, p. 5.

The investigation of the site of Kifrin is the contribution of the Italian Archaeological Expedition to the Haditha Project. It is a large site on the left bank of the Euphrates, almost 20 km south – east of Ana, overlooking the river stretch between the islands of Tilbis and Bijan, not far from Tilbis.

Most of the informations about Kifrin we dispose so far, are largely depending on surface surveying. A very limited sounding was conducted there in august 1980, while the aim of the june/ july 1981 season was a topographical as well as an archaeological survey. Excavation work was resumed in october 1981.

The site of Kifrin consists of different archaeological areas (fig. 1) : 1) the Citadel, 2) the "town" bound by walls and moats, 3) the outer sector, 4) the northern necropolis, 5) the southern necropolis.

The complex Citadel – "walled town" is apparently the main one. It lies on a cliff on the river bank consisting of different layers of conglomerate and gypsum, almost 20 m on the water level, 15 m on the fields. Graves were excavated in the gypsum layer of the northern steep slope or in the south – eastern boundaries, already outside the limits of the "town" walls and close to the modern village. The Antiquities Department is investigating this last group, that is the southern necropolis.

The large northern mound overlooking the citadel is also of archaeological interest. It was in fact a second burial ground (the northern necropolis), as graves cut in the rock can still be observed in the slope as well as on the top.

The outer sector extends in the wide area between the "town" walls and the line of mounds to the east. The surface closest to the walls is scattered with sherds, while structures of a still not defined nature and age can be made out somewhere.

A clearer picture can be outlined of the main sectors, thanks to the accomplishement of a topographical survey, a contour map, and a careful sampling of the archaeological materials scattered on the ground (fig. 2).

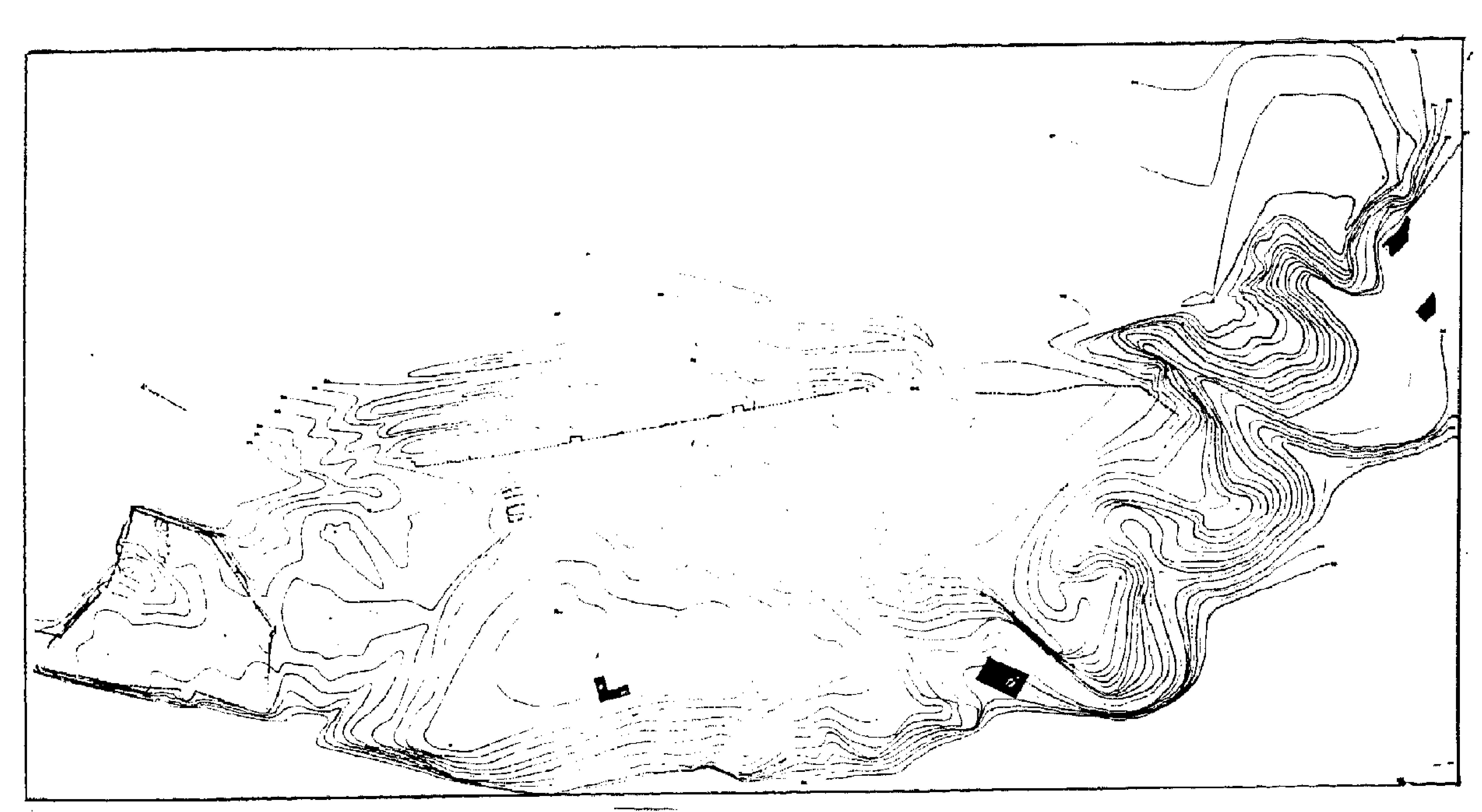


Fig. 2 – Map of Kifrin citadel and " walled town ".

Within the perimeter of their walls, the ruins can naturally be divided in three parts. The first to the north is the citadel covering an area of irregular shape of round 150 × 110 m, and completely surrounded by stone walls on all its sides. These walls are founded on the edge of the cliff except on the southern side, where the ground allows a quite even way to the "walled town" area. The inner ground of the citadel is almost a horseshoe around a wide gully, where may supposedly be situated the North Gate.

The walls are provided with towers and a large rampart jutting out at the northwestern corner. Their remains are clearly visible on almost all the layout, still standing up to more than 3 m somewhere. They are built of stones pebbles and splitters bound by gypsum mortar sometimes containing sherds. They have almost completely lost their facing of roughly dressed stones and gypsum plaster. Only their shapeless core is now standing against the sky, still pierced by windows and loop – holes.

RESEARCHES IN KIFRIN " AL_QADISSIYA DAM PROJECT "

BY

ANTONIO INVERNIZZI

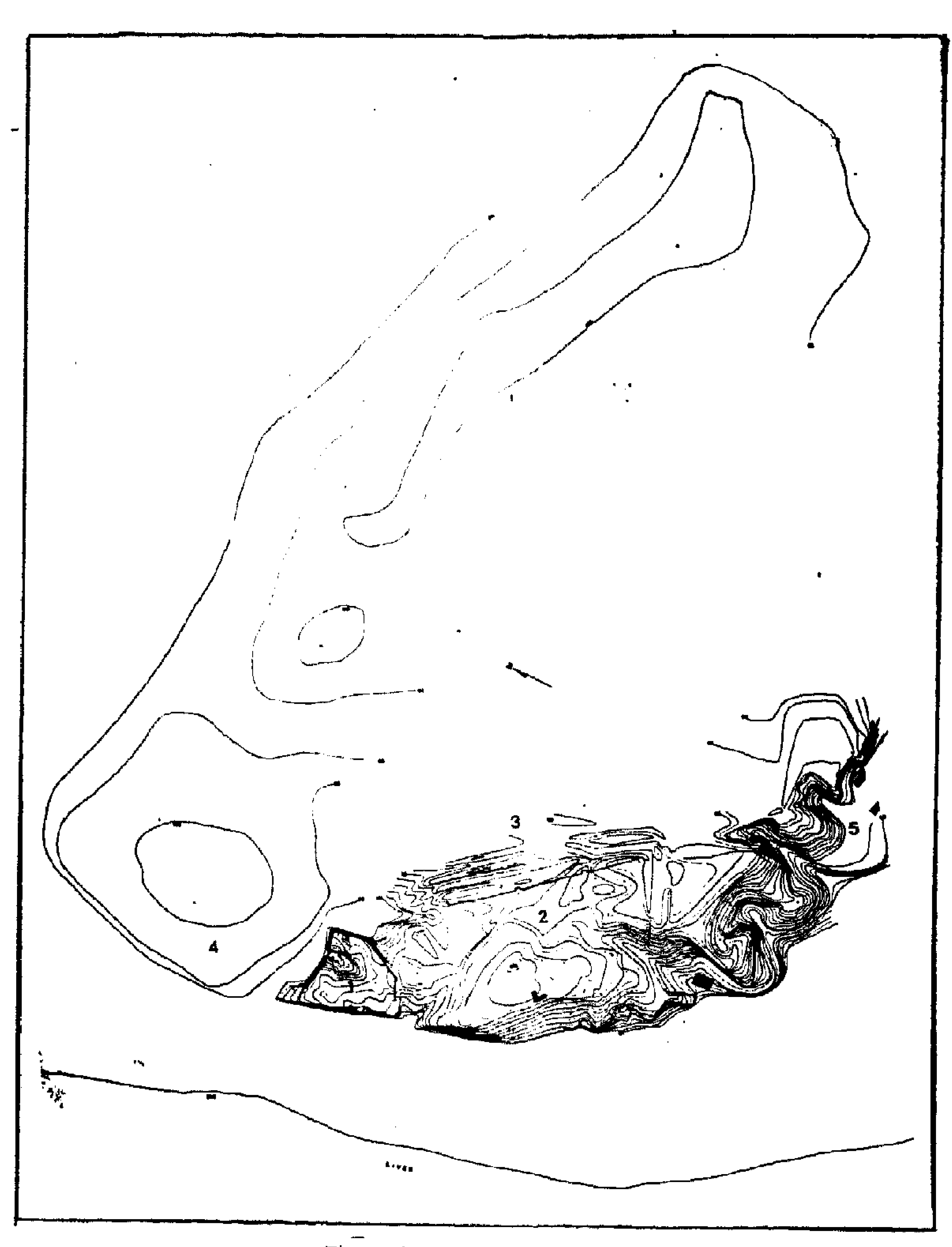
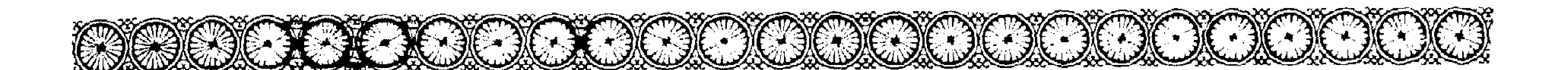


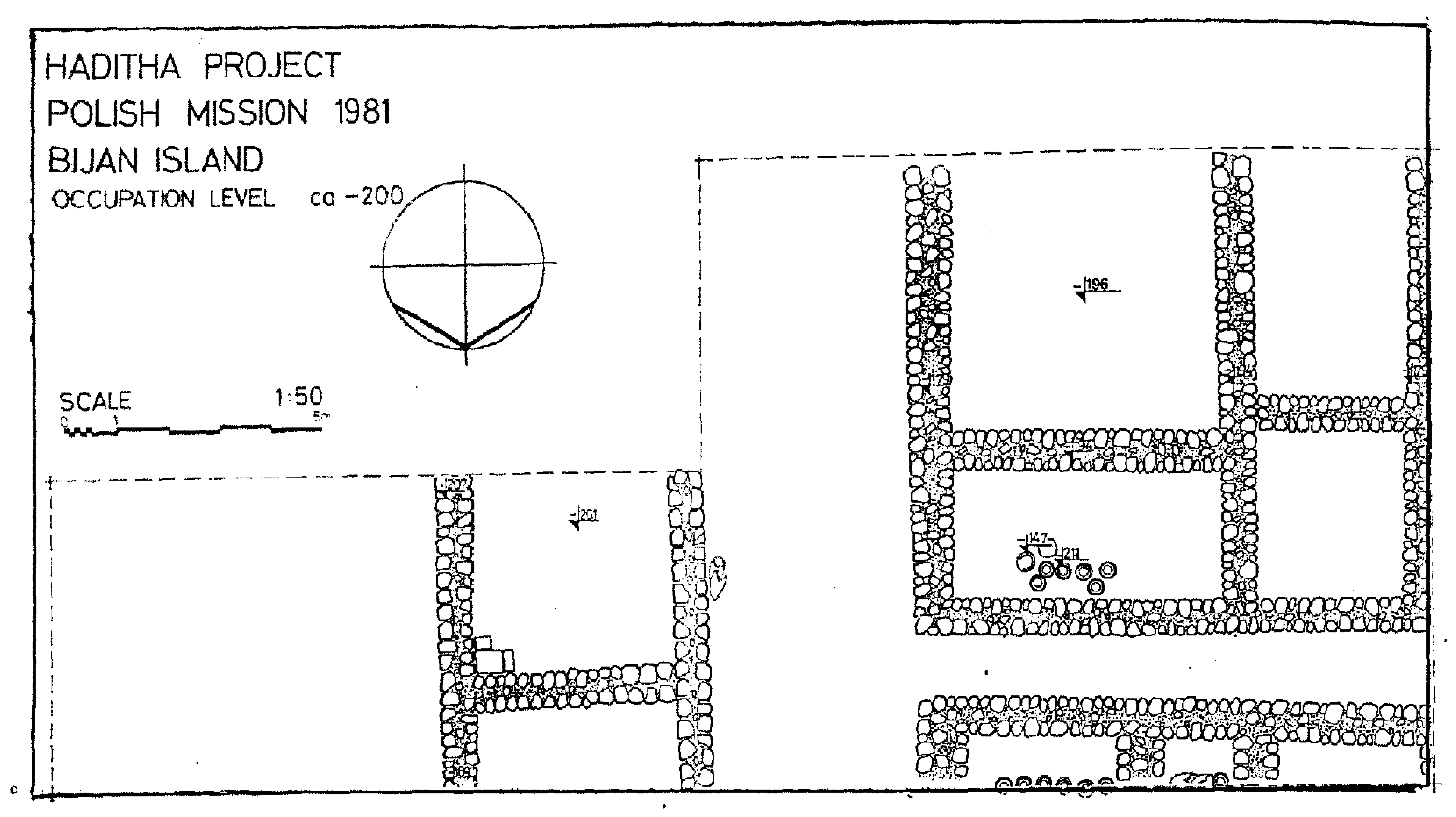
Fig. 1 – Map of the Kifrin area.

drinking glazed bowls of very thin, nearly egg – shell fabric, and rounded bottles, both plain and glazed. Among the metal objects, there are bronze and iron arrow– heads axes, knives, nails, and an interesting bronze piece in form of a tray adorned with a handle representing a horse

All this points to a military occupation of the place by a unit of the Roman army at least since the first half of the III century . It may be linked either with the Parthian war of Lucius Verus in 164 / 165 or with a later campaign of Septimius Severus in 198· The fortress stayed in Roman hands till the Sassanian offensive starting in 238, or only slightly later. Apparently, it was never used again for military purposes.

We dispose of some hints as to the possible identity of the island's garrison . Several pottery sherds are inscribed , both before and after firing ; they are very poor fragments , but some letters are certainly the same as in inscriptions from Palmyra, when other ressemble more to the script of Hatra, and one graffito is in Latin. There are, thus reasons to believe that the unit in charge of Bijan was an auxiliary corps recruited locally and, partly, in Palmyra. At exactly the same period , an officer from Palmyra commanded the place of ' Ana and the outposts in Jmeila nearby and in Umm es- Salabih in the western desert . The fortress of Bijan (probably called Bet– Izan or the like) might have been under his orders, too. The Euphrates line , at least as far as the Wadi Hawran, was thus guarded by troops from Palmyra for the Roman Empire.





PL. 4. Roman level, main excavation

jars placed upside-down and two mortars were found there To the North, on the other side of a passage, another building contained store-rooms filled with jars; only a small part of it has been excavated, but a room full of storage jars and other household pottery has been identified further North, in the pilot trench of our first season. Finally, a row of rooms was built above the eastern building, leaving free a large part of the area formerly under roof.

Most of the small finds secured in our excavations come from this layer, either from rooms or from the filling above the abandoned foundations of the earlier phase. First of all, there were many bronze Roman coins, those identified belonging mainly to the first half of the III century. Several oil lamps are of the type common in the West in the late second and in the third century. The pottery provides a large scope of types. In particular, the so-called brittle ware is well represented : these are cooking pots, very thin and hard, with characteristic ribbing, fired deep red and often blackened by use ; typically Syrian, this ware seems exclusive to places under Roman control, such as Dura-Europos and Ain Sinu, some examples having been found in Hatra. Other forms are to be found throughout Parthian Mesopotamia. Slim " torpedo jars" turned in two separate halves, then joined and made waterproof with bitumen, are very common on Bijan; we have found many nearly complete and fragments of several hundreds of them (fig.8). They appear also on other sites in the Euphrates valley as well as in Seleucia and elsewhere, but much remains to be done toward their dating in relation to other types of storage vessels. Other common types include

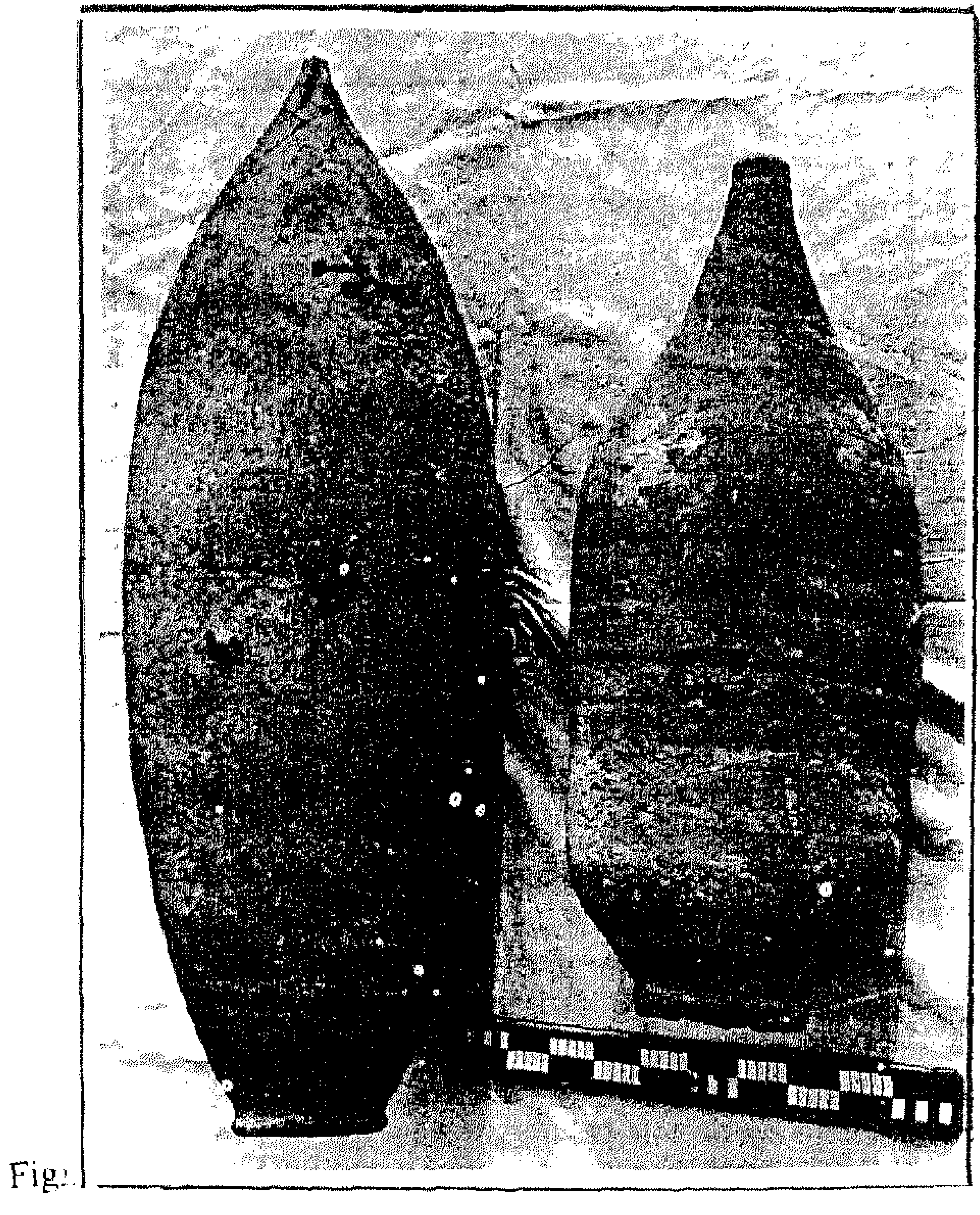
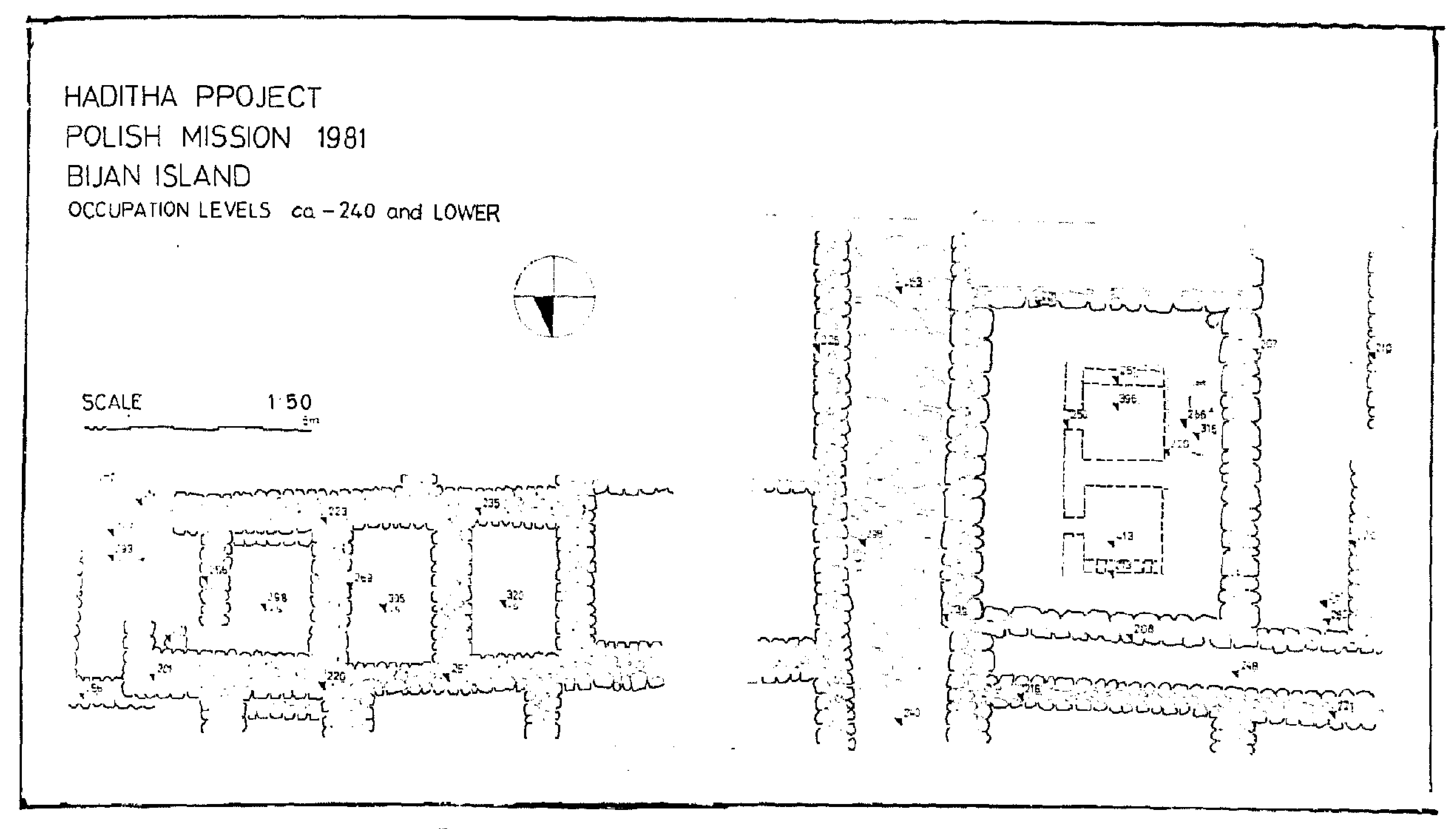


Fig. 8. A Roman 'torpedo' jar (above), compared to a Parthian jar



PL. 3. Parthian level, main excavation



Fig. 6. The foundations of the Parthian level, seen from the East

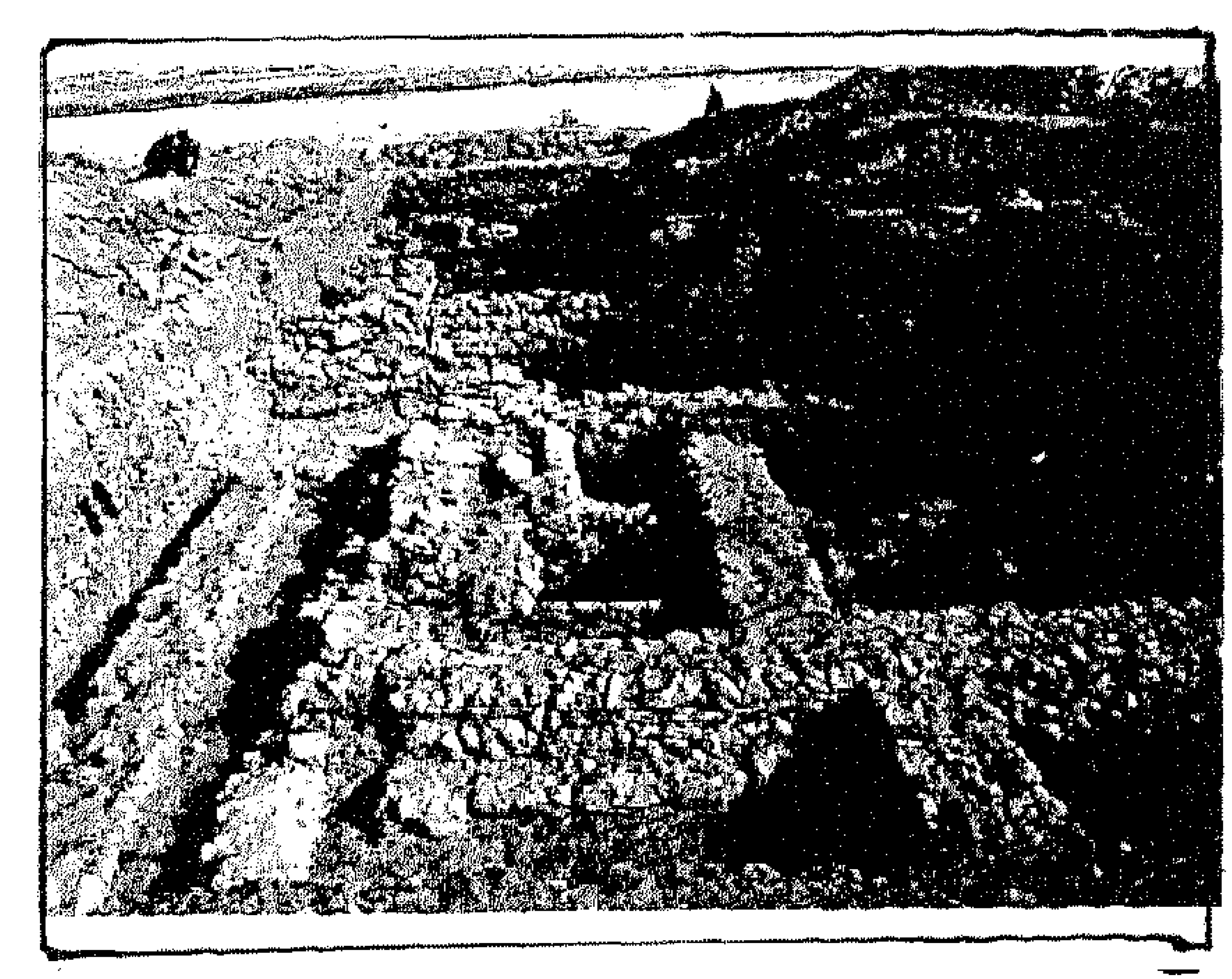


Fig. 7. The foundations of the Roman level, seen from the West

It seems certain that the kiln should have been operated in the open air, that is in a ruined building, rather than under roof. When abandoned, the kiln was cut down to the foundation level of the old building, and the surface obtained used to lay a new structure.

The new walls are built immediately upon the old foundations, but slightly displaced to the West (pl.4). Parts of three separate buildings could have been identifed in this layer. One recovers the large room with the kiln and the adjacent room to the West, and is divided into four smaller rooms, one of which was apparently used for storage : several

Unfortunately, the evidence for the Assyrian period remains elusive. No buildings can be identified as belonging to it, but there are between the walls of the earlier fortress, some stretches left of a stone pavement covering the inner courtyard (Fig. 3) . A few sherds associated with it do not differ, apparently, from those recovered in connection with the younger walls. On the dune formed outside the first wall there were found, in a sealed pit, the same small bowls on a low foot, accompanied by beakers resembling the Assyrian palace ware. They are dating both stages of the fortress to the Neo - Assyrian period.

The dune received later some burials dug into the virgin sand. Several are placed in big jars, cut in halves to make the interment easier; one tomb had a stone underground chamber and contained two skeletons (Fig. 4 - 5) . Accompanying vessels point to the Parthian period .



Fig. 4. A Parthian grave, before opening

Eventually, a network of foundations was laid above these tombs and a part of the first Assyrian wall (Fig.6, pl.3), These are built of irregular stones joined with earth, attain some 80cm in width and were intended to support mud-brick walls. We have discovered parts of two large buildings separated by a narrow cobbled street 2.30 m wide, cleared on 12 m of its N - S course. The eastern building contained several small rooms measuring on the average 1.70 m to 3 m, built in at least three rows to cover an area more than 18 m from East to West. The western building was different in character : there was at least one bigger room 5.20 m through 6.80 m, separated by a narrow corridor from another room to the North and adjoining a long narrow room to the West. As a bread oven was found in a corner of this last room, the building as a whole seems to have been used as living quarters, when the eastern building appears as more suitable for a magazine.

The finds associated with this level are very poor and contain only sherds not allowing much precision in dating : there are mainly fragments of storage jars identical to those found with two of the burials. When certainly of Parthian time, these structures cannot be defined more closely.



Fig. 5. The same grave, after opening

In the large room of the western building a pottery kiln was dug into the floor (fig. 7, pl.3) . Quite remarkably, this construction did not damage the neighbouring burial, already missed closely by the foundation of the western wall of the room. The kiln is built in an excavation 2 m deep and walled with mudbrick; it is divided in two nearly square compartments with openings on the East side, covered with arches spanning in the N - S direction. The filling contained no finds except one Roman coin, unfortunately much worn. In a corner the room, a jar filled with bitumen was fixed in the ground.

PL 2. The Middle Euphrates region in relation to the main caravan routes in the Roman period

expect that this limit corresponded to that of the territory of Palmyra. As a matter of fact, several inscriptions found in the desert South of ' Ana and in the Wadi Hawran confirm the presence of the Palmyrenes in those parts, called " the head of the frontier ", as early as 98 A. D. (Safar , Sumer 20, 1964, pp. 9 – 27 ; Teixidor, Syria 40, 1963 , pp. 33 – 46, and Starcky , ibidem , pp. 47 – 55; cf. Syria 44, 1967, p. 187).

A Nabataean horseman from the camp of ' Ana has left an inscription in Palmyra in 132 A. D. (CIS II 3973), and a strategos of ' Ana and Gamla (Jmeila, today a suburb of 'Ana) had under his orders a lieutenant posted in the Wadi el-Miyah on the track from Palmyra, according to an inscription found there, dated in 225 A. D. (Cantineau, Syria 14, 1933, p. 178). There seems to be no doubt that the right bank of the Euphrates, from above ' Ana to Wadi Hawran at least, belonged to Palmyra, and with it to the Roman Empire. The presence of the Roman garrison on Bijan cannot be proven, however, before the III century .

The offensive of Shahpur, led in 253 along the Euphrates to Syria, has destroyed the Roman strongholds on the river. In fact, the occupation of Bijan seems to have been stopped abruptly even before, as no coins later than 235 A. D. have been found until now . It was resumed later with a village of Sassanian date. Finally, the island was settled in the VIII and IX centuries, as shown by the evidence of Abbassid pottery from the uppermost levels .

Our excavations started with a trench cut across the island from wall to wall., and continued in an area of 255 m ^{2}, slightly South from the trench, where we have reached in many places the virgin soil (Pl·1). Besides, small soundings brobed several crucial points in different parts of the island. The results allow us to distinguish at least six periods of occupation, from the Assyrian down to Abbassid times.



Fig. 3. A fragment of the early Assyrian pavement SE corner of the primitive fortress.

space of some 80 m in length and 25 m in width, now practically at the water level and filled with silt. The inner side of this wall is protected against soaking by a butress made of baked bricks joined and covered with bitumen. It seems that this structure represents a breakwater securing a small harbour.

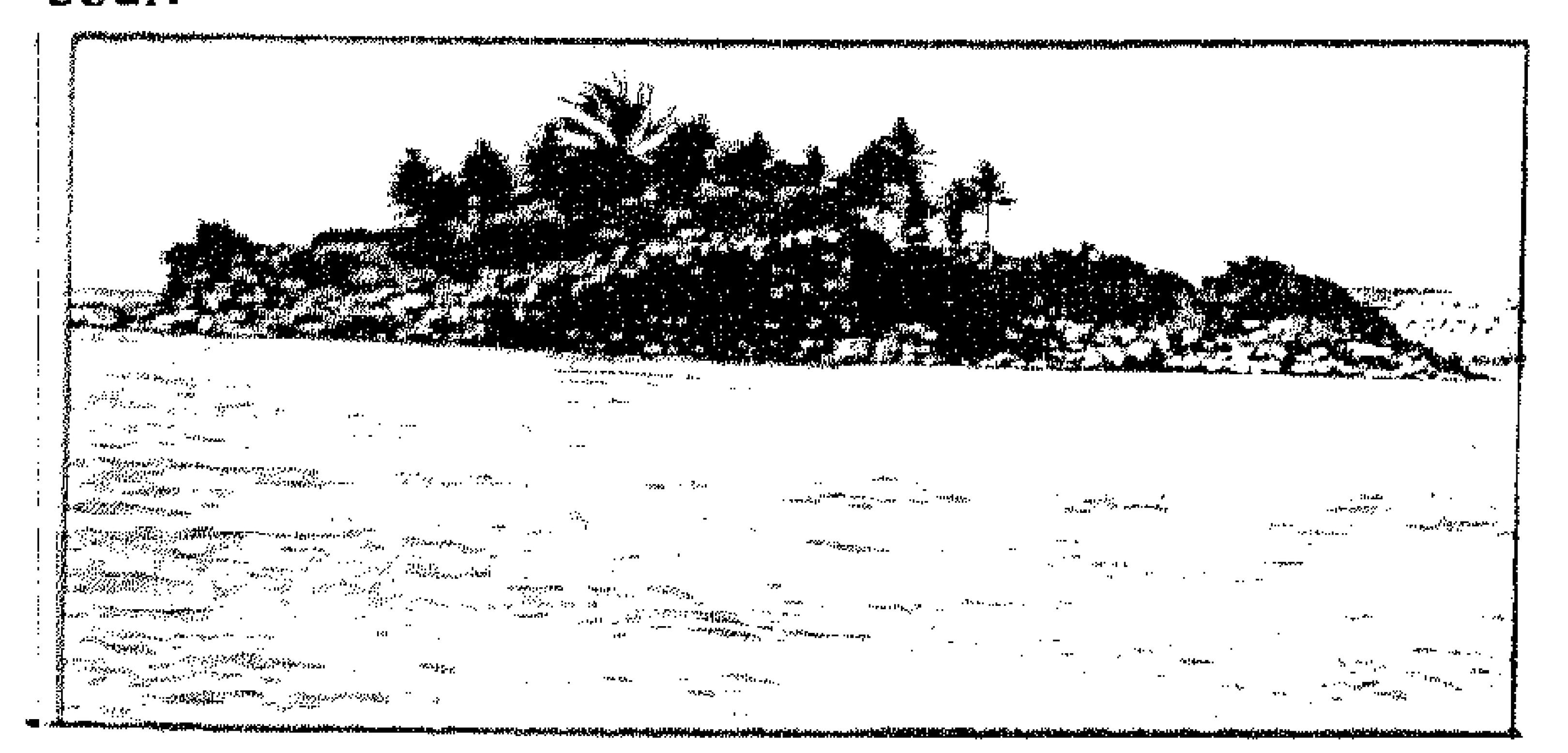


Fig. 1. The island of Bijan, seen from the North

At a given moment, this outer wall was extended further South, and completed with other walls on the southern and eastern sides, (Fig. 2) so as to form a fortress 185 m long up to 75 m large. Except at the site of the presumed harbour, the soil level of the extended island rose to match that of the elder part.

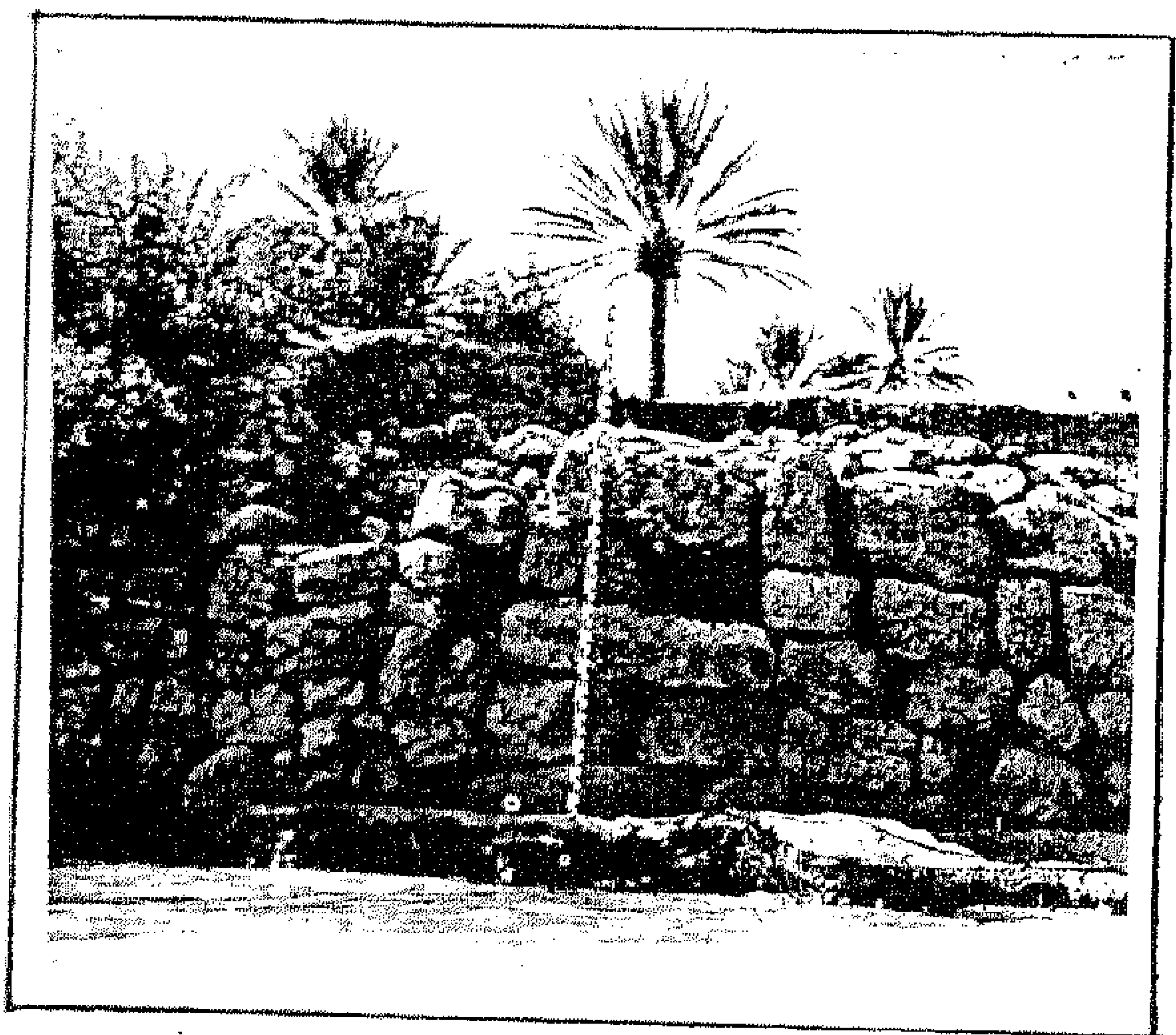


Fig. 2. Detail of the Eastern wall : the SE corner of the first fortress and , left, the later extension, as seen from the river

Even if all the identified strata refer to the Parthian and later periods, some loose fragments found in them can be attributed to Assyrian times, Moreover, literary evidence points out that the place was indeed used that early, presumably as a part of the same defense system which has been revealed by the Iraqi excavators of such sites as Zawiyeh , Gleia , Sur Jeraa, etc .

It is my conviction that the Assyrian name of the island was Sabirutu / Sapirate, as mentioned several times in our sources. When Tukulti – Ninurta II marched in 885 B. C. , along the river, he spent four days to go from place opposite Idu (modern Hit) to a camp he pitched " between the cities Hadidanu and Sabiretu – Sabiretu lying on an island in the Euphrates " (Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions II, C I , 471 , p. 102). Next day's journey took him " before the cities Suru and Talbish – Talbish lying on an island in the Euphrates " , and on the following day the king reached the city of Anat , also on an island. The locations of Anat, Suru, and Talbish – modern ' Ana, Sur Telbis, and Telbis, respectively– being known (PL·2), and the distance between ' Ana and Telbis roughly equal to that between Telbis and Bijan, there is little doubt that our island corresponds to Sabirutu. The neighbouring Hadidanu may be identical to Yamnia, site to be presently excavated by the Canadian mission .

Earlier still, about 1100 B. C., the place was visited by Tiglat – Pilesar I, who conquered the land of Suhu " from the city Sapiratu, an island in the Euphrates , as far as the city Himdanu, all the cities of the land of Suhu " (Grayson, II, 99, p. 27). The island of Sapiratu appears thus as the southernmost city of the Suhu region. It is later mentioned in a letter addressed either to Sargon or to Assur – bani – apli (Warterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire, n° 87) .

The island reappears in the written sources in the I century A. D., when the itinerary of Isidorus of Charax provides a mention of " Izan nesopolis" , i. e. the island - town of Izan . The modern name Bijan seems indeed to correspond to a form like Bet – Izan, but this coincidence does not stand alone : Izan is placed by Isidorus on the road along the river between Thilabus (Telbis) and Hit, when the distances given , obviously mistaken, can be easily corrected to match the real location of the island. The ancient geographer puts 2 *schoinoi* (about 12 km) between Anatho and Thilabus, 12 *schoinoi* (about 72 km) between Thilabus and Izan, and 16 *schoinoi* (about 96 km) between Izan and Hit. From ' Ana to Hit there would be accordingly about 180 km, that is 60 km more than the real distance between these two known points of the itinerary. The error is corrected if we put not 12 but 2 *schoinoi* between Thilabus and Izan, that is 12 km, just the real distance between Telbis and Bijan.

The evidence we have found points to an occupation mainly in the first centuries A. D., with a particularly well represented level of the beginning of III century, dated by abundant finds definitely Roman in character. The Roman occupation of the Euphrates valley was up till now attested so far South by the documents from Dura– Europos, a fortress town held by the Roman army from 164 to 256 A. D. A papyrus from about 208 A. D. found there provides a list of outposts under the Roman commander of Dura, including Eddana (Assyrian Hindanu, today probably ' Anqa at the Syrian – Iraqi frontier) and one more station further downstream ; there ended the responsibility of the commander and, apparently, the province of Coelesyria , but not , as we can see now, the Roman Empire. The province of Syria Phoenice, created in 194 A. D. from the southern part of Syria, included palmyra, though its eastern border remains to be fixed, we can only

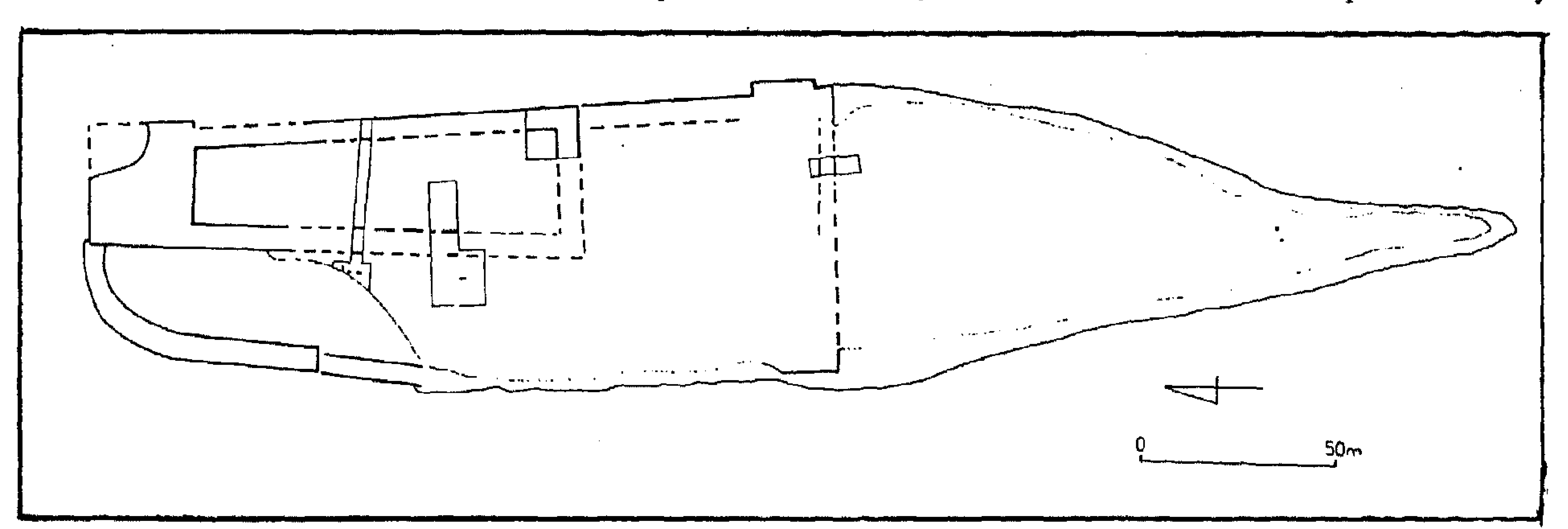
BIJAN IN THE EUPHRATES

BY :
M . GAWLIKOWSKI



When a Polish mission joined the Qadissiya,Dam Project in 1979, the work there had been already well advanced by our Iraqi colleagues. In spite of this, the choice of sites yet unexcavated remained quite large and varied. I was looking, in particular, for a site of the Parthian period, with the intention of checking possible links with the West, especially with the city of Palmyra where we are engaged in digging for over twenty years. The island of Bijan seemed full of promise in this respect, being at the first glance an important fortress, likely to play a role in the history of the Euphrates frontier in the centuries of struggle between Parthia and Rome

This tiny island is situated about 6 km upstream from Fahimi, and some 25 km downstream from 'Ana. It is stretching about 350 m from North to South, that is in the direction of the stream at this point, and up to 75 m from East to West (fig. 1). The northern part of the island is surrounded by stone walls rising steeply from the current, and is only 185 m long, while the southern half seems to have been formed relatively late and shows no traces of occupation. In many



PL. 1. General plan, showing two phases of fortifications and the excavated areas (end 1981)

respects, the fortifications are quite alike those of the island of Telbis further upstream, which was not excavated yet at the time of our digging. The surface finds were of Islamic and Sassanian date .

Our first survey has shown that there were two stages of the fortification (plan1); in the first time, there was built a rectangular fortress only 120 m long and 29 m wide, corresponding apparently to the whole surface of the island in that period. The walls are very large, reaching up to 6 m in depth, made from irregular , big boulders assembled roughly in layers, without mortar. At the northern front, facing the current, there stands a bastion 25 m thick and 29 m large, filled completely with stones and preserved up to 5 m above the waterline Such buildings as this massive structure might have supported would be necessarily founded on a still higher level, and they left no traces .

From the West , an incurved wall is joining the NW corner of the bastion and turns South; it is surrounding a

Not many assemblages found in the Middle East are similar to the Lower Palaeolithic inventory from Masnaa, which I discussed above. Its uniqueness lies in its age. On the one hand the great similarity of our assemblage to the middle layers of the Palestinian site Tell Ubeidiya must be stressed, and on the other, one must mention certain similarities to the Acheulian inventory from Latamne in Syria. The latter site is located only500 km. north – west of Masnaa site, along the Euphrates river . Finally I would like to mention that a partially similar, but probably younger assemblage was found at an Iraqi site Barda Balka .

The above mentioned materials allow us to assume that the Lower Palaeolithic site of Masnaa is the oldest trace on human settlement in Iraq, and could be tentatively dated as about half a million year ago. This hypothesis is of course based on a preliminary analysis of the surface collection and it must be verified during future excavations at this site.

4 . CONCLUSION

These preliminary results point clearly to the necessity of a complete flint survey in the Qadissiya basin. My short research has shown that there are many sites of the Palaeolithic age, very scarce elswhere in Iraq .

The Polish Mission is ready to take up this task in the nearest future .

Note :
The new investigations carried out by Polish Mission in 1982 and 1983 added some new information on the chronology of the Masnaa flint industries. The original chopper– chopping – tool industry from Masnaa should be younger it was suspected before. There are nevertheless some very old choppers there, as well as an Abbevillian hand – axe .

2. Chopping – tools in two variations : the first one is a massive impliment of the Oldway type (fig.2), the second includes some very thin pieces .

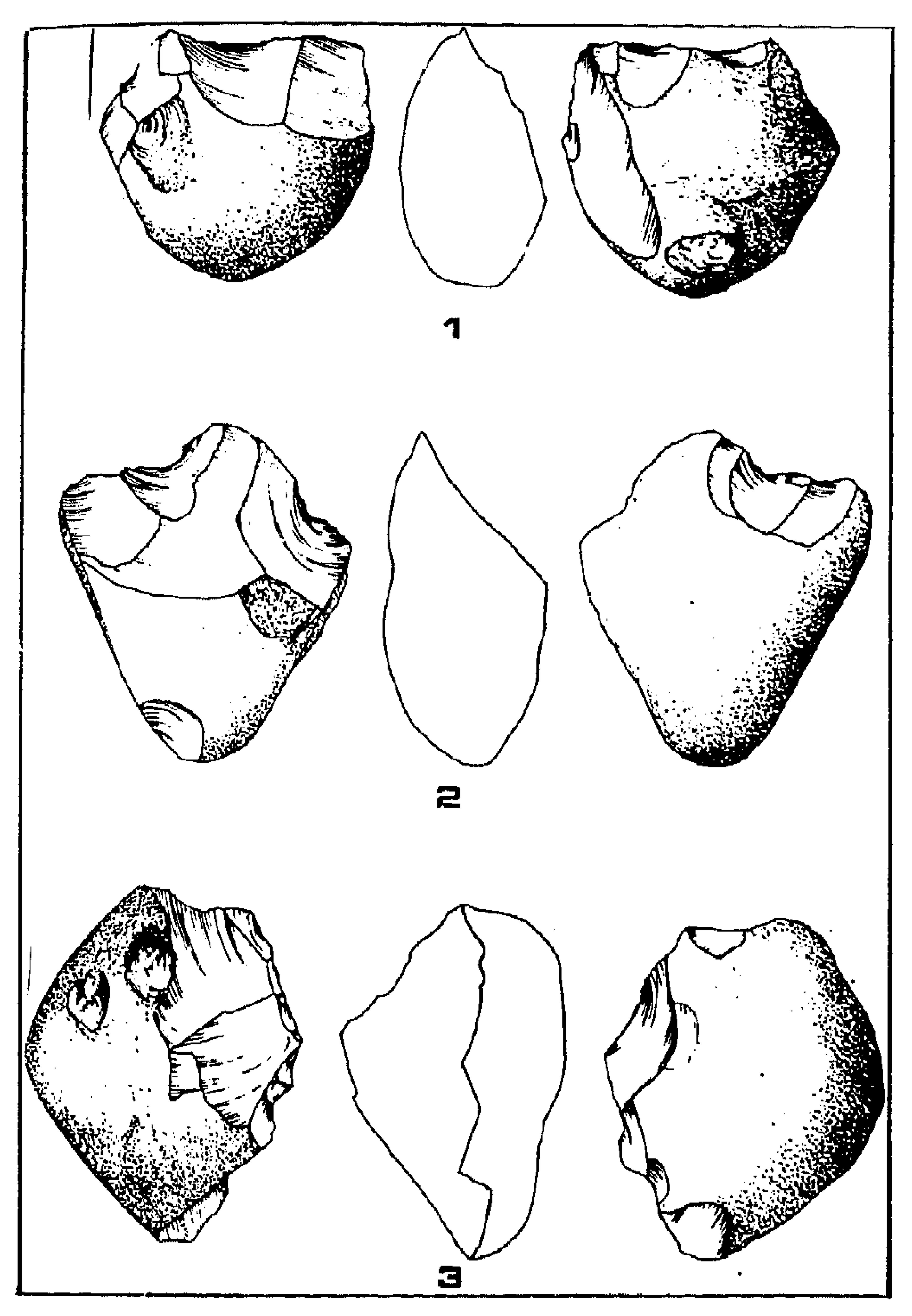


Fig. 2. Masnaa : 1 – 3 – chopping – tools .

3. Denticulates on especially cracked pebbles (fig. 3, 1 – 3) and irregular denticulate scrapers on the flakes.

4. Clactonian notches (fig . 3, 4).

5. Spheroids (fig . 3, 5) .

6. Impliments of the " couteau a dos naturel " type.

7. Bifacial, asymmetrical knives made of pebble .

8. Side – scrapers.

9. Small,flat cores mainly discoidal and of the Lavalloisian type .

The primary analysis tells us that the Masnaa collection contains materials from two periods, the Lower Palaeolithic and the Middle Palaeolithic. Now I would like to concentrate especially on the older part of our collection.

The Lower Palaeolithic material differs from the younger one by not being well polished by the wind action. It is characterized by a patina of a grey – white, grey – yellow and white – yellow color. The edges of the negatives are only slightly smoothened. On the other hand, the Middle Palaeolithic artefacts are very strongly polished, they are painted dark – brown or dark – brown – grey, with edges of negatives more smoothened than the former .

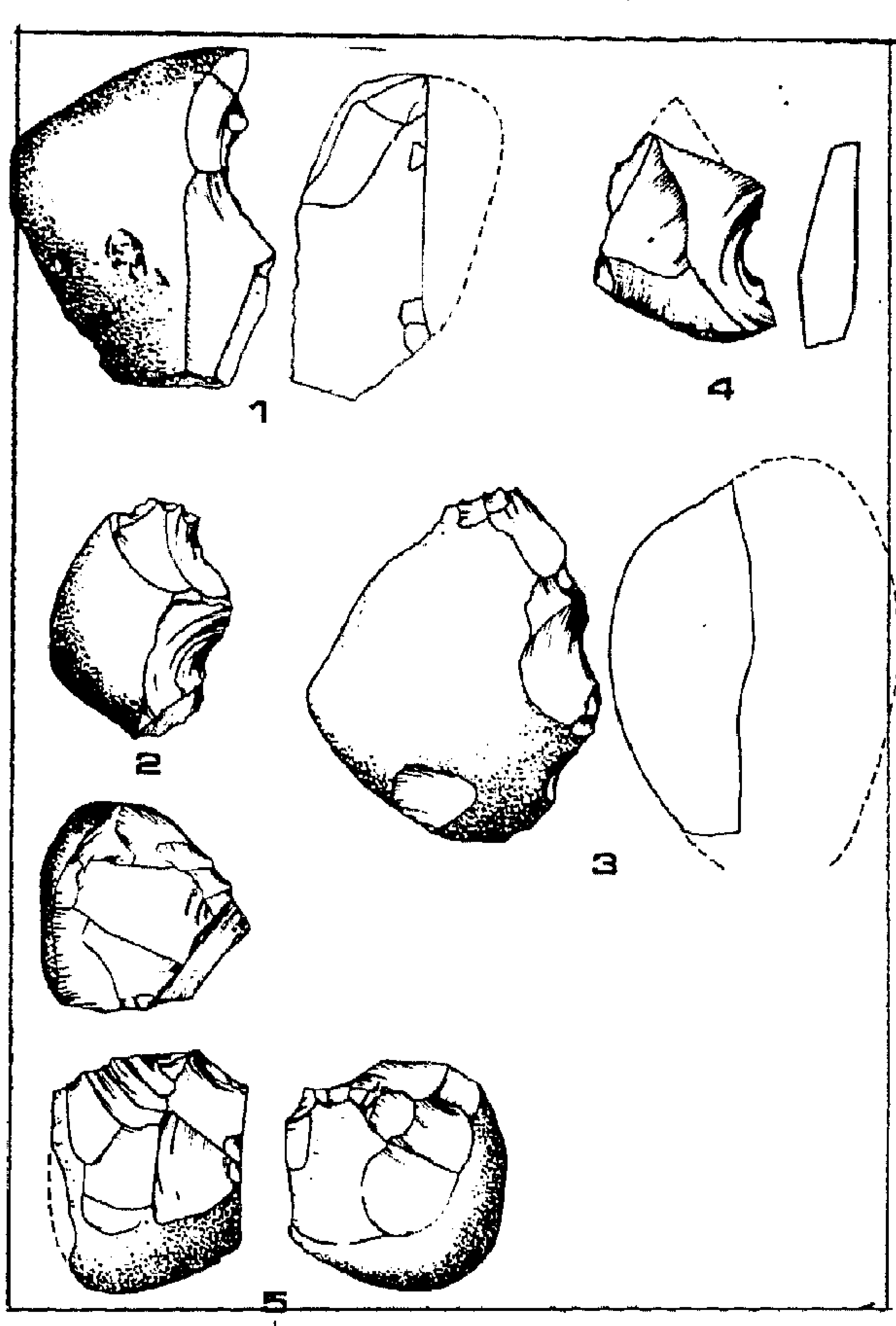


Fig. 3. Masnaa : 1–3– denticlated on pebble, 4 – Clactonian notch, 5 – spheroid .

After typological and technological analysis, taking into consideration the state of preservation of artefacts, the Lower Palaeolithic assemblage may be characterized as follows :

1. Use of the hard hammer – stone in flint flaking.
2. Presence of the Clactonian – type flakes .
3. Presence of primitive hand – axes.
4. Presence of massive and thin chopping – tools.
5. Presence of massive denticulates made of cracked pebbles.
6. Presence of irregular denticulated scrapers on flakes
7. Presence of Clactonian notches.
8. Presence of spheroids.
9. Presence of " couteau a dos naturel " .
10. Presence of lateral and oblique side – scrapers.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF THE PALAEOLITHIC SURVEY AT THE HADITHA REGION "AL_QADISSIYA DAM PROJECT"

BY :

STEFAN KAROL KOZLOWSKI

1. INTRODUCTION

In March and April 1981 the Polish Archaeological Mission has undertaken a survey in the Haditha region, limited in scope to the Palaeolithic sites. The survey was authorized by Dr. Mohammed Bakr, director of the Qadissiya Project, who readely recognized the importance of this research. Given the short time at my disposal and the lack of a precise map of the region I have decided to focus my attention on some selected areas, i.e. the neighbourhood of Fahimi, of Bijan Island and to the site of Masnaa. The results are so encouraging that a larger survey, this time covering the whole of the Haditha region, is to be recommended .

All the sites found are situated on the dessert terraces, about 20 - 40 m. above the Euphrates valley. They often occupy advanced headland at the confluent of wadis and the main valley. Sometimes they are found further up in the dessert, but always above a wadi. Some sites are fairly large, up to several hundred m. across in each direction, but rather than a unique camp site, they represent a favourite camping ground repeatedly used by the Palaeolithic hunters.

2. THE SITES OF THE FAHIMI AND BIJAN AREAS

The sites of the Fahimi and Bijan areas are located on the 20 m. terrace of the Euphrates river. They gave us several hundred of flint artefacts, which could be dated as Upper Palaeolithic. The inventories are characterizes by the micro-Levalloisian cores, short end - scrapers, denticulates, retouched blades and backed blades .

3. THE MASNAA SITE

After this short introduction I would like to present the most interesting and most important site which is located near the Masnaa village The site is located on the left bank of the Euphrates river, 100 m. from its bank, about 1500 - 2000 m. from the village. The surface collection of flint artefacts comes from a hill about 40 m. above the river, as well as from its slopes and from 20 terrace .

The flint material collected from the Masnaa site up till now includes several dozen retouched tools and cores, as well as many flakes and much waste. They present a different state of preservation. Some of them are paintedxl, they are of adifferent colors some almost are unpainted . A few pieces present traces of corrosion, some are smoothened on the edges of negatives, and others are polished by the wind on whole surface. The differences in the state of preservatuion of the flint artefacts are at least partly correlated with the cultural and chronological differentiation of them.

As I mentioned before several dozen retouched tools and cores were found in Masnaa. They are following :

1. A primitive hand - axe with a sinusoidal edges and a cortex on the base (fig. 1, 1) ; also one half - product of the hand - axe was found (fig. 1, 2).

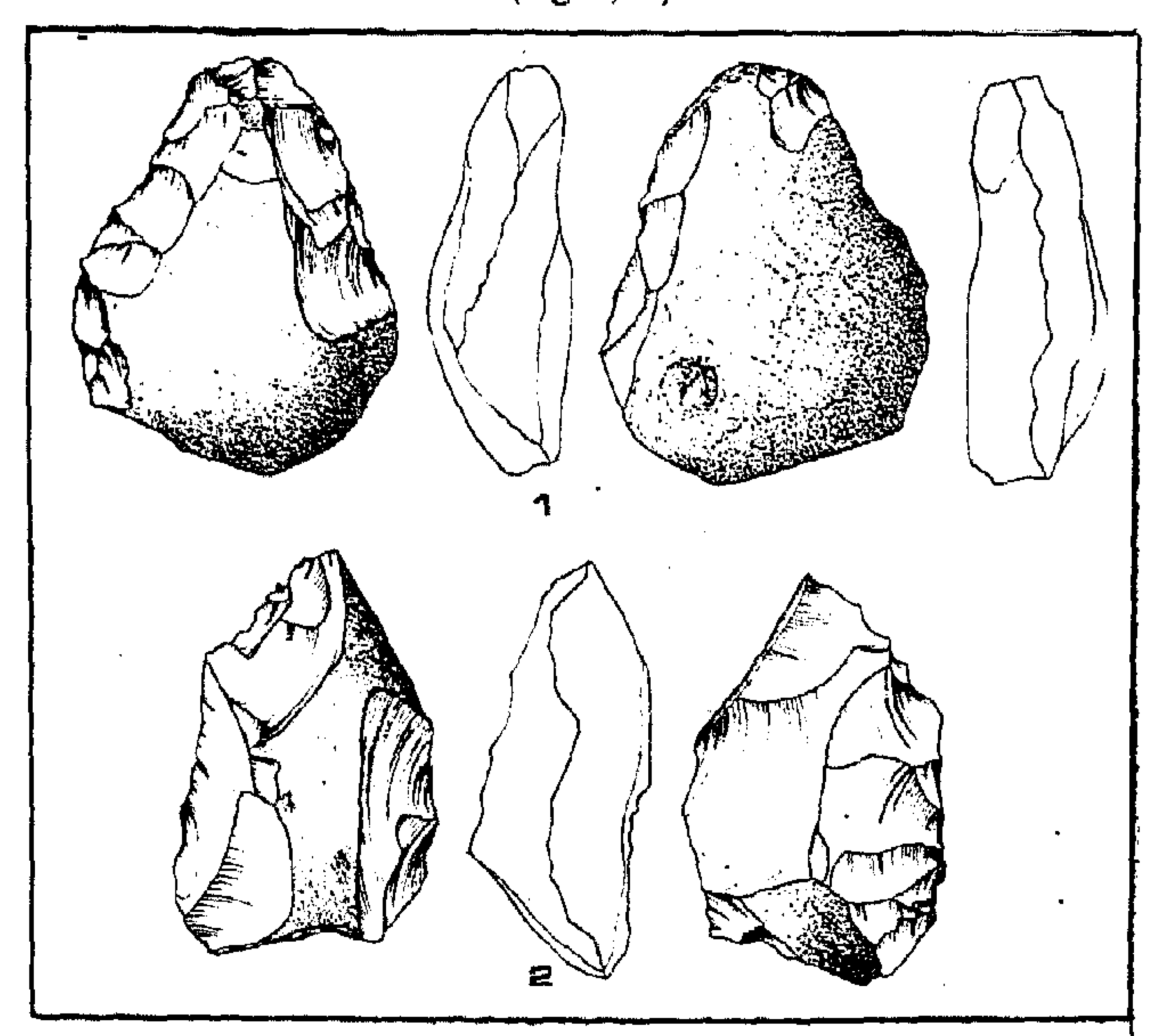


Fig. 1. Masnaa : 1 - hand - axe 2 - half - product of a hand - axe.

addition jars used for family burials set vertically.

The main structures excavated at this isle is the mosque which has been completely unearthed and contains in its southern wing the qibla iwan (prayer niche) and there are the remains of a niche and a pulpit to the right. At the northern and western sides is a row of rooms. At the eastern side by the minaret at the northeastern corner is the main access of the mosque consisting of several steps and paved from inside with black slabs of regular shap. The mosque was restored several times by using stones of iregular shape and gypsum. In the yard of the mosque there is a well covered by a large slab on whose surface there are six columns inscribed in cuneiform but they are incomplete because of the middle opening made in the slab to use it as a mouth of the well.

As for the minaret of the mosque, the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage at present is making consultations to arrive at the best formula that secures its salvage from flooding. The reports presented by several university professors and experts in Iraq recommend the transferring of the minaret to outside the area to be flooded by cutting it into several in the light of the project submitted by the Syrian engineer Yousif Jebely. We prefer the minaret to be transferred to the new location of Ana in Wadi Rihanà 13 kilometres to the south of Ana.

The organization will also undertake to transfer the main architectural elements and painted decoration from Mashhed Mosque 7 kilometres northwest of Ana to the location of the town.

5. AL-KHALILIYA SETTLEMENT:

It forms a band extending more than 2 kilometres along the river. It occupies an area of about 9 kilometres southeast of Ana and 85 m from the eastern bank of the river. Excavation at this site started in the middle of April 1979. 19 various structures have been unearthed up to now each consisting of several rooms whose floors are coated with pure gypsum and are generally built of gupsum and calcic stones of irregular shapes. Besides, the town mosque has been cleared and all the rubble it contains has been removed. Its architectural details are now clear consisting of a yard, prayer iwan with a niche. At the western side of the mosque from outside are the remains of an octagonal minaret similar to the one at Qal'a isle and smaller in size of which about 9 m high has remained. It has a spiral stairway going round a central stone pillar as it is the case with the above mentioned minaret of Ana. To the north of this mosque a small mosque was unearthed consisting of a summer prayer place and a small prayer iwan with a niche.

The main finds from this settlement are various pottery materials and potsherds the oldest of which do not date to earlier than the last Abbasid period. A number of Ottoman silver coins made in Baghdad were found in its structures.

6- TA'S AL-KUFAR:

It is in Al - Sawari village 500 m from the western bank of the river and 23·50 m to the northwest of Haditha. The site consists of three low tells extending from north to south : the middle tell under excavation at present is the largest (150 × 90 m and 1·10 m higher than the level of the agricultural plane surrounding it) Excavation at this site started in the middle of April 1979.

We scraped the surface of the tell and unearthed the foundations of several structures built of mudbricks (32x 17x 8cm, 34x 17x 8cm and 38x 18x 9cm) Several Assyrian tombs were dug in these mudbrick structures each consisting of two conical jars with oppoite mouths, which has damaged the above structural units dating to Early Dynastic period.

It is worth mentioning that this Sumerian site is the only one dating to this period in this region and it is situated between Tell Aswad in Anbar Governorate and Mari (Tell Al-Hariri) in Syria.

Various pottery finds were discovered including terracotta figurines, wheels of carts, incised pottery and other pieces decorated in scarlet. We also found Assyrian potsherds and two cylinder seals dating to the above period in addition to some metal toys, animal bones some of which were found inside pottery jars coated with gypsum from inside and inside an covered with gypsum, a number of kilns, ovens and storage jars some of which are coated with gypsum or tar in the inside, and three pottery kilns 2·15 × 2 m each with their mouths of potsherds dating to the Early Dynastic period and built of rectangular mudbricks of the type used in the structures. We note the style of one of the Sur Jer'a which is used to bake bricks is similar to these kilns.

7. AL-USIYA:

It is 32 kilometres northwest of Haditha overlooking the western ramp of the river named after the area and consisting of undulant land with some small valleys 220 x 110 m. Excavation work at this site started at the end of June of this year and it is the last site being excavated in the basin.

The site consists of the three following parts:

1- A high oval tell extending from northeast to southwest and its highest point is at the northeastern side facing the river (about 15m) and gradually sloping towards the southwestern side. The tell occupies an area of 90 x 60 m and it is covered by a layer of gravels. No surface finds were found and it looks judging from the other site of Glai'a it looks to be similar to it, but no architectural landmarks were found except the remains of a structure that could be part of the foundations of an external stairway.

2- A row of the architectural units built of mudbricks which were removed. It is of a close level of which only 60 cm has remained with no accesses identified. There is a wall or embankment built of gravels and calcic earth on it.

3- A group of burials graved in the rocky side of the river overlooked by the site. They are almost at the same level of the water and damaged because of the collapse of the rocky side

Four sounding pits have been dug up to now, two at the tell and the other two in the area of the mudbricks and the wall above mentioned yielding potsherds dating to the Kassite, middle Assyrian and modern Assyrian periods and the Hellenestic period under Parthian rule.

with an access 2.20m wide at the southwestern side and a number of passages and 4 rooms the largest of which is 9.70 × 3m and a number of buttresses and recesses. The top of the structure is 134m above sea level .

84 pottery tombs of various sizes were found some of which are jars used to bury children and the others are large mostly formed of two conical jars with opposite mouths some bearing marks and drawings with tar distinguishing them from the other tombs. The heads of the skeletons are in the northeastern and southeastern directions .

The finds from this site date to the Kassite, middle Assyrian, modern Assyrian, periods and Hellenistic in the Parthian period. A number of pottery and metal finds were found including bronze spears, an iron lance, Assyrian cylinder seals, several engraved decorations and heads of statues and a fragment of calcic stone with remains of Assyrian writing. One of the main finds from this site is an incomplete bust of a lion of pottery representing the guardian god of the Assyrians (lmaso). It was not completely burnt and was found inside the kiln and seems to have been made inside the kiln. It is 2·20m long, 71 cm wide and 1·17m high. We did not find any fragment of the head and it is possible that the baking failed as shown by the fractures that are seen on the body and the five legs on which it stands. Beside , there is a water canal engraved in the rocky ramp on which the site overlooks and for 3 kilometres southward after which its traces disappear. It is about 1 m wide and of various heights following the curves of the river .

2- AL-ZAWIYA :

It is at the agricultural village Al-Zawiya overlooking the eastern bank of the river for 26 kilometres northwest of Haditha. Excavation at this site whose structures are beneath the fields, orchards and structures of the above village started in early August 1978 and stopped in the middle of March 1979 until the Ministry of Irrigation completes the purchasing of the property at the village .

34 sounding pits have been dug along 200m among the fields and houses to identify the extensions of the structures of the site which extend from east to west more than from north to south. Three levels have been unearthed representing the middle Assyrian, modern Assyrian and Islamic periods of which two structural layers have been uncovered, the first dating to the Umayad-Abbasid period whose walls are less thick than the Assyrian walls which are 1-1 .20m thick, and the second dating to the Ottoman period and is of the same level of the foundations of the structure of the inn or the palace as it is locally known, which was an Ottoman inn as it seems.

The soundings indicate that the site was surrounded by a stone wall built with large blocks of calcic stones reaching a depth of more than 5m,and the stones facing the river are larger than the others. Several sections of these soundings have shown traces of the floods to which the site was exposed throughout the ages referred to . The stone floors and those paved with bricks discovered at this site were coated with tar to prevent inflitration of dampness .

Numerous potsherds of various types, a number of cylinder seals and a group of vessels and jars of various shapes and sizes, the most important of which is a group of pottery jars and vessels found at the sounding pit No. 19 and are all Assyrian.

There are other archaeological finds discovered at the site mainly a number of fragments of glazed bricks of different colours, mostly yellow with plant, geometric and animal designs including forms such as claws and legs of an eagle or vulture and heads of a goat or a mountain goat with Assyrian cuneiform writing on two of these fragments.

3 - Sur Jer' a :

It is 25 . 50 kilometre northwest of Haditha at the eastern side of the river for about 500 m from the bank. It represents a square fort with two walls: the external one is built of stones gravels and calcic earth 300 × 300 square meters, and the inner wall is built of mudbricks and supported by buttresses of the same material .

excavation work at this site started in the middle of October 1978. 20 large sounding pits have been dug up to now occupying a large area. A number of kilns for baking bricks and pottery were found at the southwestern part of the yard inside which the remains of bricks and pottery were found together with Assyrian pottery vessels prepared for baking.

These finds date to the Kassite, Assyrian periods and Hellenstic under the Parthian rule. In addition to numerous potsherds a number of jars and conical used for burial in addition to some metal finds, Assyrian cylinder seals and other finds.

The most important finds from this site are some fragments of tablets some of which are unbaked. An initial examination by Dr Bahija Khalil Ismail shows they represent religious and votive texts of the Babylonian king Ninurta - kudurri - usur of whom no previous texts had been found. They are written in the style of late Babylonian period (about the 1st millenium B.C.) and they refer to the god Adad.

4 . Al - Qal ' a Isle:

It is in the middle of the Euphrates in Ana on the westren bank of the river and represents the ancient town of Ana. The isle which extends from north to south has the shape of a fish and is 940m long, 190m wide and the highest point is about 10m above the level of the river. It is now cultivated by the citizens of Ana and they used to in habit it until a few years ago. It is surrounded by a late stone wall and is connected with Ana by means of a stone bridge .

Excavation there started early in March 1979 and four test trenches were dug to identify the Levels of the isle. Trench No. 2 adjacent to the mosque to the north shows there are 3 structural levels and contained a number of kilns and various Assyrian potsherds. We dug 7m deep before we reached the level of water.

In Trench No. 3 adjacent to the mosque to the east we found an Assyrian tomb and a Hellenistic tomb dating to the Parthian period of the torpedo type known in this period in

THE SALVAGE OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE QADISSIYA DAM BASIN

BY :
SABAH JASIM AL _ SHUKRI
Technical Supervisor

It is a good opportunrity to give you a short account of the excavations at the sites of the salvage project, which is one of the major four salvage projects undertaken by the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage in addition to its other projects in various parts of the country .

The dam will be built 7 kilometers north of Haditha , which is about 250 kilometers to the northwest of Baghdad. The period set for the construction of this dam on the Euphrates is 1978 _ 1983 . We started to work in the basin in the middle of 1978 and hope to complete our work by the end of 1982, i. e. before the final filling at the end of 1983. The reservoir is 130 kilometers long ending at Al _ Za' farana island 36 kilometers northwest of Ana. The usual level of filling is 147 m above sea level, which is the operational level of the dam. The emergency level of filling is 150 m above sea level. The storage zone consists of undulate land elevations of calcic and sandy nature. They are of geological compositions of various ages gradually getting older the farther they are from the river bank. The type of the storage zone has restricted the area of cultivated land and, consequently, the number of archaeological sites within it or bordering it. Their number is small compared with that of the ancient tells and settlenents scattered along both sides of the Euphrates and the canals branching from it and the alluvial plane. The dam basin constains 28 registered sites some of which are small ones. There are also extensions of some major sites such as Al-Khaliliyah and Talibs .

In addition to the above number of sites the basin contains more than 90 agricultural villages of various sizes and two important towns : Ana which was famous in ancient and Arab Islamic history, which is more than 300 kilometers northwest of Baghdad and which has several structures of heritage including the watermills of the type common in the upper Euphrates, and Rawa opposite Ana on the eastern side of the river , which contains a large Ottoman fort built in the time of Medhet Pasha the governor of Baghdad in 1869

The above sites resigtered up to now are divided into 13 sites on the western side of the river, locally known as Al-Shamiyah because it leads to Syria, and 12 sites on the eastern side of the river, locally known as Al-jazirah, because it is connected with the Jezira area and Mosul. The sites to the west of the river are the following : 1 - Ain Al-Susa 2- Kherbet Wadi Tirtasa 3- Ternana Ruins 4 - Shahma Cemetry 5 - Jerna 6- Tell Marzukia 7- Sheikh Tai 8- Sur Um Al-Khawashij 9- Clai'a 10- Al -' usiya 11 - Telbes burials 12- site and mosque of Meshhed 13- Kherbet Al-Diniya .

The sites east of the river are the following : 1-Imam Habib Al-Najar 2- Ali Bin Zahran cemetry 3- Fa's Al- Kufar 4- Sur Jereb 5- Al- Zawiya 6- Gbein 7- Btain Al-Badiya 8- Kifrin (Jifrin) and Mijwil caves 9- Telbes cemetry and tells 10- Al-Khaliliya 11- Tell Al-Darajiya 12- Al-Uwaina

Besides the above sites there are three archaeological isles in the middle of the Euphrates : 1. Telbes 2. Al-Qal'a (in Ana) 3- Bijan .

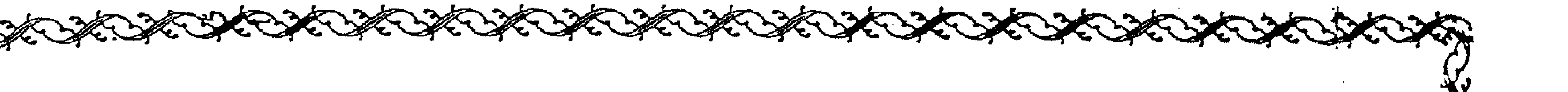
Excavations have been carried out at seven major sites. Following is a brief account of the work done at each of them.

1. CLAI'A : It is a fort 24.50 kilometers northwest of Haditha on the west side of the Euphrates. It has two walls; the external one is 200 × 170.50m and each has an access on the southwest side with the river forming its northwestern side.

Excavation at this site started in the middle of May 1978.. It was the first site where we worked. It contains inside it and within the two walls 118 rooms and structures . Those adjacent to the inner wall are built of mudbricks while the inner ones are built of limestone and clay . Some of the remaining ones are on Assyrian tombs. The mudbrick structures were not spared rennovation work as numerous fragments of bricks, carved stones and heads of statues, which are all Assyrian, were found used as building blocks in the walls .

we note there is a rectangular structure between the two walls at the southeastern side built in two stages of mudbricks

RESEARCHES ON THE ANITIQUITIES OF AL - QADISSIYA DAM IN THE TWO INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUMS, 2ND AND 3RD HELD IN 1979 AND 1981



PREFACE

The Second and the third International syposiums on the archaeological revival of Babylon and Assur and Salvage of the archaeological site of Qadisiya Dam in Haditha produced a great number of papers and scientific presentations delivered in outline from at the library of the state Organization of Antiquities and Heritage and at the sites with which the papers dealt. These Lectures and studies were highly specialized and informative and helped illuminate numerous historical architectural, intellectural and artistic phenomena.

The planned international syposium on the archaeological sites lying within the great development projects has, because of the unusual circumstances through which Iraq is now passing, been postponed for three years. This, however does not mean that the archaeological activities came to a halt or that new and exciting results in the fields of excavations, analysis, restoration and archaeological treatment, were not reached.

In point of fact, the number of excavation and restoration expeditions was over the last three years, on the increase. Salvage excavation works on the sites to be submerged by Saddam's dam in Eski Mosul and Qadisiya Dam in Haditha continued while archaeological mounds in Sammarra and the area round Babylon witnessed intensive work.

The fourth international symposium will be held in the near future so that the new discoveries and results may be presented and discussed.

Volum 42 is entirely devoted to the publication of the papers delivered in the above - mentioned syposiums on Assur and the Qadisiya Dam area in which 75 archaeological mounda have so far been excavated - More studies on this subject will be published in the forthcoming volums of Sumer.

I do hope that you will enjoy this volume. I also hope that volume 42 of Sumer will constitute a step towards the achievement of a more creative work in the field of archaeology.

Dr. MUAYAD SA'ID DEMIRJI

President of the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage

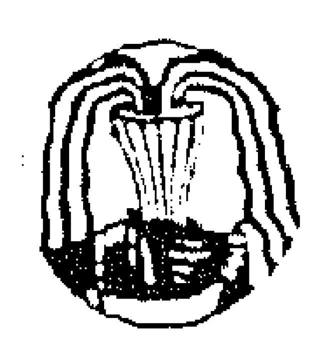
Editor - in - Chief

IN ARABIC



REPUBLIC OF IRAQ
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND INFORMATION

THE STATE ORGANIZATION
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SUMER

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